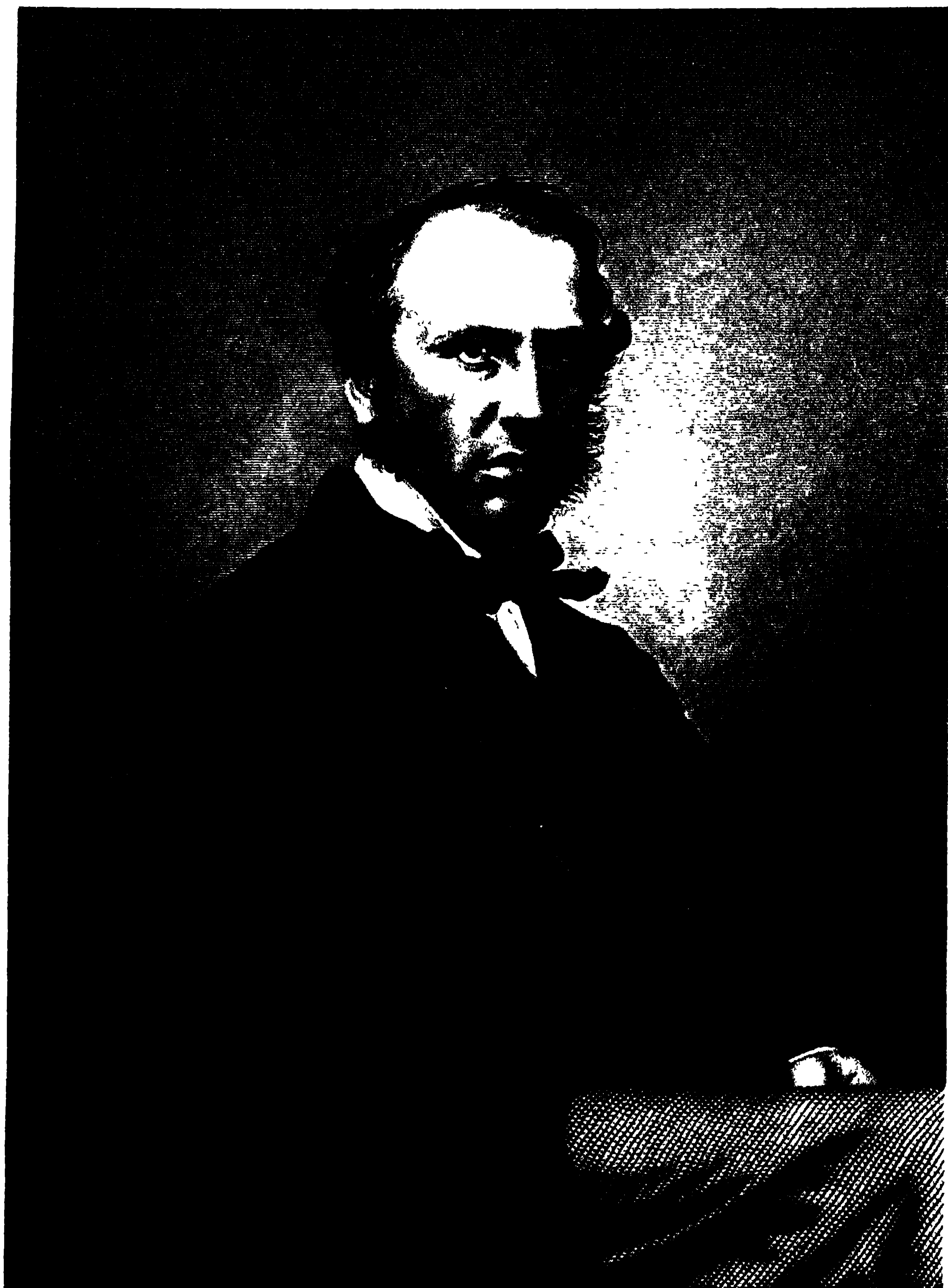




THE HISTORY

OF THE

INDIAN MUTINY:

GIVING

A DETAILED ACCOUNT OF THE SEPOY INSURRECTION IN INDIA; AND A CONCISE HISTORY OF THE GREAT MILITARY EVENTS WHICH HAVE TENDED TO CONSOLIDATE BRITISH EMPIRE IN HINDOSTAN.

BY CHARLES BALL.

ILLUSTRATED WITH

BATTLE SCENES, VIEWS OF PLACES, PORTRAITS AND MAPS,

BEAUTIFULLY ENGRAVED ON STEEL.

VOL. I.

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VOL. I.

A GLOSSARY

OF THE HINDOSTANI AND OTHER WORDS OCCURRING IN THE FOLLOWING WORK.

A. denotes that the word is Arabic; H. that it is Hindostani; M. Mahratti; P. Persian; PORT. Portuguese; S. Sanscrit; and T. Tatar.

Ab or ***aub***, P., water; used in composition, as *Punjaub*: five waters, *i.e.*, watered by five rivers. *Doáb*, district between two rivers.
Abad, P., inhabited; in composition, a town, as Hyder-abad, city of Hyder; Allahabad, urbs Dei.
Abasan, S., naked; without clothes.
Abdal, A., a religious person; a devotee.
Abdut, M., a worshipper of Siva.
Abi-hayat, P., the water of life.
Abista, P., pregnant; new born
Abol, H., silent.
A-chchut, S., a name of God.
Ajal, A., death; delay.
Ajat, S., one expelled from his caste
Aparadhin, S., a criminal.
Aparajai, S., victory.
Aparajit, S., unbending; invincible.
Aparan, S., defiling; polluting
Apsara, S., a female dancer.
Ata, H., flour, meal; food of Hindoos.
Atambar, A., a crowd of people.
Atan, ***Kamde-o***, S., the Hindoo god of love.
Atish-afroz, P., kindling fire.
Atishistan, P., the region of fire.
Atish-kana, P., a park of artillery.
Atma, S., self; soul; life
Ayah, PORT., a female nurse or attendant; (probably a corruption of *Ayib*, A., slave.)

Baba, T., a father; a child; used as a term of endearment or respect.
Baba log, T. S., children; the preceding word and *log* from S. *log*, people.
Baboo (prop. *Babu*), a Hindoo title, answering to our esquire.
Badh, S., killing; slaying.
Bag, P. (prop. *bagh*), a garden. *Kudsiya bagh* is the name of a garden spoken of in letters from Delhi. It is just outside the walls.
Baghi, A., a mutineer; a rebel
Bahadoor, P., brave; a common title of respect added to the names of military officers and others.
Baijanti, S., the standard of Vishnu.
Ba, isi, H., the royal army.
Bakree Eed, A. (prop. *bakari 'Id*), a festival held by Moslems on the 9th of the 12th month, in honour of Abraham's offering up Ishmael (not Isaac, as we say.) From *bakar*, an ox; *'Id*, festival.
Bakshi, P., a general; commanding in chief.
Bam, S., an interjection addressed to Siva, much used by pilgrims.
Bamba, H., a well. This word occurs in the plans of Delhi.
Bandar, P., a city; an emporium.
Bandi-khan, P., a prison.
Ba-oli, H., a large well or tank.
Bazaar, an exchange or market-place

Beebee, H., a lady.
Begum, T., a princess, or lady of high rank.
Bhaee, S., a brother; a comrade.
Bhang, P., an intoxicating drink made from hemp.
Bheestee, P. (prop. *bihishti*), a water-carrier. Literally, an inhabitant of *bihisht*, or Paradise, from the pleasantness of the occupation in such a climate as India.
Bhumiyawal, H., a general plundering.
Bhut, S., a demon; a goblin.
Bobachee, T. (prop. *bawarchi*), a cook.
Budgerow, S. (prop. *bajra*), a travelling boat of a large size.
Bud-mash, P. A. (prop. *bad ma' ash*), a rogue, a villain. From *bad*, bad; and *ma' ash*, subsistence.
Bud zat, P. A., a bad character. From *bad*, and *zat*, essence.
Bungalow, H. (prop. *bangla*), a thatched house, any house.
Burkandaz, A. P., a matchlockman. From *bark*, lightning; *andaz*, throwing.

Chahra, S., a whirlwind, a weapon used by the Sikhs
Chalo, S., come on, advance.
Cherry (prop. *cheri*), a termination meaning village, but now often applied to towns, as Pondicherry.
Chit, H. (prop. *chitthi*), a note; a letter
Chor, S., a thief.
Chupatties, P. (prop. *chapati*), a thin cake of unleavened bread.
Chutahra, H., defilement by touching.
Coolie, T. (prop. *kuli*), a porter or carrier.
Cutcherry, H. (prop. *Kachahri*), a court of justice; a civilian's office.

Dacoit, H., a robber.
Dak, or ***dauk***, H., a post or post-office.
Dam, A., blood.
Dewan, H., a prime minister.
Dhammal, H., running through fire.
Dhoolies, H., hospital waggons.
Dhumra, S., battle; uproar; disturbance.
Doab, P., a country between two rivers.
Dost, P., a friend.
Dour, S. (prop. *daur*), a foray; a raid
Durwazah, P., a door; the gate of a city.

Eed, A. (prop. *'Id*), a festival.
Enam, A. (prop. *in 'am*), a gift; land granted in free tenure.

Feringhee, H., corruption of Frank; a European.
Fuqueer, A. (prop. *fakir*), a mendicant devotee; one who has taken a vow of poverty.

Ghat, H., steps ascending from a river.
Ghaut, H., a mountain or hill.
Ghazee, A., a true believer who fights against infidels
Ghubara, P., a bomb or shell.

Ghul, P., noise; tumult.
Golundauze, P. (prop. *gol-andaz*), literally, ball-thrower; a native artilleryman.
Gujoors, H., a tribe in the N.W. Provinces who profess to be descendants of Rájpoots by women of inferior castes. They are engaged in agriculture, but are also robbers and plunderers, and have borne a conspicuous part in the recent outrages and robberies.

Haibat, A., fright; great awe.
Harree, H., dispersion of an army or crowd.
Havildar, A. P. (prop. *Hawaldar*), a native serjeant.
Himalaya, S., the abode of snow.
Hoolee, S., the great festival held at the approach of the vernal equinox—the song which is sung during the festival.
Humayun, P., royal; imperial.
Hurkaru, P. (prop. *Harkara*), a spy; a messenger.

Jadon, H., a tribe of Rajpoots.
Jahan, P., the world.
Jan, P., life; soul; spirit.
Jata-Jut, S., the matted hair of Siva.
Jatha, S., a company; a band.
Jawab, A., an answer.
Jawid, P., eternity; eternal.
Jehad, A., a holy war.
Jemadar, A. P., a native officer, corresponding to our ensign or lieutenant.
Jhageerdar, P. (prop. *jagirdar*), the holder of land granted for services.
Jheel, H., a shallow lake.
Juts, or *Jauts*, a race of industrious and hardy cultivators, whose original seat is said to have been Ghazni, but who are now found in great numbers in the N. W. Provinces, particularly at Bhurtpore.

Kabar, A., a grave; a tomb.
Kabn, P., power; authority.
Kar, A., an abyss; a gulf.
Kath, A., slaughter; homicide.
Khandar, H., desolated; spoiled.
Khitmutgur, H., a table-servant.
Kotwal, P., the chief officer of police in a city or town.
Kuwwat, A., power; virtue; authority.

Lattee and *Lath*, S. (prop. *lath* or *lathi*), a pillar; a club; a stick shod with iron.
Logue, S. (prop. *log*.), people; as *baba log*, children; *Sahib log*, English gentlemen; *gora log*, Europeans; fair people.
Lotah, H. (prop. *lota*), a small pot, generally of metal

Mohurrum, A. (prop. *Muharram*), literally, sacred; name of the first Mohammedan month; the fast held on the 10th of that month, in memory of the death of Husain the younger son of Ali, and grandson of Mahomet, who was slain on that day at Karbalá, in *'Irak*, in the 46th year of the Hegira.
Moonshee, H., a linguist or writer.
Mundee, H. (prop. *mandi*), a market-place.
Musjid, A., a mosque. *Jumma Musjid* (prop. *Jum'aah masjid*), a cathedral mosque.

Nahib, A., fear; terror.
Naik, S., a native corporal.
Nakib, A., a chief; a leader.
Nallah or *Nullah*, H. (prop. *nala*), a brook; a water-course; the channel of a torrent.
Nana, M., grandfather; a term of respect. The title given to Dhundu Pant, the adopted son of the Peishwa, and son of Chimnaji Appa, his brother
Nisa, A., woman; the female sex.
Nuddee, S. (prop. *nadi*), a river.
Nuwab, A. (prop. *Núwáb*), a viceroy, literally, viceroys, being plural of *náib*, vicegerent; a nabob.

Pamal, P., devastated; trodden under foot.
Pandu, S., name of an ancient king of India.
Parachir, S., a fine for expiation.
Pariah, an outcast from society.
Parkhash, P., war; battle; commotion.
Pata, S., the act of falling.
Peishwa, P., a leader; a guide.
Peon, P., a foot-messenger.
Phahrana, H., to make fly.
Phukni, H., a firelock.
Poorbee, S., eastern. *Poorbeas*, a term applied to the Bengal sipáhís (or sepoys), by Sikhs and others.
Pore or *Poor*, S., a town; used chiefly in composition, as Bhurtpore or Bharatpur, the town of Bharata.
Pultun, H., corrupt for battalion.
Puttun, S. (prop. *pattanam*), a town, chiefly in composition, as Shri Ranga Pattanam; Seringapatam, city of the divine Vishnu: it is the name given to 'Azímábád, and corrupted by Europeans to Patna.

Rajpoot, a Hindoo of the military tribe or order.
Russalah, A., (prop. *risalah*), a troop of horse.
Rohillas, A., a people settled to the east of the Doáb of the Ganges. They are originally, as the name implies, from Affghanistan, and now inhabit the districts of Bijnour, Moradabad, Bareilly, and Rampoor.
Ryot, a peasant.

Sabit-khani, A., an armed retainer.
Sahib, A., a lord; a gentleman.
Sawab, A., a virtuous action.
Shahzadah, P., prince; son of a king.
Sikat, A., a trusty friend.
Sircar, H., an accountant or cashier.
Sirdar-bearer, H., a house servant.
Sowar, P., a horseman; a trooper.
Subahdar, A., a native officer, corresponding to our captain.
Subzee mundee, P. H. (prop. *subzi mandi*), a market for vegetables. Name of the spot so often taken and retaken by our troops before Delhi.
Syce, H., a groom.

Tadamk, A., chastisement.
Taj, P., a crown; a diadem.
Taj-war, P., a prince; a king.
Talwar, S. (prop. *Tulwar*), a sword.
Tarsa, P., a christian.
Tarsnak, P., timidly; cowardly.
Tashir, A., proclaiming.
Taskrif, A., honouring; investing with dignities, &c.
Tatva, S., truth.
Thanadars, sentinels, guardians.
Thug H., a deceiver.
Tuppal, H., a packet of letters; the post.

Yadz, P., God.
Yagna, A., sacrifice; religious ceremonial.
Yak, P., one.
Yamin, A., an oath; the right hand.
Yamni, S., foreign; not Hindoo.
Yatra, S., a march or journey.
Ybanda, A., the discoverer of a plot.

Zafar, A., victory.
Zafar-nama, A., a congratulatory letter.
Zalim, A., a tyrant.
Zalmi, A., unjust.
Zann, A., suspicion; jealousy.
Zarafat, A., beauty; elegance.
Zemindar, P., a landed proprietor or holder.

INTRODUCTION.

Before entering upon the details of a military outbreak that has, by its extent and duration, astonished the whole civilised world, and which at one time threatened seriously to affect the *prestige* of a flag that during the past century and a-half has waved in proud supremacy over the fortresses and cities of India, and proclaimed by its presence to subjugated races the irresistible power of British valour, and the wisdom of British councils, it will be necessary to refer briefly to the general history of the country—its various races, and its native governments, now for the most part tributaries to, or annexations of, British dominion in the East.

The extensive range of country now familiar to us by its Persian name of Hindostan, was early known to the Arabs by the appellation of Hind, or *Al-Hind;* from which, in their language, the words India and Hindostan are probably derived. India, from the *Indus*, the Blue or Black river, is not, however, synonymous with the Persian word Hindostan, the latter being derived from Hind, or Hindoo, *dark*, and stan, *place;* the place of the dark people or tribes, from the difference of colour between its inhabitants and its Persian invaders, by whom the term was originally applied. The name given to Hindostan by the natives of the country was Bahrat Kand, or the dominions of Bahrat. Hindoos also give it the epithet of *Medhyana*, or "Central," as well as that of Panyabhumi, or "the Land of Virtue."

This glorious land has, from the earliest records extant, been periodically the theatre of wars, tyranny, and wretchedness. The native Hindoo race appear for the most part to have been incapable of sweeping back the fierce tide of invasion and conquest that has so frequently broken over it, attracted by the extent, beauty, and wealth of the country which it populates but does not improve. Even now that the dusky inhabitants of that vast peninsula consist of many races and nations, several of whom are brave, fierce, and haughty in their natures, and amongst whom not less than fifteen millions of Mohammedans are scattered, they have proved unable to resist the European yoke, and have submitted to the dominion of an empire 13,000 miles distant, and to a power which, rising from the mere commercial *status* conferred by the possession of a few inconsiderable factories, has at length grasped, and defiantly holds in subjection, the loftiest sceptres and proudest diadems of India.

The geographical features of Hindostan have been so frequently described, that few words may suffice for such portion of the subject as merely relates to its extent and boundary; which, on the north, is formed by the Himalaya Mountains, and a prolongation of the Hindoo Koosh, a mountainous range of Affghanistan. On the east its limits are defined by the valley of the Brahmapootra and the Bay of Bengal. On the south-east by the Bay of Manaar, separating it from the island of Ceylon; by the Indian Ocean on the south and west; and by the Hala and Soliman Mountains, which divide it from Beloochistan and Affghanistan on the north-west. It extends from Attock on the Indus, in lat. 34° N., to Cape Comorin, lat. 8° N., and from the eastern limits of Assam,

in 96° E. long., to the Soliman Mountains west of the Indus, in long. 67° 30′ E.; the extreme length, from the north of Cashmere to Cape Comorin, being about 1,900 miles, and its breadth in the widest part, from the western border of Sinde to the eastern extremity of Assam, is 1,800 miles. Throughout this vast extent of territory there are now but two small states independent of British or European rule—namely, NEPAUL, consisting of a narrow slip of country running along the southern slope of the Himalayas; and BHOTAN, also a narrow slip, lying to the east of Nepaul. The possessions yet retained by France upon the Indian territory merely consist of the small settlement of Mahé, on the coast of Malabar, and of the stations of Pondicherry, Chandernagore, and Caricale, on that of Coromandel; altogether covering an extent of less than 200 square miles. The Dutch also continue to hold Goa, and about 1,000 square miles of territory on the west coast; and the town of Jafferabad, in the Gulf of Cambay; but, with the exception of the two native states mentioned, and the trifling possessions of France and Holland, the entire continent, to the extent of 1,687,603 square miles, now consists of states subject to the absolute domination of Great Britain, or dependent upon it for protection and support.

The territory of the English East India Company is now divided into three presidencies—viz., Bengal, Bombay, and Madras; the former being the most extensive, and embracing the entire northern division of the peninsula. BOMBAY comprises the western side, from lat. 16° N., to the Gulf of Cambay, where it reaches the boundary line of Bengal; and MADRAS includes the whole southern portion of the peninsula with the island of Ceylon. The population of the three presidencies amounts to nearly two hundred million souls. Some of the finest rivers in the world intersect and distribute their treasures through this vast extent of country; and of those the principal are the Ganges, the Indus, the Brahmapootra, and the Irawaddy, with their tributaries, and a host of smaller but yet important streams. The aspect of the country south of the Himalayas is flat, terminated by the Vyndhya Mountains, which cross the peninsula from east to west. The Himalayas consist of a range of mountains, 1,500 miles in length, and their breadth varies from 100 to 350 miles; in some parts the height of this gigantic ridge obtains an elevation of more than 28,000 feet above the level of the sea, the summits being covered with perpetual snow. The climate of India is varied, as may be conceived from the vast extent of country: in the south and middle regions the heat is great; but in the north, the elevated tracts of the Himalaya afford a climate equal in temperature to that of Europe. The periodical winds, called "monsoons," prevail on each side of the peninsula, and are accompanied by heavy rains; and the Indian year has three seasons—hot, rainy, and temperate. The *hot* weather commences in March, and continues to the beginning of June; the *rainy* season follows, and lasts, with short interruptions, from June to October; and the *temperate* period then succeeds, and fills the interval of time from October to the end of February.

The climate of India is not inimical to the European constitution, although that of Bengal and other low districts is very trying, especially to those who do not adhere to a strictly temperate regimen in all things; but there have been many instances of Englishmen living for a quarter of a century at Calcutta, and, on returning to England, enjoying another quarter of a century, and even more, of healthy existence, preserving, to a good old age, a vigorous mental and bodily frame. In the hot and moist parts of India

abdominal diseases prevail; in the warm and dry, hepatic action, or congestion. Exposure at night, especially to malaria, or the effluvia arising from intense heat and decomposing vegetable and animal matter, produces a malady popularly termed "jungle fever," which operates as a poison on the human system, and becomes rapidly fatal if not counteracted by mercury, or some other poison.

The direct rays of a nearly vertical sun, and even those of the moon, cause affections of the brain, that are frequently productive of fatal results; and when not so, require removal to the temperate zone for their relief.

The diseases that prevail among the Indians vary with locality: low, continued fever is most prevalent in flat, and rheumatism in moist, regions. Leprosy and other skin disorders are numerous among the poorer classes. *Elephantiasis*, or swelling of the legs; *Berri-berri*, or enlargement of the spleen; torpidity of the liver, weakness of the lungs, and ophthalmia, are common to all ranks and places. *Goitre* is found among the hill tribes; and cholera and influenza frequently decimate large masses of the people. Numerous maladies, engendered by early and excessive sensuality, exist among rich and poor. The inhabitants of India, generally speaking, except in the more elevated districts, have not the robust frames or well-wearing constitutions which result from an improved social state, or from the barbarism which is as yet free from the defects and vices of an imperfect civilisation. Neither is their longevity equal to that of the races who dwell in the more temperate climates of the earth.

It is not unusual to speak of India as if it were inhabited by a single race; but this is a great error, as the people are more varied in language, appearance, and manners, than are those of the whole family of European nations. The languages spoken among them are twenty in number—viz. (1) *Hindoostanee*, in general use, particularly in the North-West Provinces, and usually by Mussulmauns throughout India; (2) *Bengallee*, in the lower parts of the Gangetic and Brahmapootra plains; (3) *Punjabee*, or *Seik*, in the upper portion of the Indies; (4) *Sindhee*, in Cis-Sutlej states and Sinde; (5) *Tamul*, around Madras, and down to the coast of Cape Comorin; (6) *Canarese* or *Karnata*, in Mysore and Coorg; (7) *Malyalim*, in Travancore and Cochin; (8) *Teloogoo*, or Telinga, at Hydrabad (Deccan), and eastward to coast of Bengal Bay; (9) *Oorya*, in Orissa; (10) *Cole* and *Goud*, in Berar; (11) *Mahratta*, in Maharashtra; (12) *Hindee*, in Rajpootana and Malwa; (13) *Guzerattee*, in Guzerat; (14) *Cutchee*, in Cutch; (15) *Cashmerian*, in Cashmere; (16) *Nepaulese*, in Nepaul; (17) *Bhote*, in Bootan; (18) *Assamese*, in Upper Assam; (19) *Burmese*, in Arracan and Pegu; and (20) *Brahooi*, or *Beloochee*, in Beloochistan; besides these, Persian and Arabic are in use, with numerous dialects in different localities.

In Bengal and Orissa, the majority of the people do not eat meat, and the abstinence is attributed to a religious precept forbidding the destruction of life; but almost every Hindoo eats fish; many will consume birds and the flesh of kids, especially when it has been sacrificed and offered to idols. The Brahmins and Rajpoots of the highest *castes*, in North and Western India, can partake of the flesh of goats, deer, and wild boar, but abhor the domestic sheep and swine; others, who use the jungle cock (similar to our gamecock), would esteem the touch of our barn-door poultry pollution. In short, the capricious distributions of language, creed, and appetite, are infinitely diversified, and mingle with every act of Indian existence.

The natural productions of India embrace almost every species and variety of the earth's treasures, and the beauty and magnificence of its vegetation are without parallel. The forests are on an extensive scale, but the larger trees are almost wholly restricted to the plains; besides the species of trees common to Europe, the teak, the cedar, the palm, and the banyan, abound; the latter, called also the "peepul tree," has a sacred character, and the Hindoos plant it near their temples; its branches spread out many feet from the body of the tree, and stems bend down from them to the ground, where they take root and again shoot upward, continuously spreading and covering an immense area. We are told by Forbes, of one that stood on the banks of the Nerbudda which sheltered an army of 7,000 men under its branches! The fruits are as numerous as the timber trees; and the flowers are without rivals for profuseness and fragrance: but with all these attractions and advantages, we meet with the tiger, the panther, several varieties of the elephant, the rhinoceros, the black bear, and the boar of the jungle; the serpents that nestle amidst the beautiful foliage and shrubs of India, are numerous and deadly; the birds are of exquisite beauty and infinite variety; and the fish that swarm around its coasts have many species that are unknown to the European seas, as well as some that are common to them. The mineral products are of great beauty and value: diamonds, and most of the precious stones, known under the term *jewels*, with gold, silver, tin, and copper, are found in abundance within its bosom. It has, within the last few years, been ascertained that iron also exists in the peninsula; but the search for coal has hitherto been but partially successful.

The chief cities of modern Hindostan are Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay; the first-named being the capital of British India, and the principal residence of the governor-general. CALCUTTA (*Calicata*), the principal city of the province of Bengal, is in lat. 22° 33′ 54″ N., long. 88° 20′ 17″ E. It is seated on the eastern bank of the western branch of the Ganges, better known as the Hooghly river, which is the only arm of the Ganges navigable, to any considerable distance, by shipping of heavy burden. At high water, the river in front of the town is about a mile in breadth; but during the ebb, the opposite side presents a long range of dry sand-banks. "The approach to the City of Palaces from the river," observes Miss Roberts, in her *Scenes and Characteristics of Hindostan*, "is exceedingly fine; the Hooghly at all periods of the year presents a broad surface of sparkling water, and as it winds through a richly-wooded country, clothed with eternal verdure, and interspersed with stately buildings, the stranger feels that banishment may be endured amid scenes of so much picturesque beauty, attended by so many luxurious accompaniments, The usual landing-place, Champaul Ghaut, consists of a handsome stone esplanade, with a flight of broad steps leading to the water, which, on the land side, is entered through a sort of triumphal arch or gateway, supported upon pillars. Immediately in front of this edifice, a wide plain, or *meidan*, spreads over a spacious area, intersected by very broad roads; and on two sides of this superb quadrangle a part of the city and the fashionable suburb of Chowringee extend themselves. The claims to architectural beauty of the "City of Palaces" have been questioned, and possibly there may be numberless faults to call forth the strictures of connoisseurs; but these are lost upon less erudite judges, who remain rapt in admiration at the magnificence of the *coup-d'œil*. The houses, for the most part, are either entirely detached from each other, or connected only by long ranges of terraces, surmounted, like the long roofs of the

houses, with balustrades. The greater number of these mansions have pillared verandahs, extending the whole way up, sometimes to the height of three stories, besides a large portico in front; and these clusters of columns, long colonnades, and lofty gateways, have a very imposing effect, especially when intermingled with forest trees and flowering shrubs. The material of the houses is what is termed *puckha*, brick coated with cement, resembling stone; and even those residences intended for families of very moderate income, cover a large extent of ground, and afford architectural displays which would be vainly sought amid habitations belonging to the same class in England. The Company's Botanical Gardens, the spires of the churches, the temples, minarets, and the citadel of Fort William, or rather the barracks or outer buildings of the fort, rise in view, and strongly excite the mind of the stranger on his arrival." This, it must be remembered is a "first impression"—a picture painted somewhat *en couleur de rose*.

Calcutta presents a remarkable instance of what may arise from small beginnings. In 1640, the English obtained permission to erect a factory at the ancient town of Hooghly, on the opposite bank of the river. In 1696, the emperor Aurungzebe allowed them to remove their factory from Hooghly to the petty native village of Govindpore; and in the following year, to secure it by a fort. So slow was the progress of the new settlement, that, up to 1717, Govindpore, the site of the present City of Palaces, remained an assemblage of wretched huts, with only a few hundreds of inhabitants. In 1756, it had not more than seventy houses in it occupied by Europeans. An attempt had been made, in 1742, to defend the place from the incursions of the Mahrattas, by surrounding it with a ditch—a precaution, however, which availed but little against the attack in June, 1756, by Surajah-ud-Dowlah, the subahdar or viceroy of Bengal. In consequence of this attack, apparently a surprise, the factory was deserted by the governor, the commandant, and many of the European functionaries and residents. A memorable catastrophe, of a most lamentable nature, ensued. Such of the English as had remained for the defence of the factory, were thrust into a small, unventilated dungeon, called the "Black Hole;" and of 146 individuals who were thus shut up at night, 123 perished, under the most frightful sufferings, ere the arrival of morning! The "Black Hole" was afterwards converted into a warehouse; and upon an obelisk, fifty feet high, at its entrance, were inscribed the names of the unhappy victims.

Early in the following year, a squadron of five ships of war, accompanied by 2,400 troops, under the command of Lord Clive, arrived in the Hooghly from Madras, and retook the town of Calcutta, from which the garrison of the subahdar retired, after an attack of only two hours' continuance.

The returns of the population of Calcutta, in 1822, were—Christians, 18,138; Mohammedans, 48,162; Hindoos, 118,203; Chinese, 414: making a total of 179,917. The population, however, is of a more mixed character than is thus represented; consisting of British and other Europeans, Portuguese born in India, Armenians, Greeks, Jews, Persians from the coast of the Persian gulf (usually termed Parsees), Monghols, Mohammedans of Hindostan, Hindoos, &c. The aggregate population of Calcutta is now estimated at from 500,000 to 600,000; while, within a radius of twenty miles, the number is thought to be not less than from 2,000,000 to 2,500,000.

The site of Calcutta was originally considered to be extremely insalubrious. The surrounding country is flat and marshy, and extensive muddy lakes, with an immense

forest, stretch towards the town. Much, however, has been done to remove these local disadvantages. The streets have been drained, the ponds filled up, and the jungles cleared to a certain distance; but the air is still in some degree affected by the vicinity of the marshy jungles called the Sunderbunds.

The city now extends about five miles along the river, but its breadth varies greatly in different places. A large space between the town and Fort William is formed into a noble esplanade, on one side of which stands the new Government-house, erected by the Marquis Wellesley. In a line with it is a range of handsome houses ornamented with spacious verandahs. The suburb of Chowringhee, once merely a collection of native huts, is now an assemblage of palaces, extending a considerable distance into the country. The principal square, called Tank-square, is about 500 yards on each side, the middle of which is occupied by a large tank, 60 feet deep, surrounded by a wall and balustrade, and having steps on the inside reaching to the bottom. The square contains the Old Fort and the Custom-house, in front of which a handsome quay has been formed. It is called the Strand, and extends between two and three miles in length along the banks of the river. During the administration of the Marquis of Hastings, much was done to improve the ventilation of the city. A street, sixty feet wide, was opened through the centre in its longest diameter; and several squares were made, which, like the one described above, have each a tank in the centre surrounded by planted walks. The southern part of this magnificent city is inhabited chiefly by Europeans.

The part of Calcutta called the Black Town, which is principally occupied by the natives, stretches towards the north, and presents a complete contrast with the southern division. This contains about three-fourths of the city, where the streets are narrow, dirty, and unpaved. The greater number of the dwellings are either mud cottages, or huts of bamboos or other slight materials, swarming with an excess of population. From the crowded state and contemptible nature of these buildings, fires are destructive and frequent in this part of Calcutta, but they do not affect the European quarter. The mode of building there adopted, is an excellent antidote to this frequent calamity in an Indian climate. The houses are, however, often more elegant than durable, for the white ants are so destructive, that the whole beams of a house will sometimes be completely excavated, while they have the appearance of perfect solidity. More than twenty bazaars, well stored with merchandise from all parts of the world, provide an excellent supply of whatever is requisite for the support of a great city.

The Government-house is the most remarkable edifice in Calcutta. It is an Ionic structure on a rustic basement. On the north side there is a flight of steps, under which carriages drive to the entrance. On the south there is a circular colonnade, with a dome. The wings at the four corners contain the private apartments, and are connected together by circular passages so contrived as to have the advantage of the air from all quarters. The central part of the building contains some handsome rooms, highly decorated, and the council-room at the north-west corner is ornamented with several good portraits.

Fort William stands about a quarter of a mile below the town, and is the most regularly constructed fortress in India. It is said to have cost £200,000. It is an irregular octagon, and was commenced by Lord Clive, soon after the battle of Plassy, in 1757, but is considered as too extensive to be a tenable post in case of extremity. It has bomb-proof barracks sufficiently large for 10,000 men; and it requires, with 600 pieces of

cannon, as many troops to garrison it as would form an army capable of keeping the field. The works are raised but little above the level of the surrounding country, and can scarcely be perceived on the land side till a near approach. The five sides of the octagon next the land are regular, but as the others were designed to guard against an attack by water, they are so situated that the guns will bear upon all objects on the river till they approach near the town, and come within the fire of the other batteries that are placed along its banks. The interior of the fort is open, and presents large grass-plats and gravel-walks, kept in excellent order, and shaded by trees intermixed with piles of balls, shells, and rows of cannon. The fort contains only those buildings that are absolutely necessary for the purposes intended, such as a house for the commandant, quarters for the officers and troops, and the arsenal, which is well supplied with military stores. The entire cost of this noble fortress is said to have been not less than £1,000,000 sterling.

Besides the Government-house and the fort, the other public buildings in Calcutta are the Town-house, the courts of justice, and the various places of worship. Among these are two churches for the English (one of them is a handsome edifice), with others belonging to the Portuguese Catholics, the Armenians, and the Greeks, with several small Hindoo temples and Mohammedan mosques; and also a Sikh temple.

As the seat of the chief Anglo-Indian government, Calcutta is also the seat of the supreme court of judicature for the presidency of Bengal. This court is under the control of a chief justice and two puisne judges appointed by the crown, in England. The courts of Sudder Dewanny Adawlut, and Nazamut Adawlut, the former for civil and the latter for criminal causes, are courts of appeal from the provincial courts in all parts of Hindostan.

Since the year 1814, Calcutta has been a bishop's see. The Rev. Henry Heber, D.D., was the bishop first appointed, with a stipend, fixed by parliament at £5,000 per annum. The bishop's residence is in the city.

The religious, educational, literary, and scientific institutions of Calcutta are numerous, and of a high order. A Sanscrit college, a Mohammedan college, and an Anglo-Indian college, are supported by government; which affords assistance, also, to many private establishments for instructing the children of natives, and of the poorer classes of Europeans. The college of Fort William, founded by the Marquis Wellesley, is chiefly appropriated for the instruction in the languages, and other branches of study necessary for their profession, of young gentlemen who have been partially educated in the college at Haylesbury. Besides the public institutions, the residents of Calcutta support various charitable establishments and societies for religious objects.

In Calcutta and its neighbourhood, there is such a deficiency of water, that sometimes, after boring to the depth of more than 150 feet, no springs have been reached. Thin strata of coal and blue clay have been met with between fifty and sixty feet below the surface. At the same depth, trunks of trees have frequently been discovered, in an erect position, with their roots and branches perfect. In a luxurious capital, such as Calcutta, the style of living, amongst the higher classes of Europeans, is a point of considerable interest. As an illustration of this, the following *List of Servants*, deemed essential for the establishments of gentlemen from England, to engage, on or after their arrival, with what are termed moderate *rates of wages* for each, will be found on the other side. The value of the rupee may be taken at 2s.

	Rupees per Month.
A Moonshee, or linguist	16 to 20
A Sircar, accountant and cashier	10 — 12
A Khansamah, or steward	8 — 10
A Khitmutgar, or table-attendant	6 — 8
A Babarchy, or cook	6 — 8
A Durwan, or porter	5 — 6
A Hurkaru, or messenger	5 — 6
A Coachman	6 — 8
A Syce, or groom	5 — 6
A Masalchi, or scullion, &c.	4 —
A Sirdar Bearer, or house and furniture domestic	6 — 8
A Bheesty, or water-bearer	3 — 4

Calcutta is advantageously situated for both external and internal communication with distant parts. The largest vessels approach from the sea, and the merchandise they bring is readily conveyed to all the northern regions of Hindostan, by the Ganges and its tributary streams, while the valuable products of the interior are received by the same channel. This renders the capital the grand depôt of both European and Asiatic commodities. Numerous small vessels that trade to the interior, arrive daily from all parts of the country, while the large shipping collected opposite the town forms a noble spectacle, 50,000 tons being sometimes to be seen there at once.

Calcutta is the great emporium of Bengal, and the channel through which the treasures of the interior provinces are conveyed to Europe and to other parts. Its port is the resort of ships of all nations. In no part of the world is mercantile enterprise more active than at Calcutta. Some of its houses trade annually to the amount of five or six millions of pounds sterling. In 1855, Calcutta contained a resident population of more than half a million persons.

MADRAS.—This important capital of the province which bears its name is on the Coromandel coast, and has a population of 720,000: its situation is bad for trade, notwithstanding which it commands a very large share of the mercantile transactions of India.

The approach to Madras from the sea is very striking. Its low, flat, sandy shores, extending to the north and to the south, and the small hills that are seen inland, contribute to impress the spectator with an idea of barrenness, which, however, wears off on closer inspection. The beach seems alive with the crowds by which it is covered. The public offices and storehouses erected near the beach are handsome buildings, with colonnades or verandahs to the upper stories, supported on arched bases, covered with the beautiful shell-mortar or chunam of Madras—hard, smooth, and polished like marble. Within a few yards of the sea, Fort St. George presents an interesting appearance; and at a distance are seen minarets and pagodas, intermixed with trees and gardens. In the fort is a lighthouse, ninety feet above the level of the sea, and which may be seen from the deck of a large ship at seventeen miles' distance, or from the mast-head at a distance of twenty-six miles.

Notwithstanding its external advantages, it would have been difficult to select a worse site for a capital than that of Madras, situated as it is on the margin of a coast with a rapid current, and against which a tremendous surf breaks, even in the mildest weather. In the site of Pondicherry, the French had immensely the advantage of us in all respects. The boats, called masulah boats, employed for crossing the surf, are large and light, and constructed of very thin planks, sewn together with the tough grass of the country,

instead of calking the seams, which it is considered would render them too stiff; the great object being to have them as flexible as possible, that they may yield to the waves like leather. These boats require to be managed with great skill and dexterity, by men experienced in the craft. When within the influence of the surf, the coxswain stands up, and beats time with great agitation with his voice and foot, while the rowers work their oars backwards, until overtaken by a strong surf curling up, which sweeps the boat along with a frightful velocity. The boats belonging to ships in the roads sometimes proceed to the back of the surf, where they anchor on its outermost side, and wait for the country boats from the beach to convey their passengers on shore. When it is dangerous to have communication with the shore, a flag is displayed at the beach-house, which stands near the landing-place, as a caution.

Large ships, in approaching the city, "moor in from seven to nine fathoms, with the flag-staff of the fort bearing W.N.W., two miles from the shore. From October to January is generally considered the most unsafe season of the year, in consequence of the prevalence, during that interval, of storms and typhoons. On the 15th of October, the flag-staff is struck, and not erected again until the 15th of December; during which period, a ship coming into the roads, or indeed anywhere within soundings on the coast of Coromandel (reckoned from Point Palmyras to Ceylon), vitiates her insurance, according to the conditions of the policies of all the insurance offices in India."

In very rough weather, even the masulah boats cannot venture out, and all intercourse with the shipping is suspended, excepting by means of a simple contrivance, called a catamaran, used by fishermen and other lower-class natives. The catamaran is formed of two or three light logs of wood, eight or ten feet in length, lashed together, with a small piece of wood inserted between them, to serve as a stern-piece. When ready for the water, the catamaran holds two men, who with their paddles launch themselves through the surf to fish, or to carry letters or small quantities of refreshments to ships, when boats cannot venture out. When a vessel nears the shore, it is usual to send letters off to her under charge of catamaran men, who are instantly recognised by their curious conical caps, made of matting, in which they secure their letters, &c. The contents of these caps sustain no injury, howsoever often their wearers may be washed off their machine, which, in such cases, they speedily regain by swimming, unless intercepted by a shark. Medals are occasionally given to such catamaran men as distinguish themselves by saving persons in danger, or by their care in conveying papers through the surf in stormy weather.

The climate of Madras is considered to be less sultry than that of Bengal; such stations as are situated on the higher grounds of the table-land enjoying a very agreeable temperature. Exposure to the sun is less dreaded here than in most other parts of Hindostan. From the sea, the most striking object is the fort, beyond which is the Black Town, where all mercantile and other business is transacted. The chief buildings in it which face the water are—the supreme court, and the master-attendant's office and the custom-house in conjunction. There are also some large handsome establishments of bankers, merchants, &c. As all these buildings, ranging along the beach, have their upper stories adorned by colonnades resting on arched bases, the entire aspect is fine. The Black Town is very populous; the streets mostly run at right angles, and parallel with each other; the shops of Europeans and natives are situated there, and the residences of the Portu-

guese and natives, with the bazaars of the latter, occupy nearly the rest of the space. With pagodas and minarets, intermixed with trees and gardens, it contains also some splendid mansions of wealthy native merchants, built in the Oriental style.

Fort George, as it now stands, was planned by Robbins, a celebrated engineer of his day. In its centre are the remains of the original fortress, long since converted into public offices, &c. Northward of the site of the old fort stands the exchange, on which, in 1796, a lighthouse was erected, the light of which is ninety feet above the level of the sea. The present fort is strong and handsome, extensive and well defended; one portion of it, by its proximity to the sea, being almost impregnable, the heavy surf effectually preventing a landing. It is, however, open to the complaint which has been strongly and justly urged against that of Calcutta—viz., that it is too large to be properly manned in case of an attack from a powerful enemy; the garrison required for its due defence being by far too numerous for the limited resources of the country.

Within the walls of the fortress are the post-office, magazines, storehouses, barracks, hospitals, and every other requirement of war. Its governor's residence is spacious, and opposite to that is a marble statue of the Marquis Cornwallis. Southward from the site of the old fort is the church, large and commodious. It contains a monument to Bishop Heber, executed by Chantrey, representing the bishop in the act of confirming two native converts. The southern exit from the fort leads to the fashionable beach-drive—the South Beach—which corresponds with the course and esplanade of Calcutta, and the Hyde-park ring of London. It is a strip of road, of about a quarter of a mile in length, on the sea-shore. At the head of the drive is an oval inclosure, consisting of a lawn and gravel-walks, in the centre of which a military band plays for about three-quarters of an hour every Monday, Thursday, and Saturday evenings. There are several other interesting drives in the vicinity of the town; especially the Mount road, so named from its leading to the artillery station of St. Thomas's Mount, a well-wooded and delightful spot. It is to this superb road, shaded by trees of various descriptions, and of most luxuriant foliage, presenting a continued succession of villas for the six miles to which its length extends, that a recent author has alluded in terms of unqualified admiration. Most of the villas are large, many of them chaste and elegant, and all in the centre of their own grounds.

Near the Mount road is the race-course, having a circuit of a mile and a-half, with a large convenient stand, and other accommodations. On the town side of the race-course is a stone bridge, of many arches, over a wide and extensive ravine, filled with water during the rainy season. At other times, a shallow stream meanders through its bed, "while on its banks are always collected hundreds of *dhobies* (washermen) with numerous tents containing the families of this useful class of people. It is peculiarly characteristic of the exclusive and lordly pretensions of Europeans in India, that their own vehicles alone are permitted to traverse this bridge; the bullock hackeries of the natives being compelled to descend on one side, and, after wading through the water, ascend the somewhat precipitous bank on the other."

Government-house, by no means remarkable for either appearance or accommodation, is situated at the head of the Mount road. The adjacent garden, or park, is large extending to the sea-shore, where the governor has a smaller residence, named the Marine Villa.

The society of Madras is more limited than that of Calcutta, with less attention to

the luxuries, or even comforts, of life. It is of a haughty and ridiculously exclusive character, but the mode of living is similar to that of Calcutta; and fewer servants are required in Madras than in the latter city, in consequence of the *castes* being less numerous. Here, one man will attend the toilet, wait at table, and perform other duties, for which three or four servants would be required in Bengal. Madras is consequently the less expensive presidency of the two, for residence. As coolies or labourers, women are employed indiscriminately with men; and, in either case, the remuneration is very slight; about sixpence per day for each person. A personal servant for a short time, expects to be paid at the rate of a shilling per day.

Bombay stands upon a neck of land forming the extremity of the island from which it is named, and possesses the best harbour in India; an advantage that has made it the second mercantile emporium of the East—Calcutta being the first. Its population, in 1849, amounted to 512,656 souls, and it has since very considerably increased.

Standing principally on a narrow neck of land, at the south-eastern extremity of the island, the fort and town command a beautiful view over a bay diversified with rocky islets, and crowned by a background of picturesque hills. From its geographical features, however, "the interior of the island was formerly liable to be flooded, so as to give to the whole the appearance of a group of small islands. This flooding is now prevented by the construction of several substantial works which keep out the spring-tides; but as the lower parts of the island are ten or twelve feet under high-water mark, a great part of the interior is, during the rainy season, reduced to a swamp. The site of the new town, recovered from the sea in the latter part of the last century, is subject to this disadvantage; so that, during the continuance of the wet monsoon, the houses are separated from each other by water sometimes for seven or eight months of the year."

The fortifications of Bombay are extensive, and would require a numerous garrison for their defence: towards the sea, the works are exceedingly strong; but, on the land side, supposing an enemy to have made good a footing on the island, they would offer comparatively little resistance. "The fort, or garrison," observes a recent writer on the spot, "includes a surface of 234 acres, and contains a population of 15,000 inhabitants. On one side, between the fort and the sea, at Back Bay, is a stretch of almost level ground 387 acres in area, and about 1,800 yards in extreme length along the shore. The fortification has long been proved to be perfectly useless for the purposes of defence, and as unnecessary as useless—there being no one to assail it. An antiquated and absurd regulation has, notwithstanding this, been kept in force, to the obstruction of public improvement, to the effect, that no permanent building shall be erected within 800 yards of the batteries. The esplanade just described, furnishes the finest ground for dwelling-houses in the island; and is, indeed, the only place within a mile of the fort, where all public and private business is transacted, where houses can be built. But then, though the shore be in this quarter inaccessible, by reason of rocks and quicksands, to vessels above the size of fishing-boats, the 800 yards' regulation interferes; and, in consequence, a line of temporary erections, of about three-quarters of a mile in length, supplies the place of houses. Those are constructed of wood, with trellis-work of bamboo, and surrounded with canvas, like an overgrown tent. They are thatched over with cadjans, or the leaves of the palmyra-tree, and lined inside with curtains, or ornamental coloured

cloth. They are chiefly occupied by the highest class of military officers and civil servants of the government. Beyond this is a large encampment for officers temporarily residing in Bombay, and occupying tents. The bungalows are surrounded by ornamental railings, covered with the passion-flower, and other rapidly-growing, creeping plants; and are generally furnished with flower or vegetable gardens. The compound thus formed, opens out on the sea-beach on the one side, and on a line of road nearly parallel with the batteries on the other. The effect of the whole is highly picturesque and pleasing. These structures are not only far too slight to withstand the winds and rains of the south-west monsoon, but the garrison regulations require that they shall be removed once a year. Up to the middle of May, then, we have a line of beautiful rustic villas, which, together with the officers' tents at its extremity, extends nearly a mile along the sea-shore. All at once, as though some panic had made its appearance, or a plague broke out, the bungalows or villas of the esplanade begin to be deserted, and instantly demolished, and the materials of which they were composed removed. So rapidly does the work of destruction proceed, that in the course of a fortnight not a vestige is to be seen of the lately populous suburbs. By the first fall of rain, the dwellings have vanished, as if by magic—roofs, walls, and framework; the very tents and their occupants are gone. The esplanade for a few days presents a very unsightly appearance; the floors and foundations of houses, torn paper-hangings, the refuse of straw used for packing, fragments of broken fences, and the remains of ruined shrubberies and flower-pots, indicate the site of the departed town. A week more, and all this is changed—the first fall of rain covers everything with grass; and the esplanade, which was on the 15th of May covered by a town, and on the 1st of June presented a scene of slovenly and unsightly desolation, by the 15th of June is a bright greensward, as close and continuous as that on which the deer of some ancient manor in England have browsed for centuries. The reappearance of these temporary habitations is nearly as magical as their vanishment. The 15th of September sees the esplanade a fresh and verdant lawn: October witnesses the suburb formerly described:" and thus, from year to year, the change recurs.

Many of the residences, however, both within and beyond the walls of the fort, are commodiously constructed, particularly in the European quarter. The shops and warehouses, not only of the European merchants and traders, but of the natives, are large and handsome. On the contrary, the northern quarter of the fort, inhabited chiefly by Parsee families, is dirty and offensive. The lower classes of inhabitants live in little clay huts, thatched with palmyra leaves, outside the fort.

Bombay has only one English church, which is within the fort. There are several Portuguese and Armenian churches, both within and beyond the walls; also a number of mosques and Hindoo temples, three or four synagogues, &c. The largest Hindoo temple, dedicated to the worship of Bomba Devi, is about a mile and a-half from the fort.

The Government-house, or Castle, as it was originally designated, is a large, commodious building within the fort; but it has long been disused as a state residence, and appropriated for government offices. The governor has two other mansions for his accommodation: Parell, the one usually occupied as a town residence, at some distance northward from the fort; and another, intended as a retreat in the hot weather, at Malabar Point.

The records through which the early history of India are to be traced, point to the

Hindoos as the original inhabitants of the country. Subsequent conquests, in which the Scythians, the Greeks, the Persians, and the Mohammedans have borne part, have had the effect of intermingling foreign races with the aborigines; and now the descendants of the last of those conquerors form a distinct and governing class of the existing native population.

The Jews appear to have possessed but little information relating to India; yet it is certain that, even prior to the time of Moses, who was born 1574 B.C., the communication with India was open, and its commerce was then probably the most considerable and lucrative in the world. The Bible makes direct allusion to the caravan routes that had been formed, at an early period, for conveying the manufactures of the East into the kingdoms of the West. The spicery which the company of Ishmaelites (noticed in Genesis xxxvii. 25) were carrying into Egypt, are supposed to have been the produce of India. The 30th chapter of Exodus, and the 27th of Ezekiel (verse 24), also refer to the natural productions and manufactures of that country.

From the earliest period of which any records are extant, the Hindoo races have been divided as a people into four distinct classes, or *castes*;* designated Brahmins, Kshatriyas, Vaisyas, and Sudras. Originating with the creation of the world, *Brahmanas*, according to their mythological creed, proceeded from the *mouth* of Brahm the creator, and chief person of their theological triad, and his mission was to rule and instruct. He founded the *caste* distinguished by his name. *Kshatriyas* sprung from the arms of Brahm, and his duty was to protect: *Vaisyas* from his thighs; and the province allotted to this emanation of the deity was to trade and cultivate the earth: and *Sudras*, the most abject, as produced from the feet of Brahm, was doomed to be the servant and slave of the superior *castes*—the four forming the yet existing classes, or *castes*, of Priests, Soldiers, Husbandmen or Traders, and Labourers.

This division into four *castes* was, however, extended; and in the fourteenth century B.C., the number of mixed classes recognised by the laws of *Menu* had become considerable. Of these the most important are thus designated:—

I.—The classes which have sprung from the marriage of a man of an *upper caste* with a woman of an *inferior caste*. 1. *Mûrdhâbhishicta*, by a Brahmin, from a woman of the Kshatriya class. His duty is to teach military exercises. 2. *Ambastha*, or *Vaisya*, by a Brahmin, from a woman of the Vaisya class. His profession is the science of medicine. 3. *Nishâda*, or *Pârasava*, by a Brahmin, from a woman of the Sudra class. His occupation is to catch fish. 4. *Mâhishya*, by a Kshatriya, from a woman of the Vaisya class. His profession is music, astronomy, and attendance on cattle. 5. *Ugra*, by a Kshatriya, from a woman of the Sudra class. His duty, according to Menu, is to kill or confine such animals as live in holes; he is also an encomiast, or bard. 6. *Carana*, by a Vaisya, from a woman of the Sudra class. He is an attendant on princes, or secretary.

II.—The classes which have sprung from the marriage of a woman of *upper caste* with a man of *inferior caste*. The offsprings of these marriages, which are illegal, are

* The word *caste* is derived from the Portuguese *casta*, signifying race, or lineage. In Sanscrit, these divisions are called *Varnas*, that is, "colours." The most ancient portion of the *Vedas*, or sacred books of the Hindoos, alludes to such a division; and in the laws of *Menu*, and other works of antiquity, the system is fully described.

considered inferior in rank to the classes enumerated under the first division. 1. *Súta,* by a Kshatriya, from a woman of the Brahmin class. His occupation is managing horses and driving cars. 2. *Vaidcha,* by a Vaisya, from a woman of the Brahmin class. His occupation is waiting on women. 3. *Chândâla,* by a Sudra, from a woman of the Brahmin class. He is regarded as the most impure of all the mixed classes. His business is to carry out corpses, and execute criminals, and to officiate in other abject employments for the public service. 4. *Mâgadha,* by a Vaisya, from a Kshatriya woman. His profession is, according to Menu, travelling with merchandise. He is also an encomiast, or bard. 5. *Kshatti, Kshatta,* by a Sudra, from a Kshatriya woman. His occupation is said to consist in killing and confining such animals as live in holes. 6. *Aysgava,* by a Sudra, from a woman of the Vaisya class, is a carpenter. There are other classes descending in the scale of impurity from mixed marriages. One of the most generally known of the impure classes is that of the *Pariahs,* as they are termed in the Deccan; or Maliwanlu, in Telingana; or Walliaru, in Carnata. They are subjected to the hardest labours of agriculture, and to the filthiest duties of scavengers; with these it was deemed pollution to have intercourse, or to entertain human sympathy for. The faith of these several *castes* centred in a triune godhead: Brahm, the creator; Vishnu, the preserver or sustainer; and Siva, the destroyer. To these a passive energy is also allied. *Brahm,* the supreme deity, always remains in holy solitude in the distance of the vast profound of measureless space, and is beyond the reach of superstition to profane by even ideal similitude. *Vishnu* and *Siva* are supposed to have been many times *Avatar,* or incarnate; and hence the imagination of the Hindoos has clothed them with a variety of visible forms, and each has become a distinct deity, to whom worship is daily addressed. The Hindoo Pantheon also includes a host of inferior divinities. Nothing can be done without supernatural intervention; in consequence of which, the elements and every variety of animated nature are placed under the immediate guardianship of one of the crowd of deities that throng the Brahminical heaven. The goodly company is further augmented by myriads of demi-gods, many of whom are of the most wretched description. Thus, a little red paint smeared over a block of wood, a shapeless stone, or a lump of clay, converts it into a deity; and a host of such monstrosities collected together, indicate a Brahminical place of worship, and invite the devotee to some act of worship, as debasing in its nature as its object is monstrous in conception. Amongst the animals which are the objects of Hindoo adoration, the cow is the most sacred in the greater part of India. This animal is frequently called the "Mother of the Gods;" and many cows are kept by the rich for the sole purpose of being worshipped. Circumstances are, however, at times, even stronger than superstition itself; and thus the poor, who derive their chief subsistence from the labour of the useful animal they venerate, do not hesitate to work it hard, and to feed it very sparingly!

Besides the peculiar notions entertained by Hindoos relative to superior beings, and the worship to be paid to them, those that refer to a future state form a prominent part of their theological system. Here the doctrine of the *transmigration of souls* is a distinguishing feature. No people appear to have formed loftier ideas of its nature, independently of its connection with matter. They carry this idea to so extravagant a height, as to suppose the souls of both men and brute animals to have been originally

portions of the supreme mind, and consequently, as participating of its eternity. The highest destiny to which a mortal can aspire is, therefore, reabsorption into the divine essence, where the Hindoo's idea of supreme felicity receives its perfection, and "the mind reposes on an unruffled sea of bliss." But to such a state only the most rigid ascetics, who have spent a life of self-inflicted torture, can aspire: the best deeds of an ordinary life cannot excite a hope of raising their author higher than one of the various heavens over which their multiplied divinities separately preside. But few are allowed to cherish the expectation of ascending to even the lowest of these; and the great body of believers have only to anticipate the consolations that flow from the transmigration of souls. As regards punishments, a series have been devised to suit the capacities of the people, and the irregular propensities of life. The institutes of *Menu* affirm, that he who steals grain in the husk becomes a rat; should he take water, he is to be a diver; if honey, a large gnat; and if flesh, he is to be transformed into a vulture. The next birth of one who steals a deer or elephant, is into a wolf; and if a carriage be the object of his theft, he will subsequently become a camel. When once sunk from the human to the brute creation, the *Puranas* assert that he must pass through many millions of births before he regains the human form. Four hundred thousand more must then be experienced among the low classes, and one hundred thousand among the Brahmins, before he can attain the supreme felicity of absorption. Their system of punishment is not, however, confined to these terrestrial transmigrations. The all-multiplying system of the Hindoo theology has created a hundred thousand hells for the punishment of those whom inferior evils could not deter from the commission of the more heinous crimes. When the fatal moment arrives which changes their present existence, they are hurried away through the space of 688,000 miles, among the frightful rocks and eternal snows of the Himalaya Mountains, to the judgment seat of *Yama*, where his messengers wait to convey them to their respective places of punishment; and here, too, the state of retribution is adapted to the nature of the crime. The murderer is fed on flesh and blood; the adulterer is to be embraced by an image of red-hot iron; and the unmerciful to be unceasingly bitten by snakes. Having endured this state of "penal servitude" for a period proportionate to the magnitude of their crimes, the first step to restoration is to pass a long series of ages in the form of some degraded animal; whence they ascend in the scale of being already described.

The chief sects among the Hindoos, apart from the Brahminical order, were the Bhuddhists and the Jains. The former have long been expelled from Hindostan, where at one time they were numerous; and the Jains are also nearly extinct. The religion of the Sikhs was founded in 1469, at a village near Lahore; and it is described as "a creed of pure deism, grounded on the most sublime general truths, blended with the belief of all the absurdities of Hindoo mythology and the fables of Mohammedanism." The entire system of Hindoo theology is preserved in the *Vedas*, or Sacred Books. They have many popular systems of moral philosophy; but the avowed design of all is, "to teach the means by which eternal beatitude may be obtained after death, if not before it."

Indian tradition refers to two ancient empires as having existed, of which the provinces of Lahore, Delhi, Agra, Oude, and Allahabad formed the chief portions. Ayodha or Oude, and Pratishthana or Vitora, were the names of the capitals; and two

families, called the children of the Sun and of the Moon, whose origin is ascribed to Oude, ruled over them. Other kingdoms were subsequently founded, but have been lost sight of in the mists of remote antiquity; and thus, in any attempt hitherto made to trace the "*origin*" of most of the chief or independent states of India, the historian is lost amidst the labyrinths of uncertainty and the romance of tradition, as preserved to us by the poetry of native sages and annalists. The kingdom of BENGAL, the existing theatre of unparalleled barbarities, is referred to in the *Maha Bharat*, a poem of high antiquity; and another record, of equal authority, continues the succession of its line of kings, through nine dynasties, to the period of the Mohammedan conquest in 1203, when its independence was finally trampled under foot. The kingdom of MALWA—illustrious for its monarch Vicramadyta, the Haroun al Raschid of Hindoo-Arabic story, and of whose universal rule tradition is yet eloquent throughout India—was of less ancient foundation, but is far enough distant to be lost in the dim obscurity of the early history of the country. GUZERAT, from the circumstance of its having been the residence of *Krishna*, an incarnation of *Vishnu* (the preserver), would necessarily have had early existence as an independent state. CASHMERE is asserted by its historians to have existed, as an independent state, twenty-six centuries before the Christian era, and its last monarch was vanquished and deposed by the Sultan Mahmood, A.D. 1015. DELHI is mentioned in the *Maha Bharat* as subject to a Rajpoot line of princes, whose last representative was dethroned in 1050 by an ancestor of the Prithwi Rajah, who, in his turn, was dethroned by the Mohammedans in 1192. BENARES appears to possess the same title to antiquity as *Delhi*, with whose ruin, as an independent state, that of Benares is contemporaneous. MITHILI existed in the days of Rama, the ruler of a populous kingdom in Hindostan, and hero of the *Ramayana*, the oldest Hindoo epic poem now extant. Upon the death of Rama, he was acknowledged and honoured as an incarnation of *Vishnu* (the preserver), already mentioned as the second of the three persons or principles of the Hindoo Triad. GOUR, also mentioned in the *Maha Bharat*, existed as a state until about A.D. 1231. SINDE, referred to in the same metrical record, was an independent state in the days of Alexander, and, with the neighbouring territories, was also subjugated by the Mohammedans. MEWAR, JESSULMER, and TEIPUR, founded respectively A.D. 720, 731, and 967, also maintained their independence at the same period. AMJEER may be traced back through seven generations before 695, and fell with Delhi in 1192. The PUNJAB, or "country of the five rivers"—viz., the Behul (*Hydaspes* of the Greeks), the Chunaub (or *Ascines*), the Ravee (or *Hydraotes*), the Beyah (or *Hyphasis*), and the Sutlej (or *Hesudrus*)—has, from remote antiquity, been divided into several minor independent states; but tradition yet points to the existence of one great city or capital, which is supposed to have occupied the site of the present city of Lahore. The history of the DECCAN commences at a date long anterior to that of Hindostan proper; and the five distinct languages yet in use among the inhabitants, are held to denote an equal number of early national divisions, of which the country of Dravira, occupying the extreme south of the peninsula, is the most ancient. MAHARASHTA, or the Mahratta country, situated on the borders of the Deccan, and of vast extent, is but vaguely noticed by annalists until about 250 B.C., when Tagara, the capital of a line of kings of the Rajpoot family of Silar, is first mentioned as one of the two great marts of the south of India. An era, commencing with a new line of chiefs,

opened upon Maharashta A.D. 77; and the country remained under the independent rule of native chiefs, or princes, until the several states were united under a ruler named Sevajee, who, early in the seventeenth century, acquired supreme authority over the whole. He made war with Aurungzebe, and, invading the province of Golconda with 40,000 horsemen, placed Mahratta governors in all the towns and fortresses. At his death, in 1682, his territory extended 400 miles in length, and 120 in breadth. The independence of the entire country was ultimately destroyed by the result of the battle of Paniput,* which occurred in 1760.

The first recorded invasion of the countries beyond the Indus, after the incursions of the Scythians, of which merely tradition remains, was undertaken by the Greeks, led by Alexander the Great, about 327 years prior to the Christian era. This monarch entered the country with an army consisting of 120,000 infantry and 15,000 horse; and the progress of the vast body of invaders was quickly to be traced by its conquests, and the memorials of triumph scattered on its route, consisting of cities and military stations or colonies. The Greek host did not meet with any effectual resistance to its advance, except in that division of the country now known as Affghanistan, on the high lands of which the campaign was signalised by the determined resistance of the mountain tribes, and the sanguinary barbarity of their invaders. Having crossed the Indus, after many severe conflicts with the native armies, Alexander arrived at the banks of the Jhelum, where he was met by a chief, or prince, named Porus, who gave him battle, but was defeated, with the loss of 21,000 men. The conqueror hereupon founded two cities as memorials of his success—one near the field of battle, named Nicœa; the other at the spot where his army crossed the Jhelum, naming it *Bucephela,* in honour of his horse, which had died of fatigue, and wounds, and old age, in the hour of his master's triumph. From this place the conqueror pursued his aggressive course through rich and populous districts north of the territory of Porus, to the river Chenab, anciently called Chandrabagha, "the Moon's Gift;" receiving on his way the submission of thirty-seven cities, each containing more than 5,000 inhabitants; and he at length reached Sangala, a city of great strength and importance, which appears to have occupied nearly the same site as the modern capital of the Sikh monarchy—Lahore. In front of this city a tremendous conflict ensued, which resulted in the defeat of the Sangalans, with a loss of 17,000 slain and 70,000 prisoners: the victory cost Alexander 1,200 killed and wounded; and the determined resistance he met with so enraged the conqueror, that the city was levelled with the ground, and its inhabitants distributed as slaves among the victors Alexander proceeded hence in a south-eastern direction, receiving the submission of the native princes and people as he advanced towards the Ganges; but having, after a succession of difficulties, at length reached the river Hyphasis (the Gharra), just above its junction

* Paniput, fifty miles north by west from the city of Delhi, possesses an historic interest, from having been the scene of two of the greatest battles ever fought in Hindostan, and each of them decisive of the rule of the country. The first was in the year 1525, between the army of Baber and that of the Delhi Patan emperor, Ibrahim Lodi, in which the latter was slain, and his army totally routed. With him the Affghan dynasty of Lodi terminated, and that of Timour commenced. The second of these battles occurred in 1760, between the combined Mohammedan army, commanded by Ahmed Shah Abdalla, the sovereign of Cabul, and that of the Mahrattas, commanded by the Bhow Sedasiva. Of all descriptions of men, women, and children, there were said to have been 500,000 in the Mahratta camp, of whom the greater part were killed or taken prisoners; and of those who escaped, many were killed by the zemindars.

with the Hesudrus (Sutlej), his army, disheartened by the hardships and fatigue they had been subjected to, refused to proceed, and demanded to be led homeward. After ineffectual efforts to prevail on the soldiers to attempt further conquests, Alexander was necessitated to retrace his steps; and having embarked with his light troops in vessels built for him during the interval the army remained inactive, he descended the Hydaspes to the Indian Ocean, on his way home. Some two years after this period, while planning a magnificent capital for his Asiatic empire, the Macedonian hero was suddenly stricken down by the combined influences of fever and the wine-cup, and his career was closed by death, at Babylon, in the thirty-second year of his age, 323 years B.C.

After the death of Alexander, and the division of his conquests, India fell to the lot of Seleucus Nicator, one of his generals, who resuming arms, penetrated to the Ganges, and established himself in the capital of Sandoacothis, king of the Prasii, whom he had vanquished, and whose territory he added to the conquests of Alexander.

Beyond the partial invasion and transient occupancy of the Persians, little is known of the history of Hindostan from the time of Seleucus until the Mohammedan invasion, A.D. 664. The cities or military colonies founded by Alexander, deprived by his premature death of the stimulus attendant upon his successes and his name, soon languished and fell into decay; but the impulse given to commerce by his conquests, through the distribution of the rich and varied productions of the country, will always stamp the epoch in which he lived, and the achievements of his armies, with singular importance. At this time India was frequented by traders from all parts of Europe —adventurers who sought, by a long and tedious route, the great marts of commerce he had newly opened and re-established in the far-distant East. The principal articles of commerce brought from India at that remote period, consisted of ivory, precious stones, cotton and silk fabrics, gums, spices, and costly dyes, which were exchanged for the precious metals in the shape of European coin, which the natives melted down for the purpose of adorning their temples and public buildings, and enriching the shrines and altars of their deities; in which condition much of it was preserved, until temples, altars, and gold became the booty of Mohammedan captors. During the interval between the conquests of Alexander and the invasion of the Sultan Mahmood (A.D. 1001), the general condition of the independent states of Hindostan and the Deccan is represented as prosperous, the people contented, and the arts of civilised life as being widely diffused over the country.

The invasions of the Arabs and the Affghans commenced in the seventh century, and their successes were chiefly owing to the discipline of the soldiers and the weight and mettle of their horses. The country at this time was, for the greater part, apportioned among various tribes of a people designated Rajpoots, who, by reason of physical inferiority and the feeble breed of their horses, were unable to encounter the hardy mountaineers of Affghanistan, or the subtle and ferocious children of the Desert. The soldiers of Mahmood therefore obtained an easy conquest; and the beautiful provinces of Hindostan fell progressively into the hands of new and more energetic masters.

Among the numerous incursions of the Moslem armies over the plains of Hindostan, the expedition of the Sultan Mahmood, in 1024, was the most important and productive. This invasion was set on foot for the single purpose of destroying a magnificent temple at Somnauth in Guzerat, esteemed as the most wealthy and celebrated throughout India.

The edifice was dedicated to *Siva*, by his title of "Swayan Nath," or "the Self-existent," and it contained an idol of black stone, of prodigious dimensions, for the ablutions of which water was daily brought by the worshippers from the sacred stream of the Ganges 1,000 miles distant; its priests, dancing-women, and musicians, were numbered by hundreds; kings devoted their daughters to the service of the temple, and several princes contributed together the revenues of 2,000 villages for the maintenance of the idol and its attendants. The priests had vauntingly asserted, that "the sins of the people of Delhi and Kanouze had occasioned their subjection to the fury of Mohammedan conquerors; whereas *their* god would have blasted the whole army of the tyrant Mahmood in the twinkling of an eye." Enraged at the insolence of this boast, and to prove its utter insignificance, Mahmood determined upon a perilous expedition; for, besides other difficulties in the path, his troops had to march nearly 400 miles through a desert of loose sand and clay, that was destitute of forage or water; and the temple itself stood on a peninsula, connected with the mainland by a fortified isthmus, vigilantly guarded by soldiers dedicated to the service of the idol, who were animated by a belief that the huge array of the Mohammedan invader was only permitted to approach the vicinity of the temple, that it might be offered to their god as an atonement for the desecrated shrines that marked the progress and ravage of the Sultan's former invasions. Upon the assault being made, the Mohammedans, who had advanced with their war-cry of "*Alla hú Akber!*" (God is great), were twice beaten back, and the worshippers of Siva were exultant in the power of their idol: but a third and desperate assault was given, and it was irresistible; the Hindoos were driven from the walls with immense and indiscriminate slaughter, and a general rout ensued, leaving the assailants masters of the position. When Mahmood, attended by his sons, and surrounded by his chief officers, at length entered the temple, they were dazzled by the magnificence that was presented to them on every side. The priests piteously besought the conqueror to spare their idol, offering its weight in gold for its preservation; but he sternly refused their prayers and their offers, and himself gave the signal for its destruction by a blow with his mace. The example of the Sultan was instantly followed by his attendants; and the figure, which was hollow, was battered to pieces: it contained treasure to a fabulous amount, in diamonds and other costly jewels—a circumstance that accounted for the tenacity with which the Brahmins clung to the desire for its preservation. The spoils of this vast temple far exceeded any acquired by the Moslems on any previous occasion; and the building, after being thoroughly ransacked by the soldiers, was destroyed; its magnificent gates of sandal-wood, 16½ feet high, and 13½ wide, being removed by the captors to Ghuzni; and upon the death of the Sultan Mahmood, in 1030, they were affixed to a splendid mausoleum erected over his remains; and continued so attached until the year 1842, when they were recaptured by English troops, and carried back from the Affghan city to their original station at Somnauth, by order of Lord Ellenborough, the then governor-general.

The empire of Mahmood extended over a much larger territory than had been governed by any Asiatic conqueror before his time; from the Oxus to the Indian Ocean, and from Georgia and Bagdad to the Ganges, the various populations were submissive to his authority. It is during the reign of this powerful monarch that we first trace the existence of the rajahs of Delhi, or Indraput, the founders of a dominion afterwards famous as the empire of the Moguls.

Of the immediate descendants of Mahmood, and the conquests of his successors on the throne of India—the sanguinary policy by which a long line of Mogul emperors achieved absolute dominion—the rebellions and assassinations by which the greater number of them consummated the one object of their ambition and treachery—it is not the purpose of this epitome to dilate upon. It may suffice briefly to record that, upon the death of the Emperor Aurungzebe, in 1707, the empire was, by his command, divided between his three sons. The consequence of this partition was a succession of civil wars between the brothers, and the ultimate extinction of the Mogul rule. In 1738 the country was invaded by the Persian emperor, Nadir Shah, who entered Delhi, the capital, without resistance; but a rumour having arisen, on the second day of the occupation, that the Shah was dead, the populace took up arms, and treacherously massacred nearly 7,000 of the Persian soldiers and their followers within the city. For this act of violence the conqueror immediately took ample revenge: the whole city was given up to pillage; the inhabitants to slaughter; and, in a few hours, utter desolation spread over the place. Many thousands of the people were destroyed; and it is stated that, upon this occasion, "more than 10,000 women threw themselves into the wells and tanks of the city, to escape the merciless fury of the conquerors; and that some of them were taken out alive, after being secreted among the dead bodies of their less fortunate countrywomen for two or three days." This fearful visitation upon the doomed city occurred on the 15th of February, 1739; and, after remaining among the ruins and the slain for fifty-eight days, the conqueror withdrew his army, sated with revenge and laden with spoil. The total value of the property carried away upon this occasion, was estimated, at the time, at seventy millions sterling.

The victory that led to the capture of Delhi put an end to the power of the Mogul emperors, although a dynasty of the imperial house nominally filled the throne until the year 1760, when the reigning emperor, Alum Shah, became a tributary of the English East India Company.

ENGLISH DOMINION IN INDIA.

The rise and progress of British domination in India affords a theme for the historian that it would be impossible to discuss satisfactorily within the limits proposed for this Introduction. We shall, however, glance at some of the more prominent features of this portion of Eastern history, for the purpose of connecting the periods and events to which reference have already been made, with the recent supremacy of a company of English merchants, over the vast empire it has acquired by progressive steps, and by the union of consummate ability with indomitable perseverance and resistless valour.

In the reign of Henry VIII., one Robert Thorne, an opulent merchant of Bristol, who had become acquainted with some of the advantages obtained by the Portuguese through their intercourse with India, memorialised the king upon the subject, and obtained permission to fit out two vessels for the purposes of discovery and traffic: the king also furnished other two vessels on his own account, to accompany the expedition, which sailed from this country in 1527; but the result did not meet the expectations of the projectors—one of the king's vessels being lost, and the other three returning without having effected anything. Other attempts were made, during the reigns of Edward VI., Mary, and Elizabeth, to discover a north-west passage to the Indies; but they also ended

in disappointment, until, in 1591, one vessel out of three dispatched by some London merchants, reached the island of Sumatra. In 1596, another expedition, which produced no advantageous result, was sent out; but the merchants of England, stimulated by the successes of those of the United Provinces, were not to be deterred by these repeated failures, and, on the 22nd of September, 1599, the Lord Mayor presided at a meeting of the merchants at Founders' Hall, and a company was formed for the purpose of opening and carrying on trade with India. Under the first charter granted, the company was formed into a corporation for fifteen years, under the title of "The Governor and Company of the Merchants of London, trading to the East Indies;" and the capital subscribed for the purpose amounted to £30,000, divided into 101 shares. The public did not at first look favourably upon the project, and some difficulty arose in getting the shareholders to pay their subscriptions. Ultimately another effort was made, under more auspicious circumstances, and a second association of adventurers came forward with funds to the amount of £88,773, with which they joined the original projectors; and, with the united capital, five ships were speedily fitted out, and placed under the command of Captain James Lancaster, who sailed from Torbay on the 22nd of April, 1601, with (as it afterwards proved) the foundations of a mighty empire in his charge. The little fleet, after surmounting the perils of the almost unknown seas, reached Acheen (a port in the island of Sumatra) on the 5th of June, 1602, having occupied nearly fourteen months on the voyage out. The sovereign of Acheen gave his stranger-guests a cordial reception, with permission to erect a building for a factory, or store, and to make exports and imports free of duty. Captain Lancaster completed his homeward cargo at Bantam, in Java, where he also obtained leave to establish a factory, which, in point of date, was the first actual possession of the English in the East Indies. The ships under his guidance reached home in safety; and the result of the voyage having been eminently favourable to the adventurers, other ships were dispatched, and were productive of the like auspicious results. The hostile interference of the Portuguese and Dutch traders who had long preceded those of England in the intercourse with India, was the only drawback upon the rising prosperity of the English Company, whose profits, during the last twelve years of the term granted to it by the original charter, reached 138 per cent.

In 1609, the united Company obtained a second charter from James I., which confirmed their privileges, and granted the exclusive liberty of trading to the East Indies, to the governor and members for ever, instead of for fifteen years, as in the first instance. Three years after this the Company obtained permission to build a factory at Surat, in the Gulf of Cambay, under a treaty entered into with the governor of Ahmedabad, which was confirmed in 1613. This factory was the first possession of the East India Company on the peninsula of Hindostan; and it became the chief seat of its government in India for many years. In 1615, James I. dispatched an ambassador (Sir Thomas Roe) to the Mogul Jehanghir, for the purpose of negotiating a commercial treaty with that potentate. The ambassador was received courteously; and, at the expiration of two years from his arrival, returned to England, having accomplished the main objects of his mission. In 1617, the capital of the Company was augmented by a new subscription, amounting to £1,629,040; in raising which all classes of the people eagerly joined. The massacre of some individuals composing the English factory at Amboyna, by the Dutch, in 1622, and the virulent hostility of the Portuguese settlers, with the newly-awakened rivalry of

a French company of merchant adventurers, in some degree for a time impeded the prosperity of the Company; but it nevertheless continued to flourish, and gradually acquired a footing and importance in the land. In 1624, the East India Company assumed, and, for the first time, exercised the functions of an independent government, under a grant from the king, of authority to govern its several establishments by civil or military law, at its discretion. In 1634, the Shah Jehan granted permission to the Company to trade with Bengal; and, five years afterwards, a tract of land on the Coromandel coast, extending five miles along the shore, and one mile up the country, was obtained from the Hindoo authorities at Chandergherry. Upon this piece of ground a fort was afterwards erected, and designated Fort St. George, which soon became the nucleus of a densely inhabited district, and formed the cradle of the present magnificent city of Madras, which, in 1653, became the capital of the presidency called by its name. In 1652, the Company obtained a large accession to the advantages and privileges already possessed, through the good feeling of the Emperor Shah Jehan, and the disinterested conduct of Mr. Gabriel Boughton, a physician in its service, who, having restored the daughter of the Shah to health, requested the only recompense for his skill might be—leave for his employers to trade throughout the dominions of the emperor, exempt from all duties or taxes; and also to be allowed to build and establish factories at their discretion. Soon after this event a settlement was made, by permission of the emperor, at Hooghly, on the Ganges, about twenty-three miles above Calcutta, which was then considered subordinate to the government of Surat. In 1698, that government was removed to Calcutta; a factory was established; and a fort—named, in compliment to the English sovereign then upon the throne, "Fort William"—was built for its defence. A few years subsequently (1709), the seat of the chief government of the East India Company was transferred from Surat to Calcutta, "the City of Palaces," where it has since remained.

The island of Bombay, upon which the town of that name has been built by the English, had been granted by the Mogul government to the Portuguese in 1630, and was transferred by them to the English crown in 1662, as part of the dowry of the Infanta Catherine upon her marriage with Charles II.; who, in 1668, sold it to the Company in perpetuity. Sixteen years afterwards Bombay was declared an independent settlement; and in 1687 it was made the capital of a presidency, and the government was removed from Surat. The first governor of Bombay, Sir John Child, by bad government and treacherous policy, involved the Company in a short war with the Emperor Aurungzebe, and embarrassed its affairs to such an extent, that the dividends of the Company had to be reduced; and the difficulties could only be surmounted by the formation of a new association, which, after a great deal of contention, was grafted upon the original stock; and a charter, incorporating the two, was granted in 1702. By this act, the management of the affairs of the Company was placed in the hands of proprietors of a certain amount of stock, who chose from among themselves the Executive Directory. The now important business of the Company was arranged under various heads of departmental authority; and the three presidencies were severally governed by a president, assisted by a council—each being independent of the other; but all subject to the control of the supreme authority in England.

In 1711, Madras—which, of all the Company's possessions, appeared then to be the most important as a commercial and populous city—is described by a local historian as

"a port of the greatest consequence to the East India Company, for its strength, wealth, and the great returns made yearly in calicoes and muslin." The same writer states, that it was "divided into two cities—the English city and the Black city; both being strongly fortified with plenty of guns and much ammunition, which rendered it a bugbear to the Moors, and a sanctuary to the fortunate people living in it, whose singular decorum is highly praised."

At the commencement of the eighteenth century, the Mogul empire had already been materially reduced from its limits, when at the zenith of its prosperity, by the disjunction of many of its most valuable provinces. Cabul, Sinde and Moultan, Cashmere, the Punjab, Malwa, and Oude, had each asserted their independence, and were governed by their own chiefs. Bengal, Behar, and Orissa were united under one ruler, Ali Verdi Khan; and the six provinces of the Deccan—an extensive tract of country between Hindostan proper and the peninsula—were subject to the rule of the Nizam Ool-Moolk. The Rohillas had asserted their right to self-government in Rohilcund; and the Mahrattas, who by their restlessness and hostile incursions among the states around, kept the whole of them in an insecure position, were busily planting themselves for a permanency wherever they could find ground for an encampment. The native powers were thus enfeebled by divisions and disruptions among themselves, when the struggle commenced between the two greatest European monarchies, that ultimately gave to England not only the victory over her Gallic rival, but also over the whole Hindoo and Moslem races of the Indian peninsula, the Mogul empire, and all the minor states that had once acknowledged its supremacy. At this time, however, it would seem that the mere acquisition of territory was not an object of solicitude on the part of the Company, as, in the instructions forwarded from London to the three presidencies, in 1716, it was said, "as our business is trade, it is not politic for us to be encumbered with much territory." And again, in 1721, some five years subsequent, the Court of Directors wrote to the president and council of Bengal—"Remember, we are not fond of much territory!" It would be indecent to doubt the sincerity of the honourable Company in this respect at the period referred to; but the fact supplies a melancholy instance of the contradictions and mortifications that afflict self-denying humility; while the history of the involuntary aggrandisement of the Company illustrates the idea of the poet—"Some men are born to honours; some have honours thrust upon them."

In the year 1773, the imperial legislature considered it expedient that the home government should have some right of interference with the management of the colossal possessions of the East India Company; and consequently an act was obtained placing the administration of the government of India in the hands of a governor-general, nominated by the crown, and approved by the Court of Directors. By this act, Calcutta was declared to be thenceforth the seat of government, and of the high courts of judicature; the two presidencies of Madras and Bombay being declared subordinate to that of Bengal. The first and only governor-general appointed by the crown under this act, was the celebrated Warren Hastings, whose successors have been nominated by the Board of Directors, subject to the approval of the government; and the absolute and irresponsible power of sovereignty over nearly one hundred millions of people was retained by the Court of Directors until the year 1784, when the "India Bill" of Mr. Pitt was passed, which gave to the crown a right of interference in the management of

an immense and powerful empire, acquired by a small portion of its subjects, and hitherto independent of its control or right of interference. By this measure, the Board of Control for the affairs of India was established, and through it the government of the sovereign is exercised. Although the Company was deprived of its monopoly of the trade with India in 1833, and in 1853 the constitution of the Court of Directors was materially altered, the act of 1784 still forms the basis of the actual constitution of British India, and is the source of the existing powers by which the affairs of that rich, populous, and extensive empire are directed.

The appointment of the governor-general is now virtually in the hands of the minister for the time being; for although by the act of 1774 the assent of the Court of Directors is necessary to render the appointment valid, that assent is never refused to a nominee of the crown. In 1844, the Company, by an unprecedented act, asserted its right to interfere in this important appointment, by recalling Lord Ellenborough from his post, not only without the sanction or concurrence of the government, but even in direct opposition to its expressed wish that his lordship should continue to execute the high functions of his office.

The supreme court of justice in British India was established by the act of 1774, and consists of one chief and three puisne judges. Its seat is at Calcutta, and its civil and criminal jurisdiction extends over all British subjects, as well as over all other persons in the employ of the Company. Courts of justice are also established in each of the other presidencies; and tribunals for the administration of the Hindoo laws are scattered over the country.

The members of the civil service in the employ of the Company are divided into two classes—the *Covenanted* and *Uncovenanted;* the first-mentioned being the highest in rank; its members being trained for their employment under the immediate supervision of the Company in England, and are appointed, according to their efficiency, by the Court of Directors. The uncovenanted servants of the Company in India are principally natives and half-castes—a mixture of the native and European populations.

For facilitating the administration of justice, and the collection of revenues, &c., British India has been divided into 160 judicial districts, each comprising, upon an average, 4,000 square miles, and 700,000 inhabitants. In each district, there are ten or twelve revenue divisions; and the number of civil servants, of each class, in the employ of the Company, including the police establishment, ranges from 130,000 to 150,000 persons. By an act of the legislature, the service of the Company is now open to all classes among the subjects of the crown of England, who can show their competency for appointment.

The declaration of war by Louis XV., in 1744, aroused the energies of this country, and gave rise to hostile movements in India, as well as in Europe, that continued for nearly half a century, and eventuated in the signal triumph of the British nation over its antagonists in every quarter of the globe.

The military power of the Company since 1654-'5, when from economical motives the garrison of Madras was reduced by order of the Board of Directors to ten soldiers only, has been progressively augmented, until, at the commencement of 1857, it had attained the enormous aggregate of 350,000 men, of which 44,000 only were Europeans; the bulk being composed of sepoys and other native soldiers. The whole of this immense

body of troops has been drilled and led through successive fields of victory by English officers, and was considered to be in a high state of efficiency. The governor-general for the time being is the supreme head of this vast native army, which is also governed by a commander-in-chief, as in England.

In the rivalry that sprung up between France and England, in the early part of the eighteenth century, both kingdoms lavished unsparingly life and treasure, deeply injuring each other's resources, and grievously retarding their mutual growth in Christian civilisation and commercial prosperity. Spain, then a great colonial and naval power, sided with France, while England had to withstand their united force, and, at the same time, to bear up against the disturbances connected with the Hanoverian succession, and the long struggle which terminated in the independence of the United States. Sea and land witnessed the strife. In *North America*—at Quebec, Louisberg, and on the Mississippi; in the *West Indies*—at Martinique, Guadaloupe, and the Caribbee Islands; in *Africa*—at Goree and Senegal; in the *Mediterranean* and *Atlantic*—at Minorca and Belleisle; and on the *European continent*, prolonged hostilities were waged: while in India a contest commenced which lasted sixty years, the prize there fought for being nothing less than the establishment of a powerful European dominion in the very heart of Asia. It is not to be supposed that the trading societies who first gained a footing amid the confusion of falling dynasties and usurping chiefs, foresaw from the commencement of the conflict the marvellous results with which their operations were to be attended. None of the officers of the old-established English Company had any desire for the acquisition of sovereignty, nor had they the inducement which might have been afforded by an insight into the actual condition of India. The general indifference manifested by the servants of the various European companies towards the attainment of Asiatic languages, long tended to prevent their acquiring this knowledge, even when the course of events plainly demonstrated its importance. Moreover, the English and French associations were both poor, and extremely unwilling to enter upon a costly warfare, respecting the issue of which no reasonable conjecture could be formed. The representatives of the latter body became first inspired with an irrestrainable desire to take part in the strife and intrigue by which they were surrounded; and the connection which subsisted between the government and the French Company, enabled two great speculators to obtain, through the influence of the minister, a sanction for their daring adventures, which the partners of a purely mercantile association would, if they could, have withheld. Even had the two states in Europe continued at peace, it was next to impossible that their subjects in India should bear a share in the disputes of neighbouring princes without soon coming to open hostility with each other; but the national declarations of war brought matters to an immediate crisis.

The English were the first to receive reinforcements from home. A squadron of four vessels appeared off the coast of Coromandel, in July, 1745, having previously captured three richly-laden French vessels on their voyage from China. The garrison of Pondicherry contained only 436 Europeans, and the fortifications were incomplete. Dupleix, the governor, fearing that the place would be taken before he could obtain succour, made earnest representations to the nabob, Anwar-oo-deen, and succeeded in inducing him to interfere for the protection of Pondicherry, by threatening to revenge upon Madras any injury which should be inflicted upon French possessions within the

limits of his government. At the same time, the nabob declared his intention of compelling the French, in the event of their acquiring additional strength, to abstain equally from offensive proceedings. Mogul power had not yet lost its *prestige*: that of England was still to be won; consequently the determined language of the nabob intimidated the Madras presidency, and induced them to prevent the fleet from attacking Pondicherry, and to confine their operations to the sea. In the June of the following year a French squadron arrived in the Indian Ocean, under the command of La Bourdonnais, who had equipped the ships with great difficulty at the Mauritius, and, when afterwards dismantled by a hurricane, had refitted them at Madagascar. An indecisive action took place between the rival fleets, after which the French commander proceeded to Pondicherry, and there requested a supply of cannon, wherewith to attack Madras; and having at length obtained a scanty reinforcement of guns, he set sail for Madras, against which place he commenced operations on the 3rd of September, 1746.

The fortifications of the city had been neglected, owing to the financial embarrassment of the East India Company. There was little ammunition in store, and the soldiers were few, and of a very indifferent description. The total number of Europeans in the settlement did not exceed 300, and of these about two-thirds were included in the garrison. As might be expected, no very determined resistance was offered. The town was bombarded for several days, and four or five of the inhabitants were killed by the explosion of shells, after which a capitulation was agreed upon, by virtue of which the assailants entered Madras as victors, without the loss of a single man, but on the express condition that the settlement should be restored on easy and honourable terms. Among the persons included in the capitulation of the city was Robert Clive, then a writer, or civil servant, in the Company's service, who some years subsequently exchanged the pen for the sword, and, at the head of the Company's armies, carved out an empire for his masters, and, for himself, a colossal fortune and a title.

This extraordinary man appeared on the scene as the avenger of an unparalleled atrocity, and as the founder of the British empire in the East. In the year 1756, a vicious and despotic youth, named Surajah Dowlah, ascended the viceregal throne. Entertaining an implacable hatred against England and the English, he invested and captured Calcutta, chiefly with a view to obtain the wealth he believed the merchants to have accumulated. The governor and military commandant fled; and when the fort was captured, the Englishmen taken prisoners amounted only to 146. The nabob consented to spare their lives; and after complaining of the smallness of the treasure he had found, retired to rest.

"Then," to quote the unrivalled description of Macaulay—"then was committed that great crime, memorable for the tremendous retribution by which it was followed. The English captives were left to the mercy of the guards, and the guards determined to secure them for the night in the prison of the garrison, a chamber known by the fearful name of the 'Black Hole.' Even for a single European malefactor, that dungeon would, in such a climate, have been too close and narrow. The space was only twenty feet square. The air-holes were small and obstructed. It was the summer solstice, the season when the fierce heat of Bengal can scarcely be rendered tolerable to natives of England by lofty halls and by the constant waving of fans. The number of the prisoners was 146. When they were ordered to enter the cell, they imagined that the soldiers

were joking; and, being in high spirits on account of the promise of the nabob to spare their lives, they laughed and jested at the absurdity of the notion. They soon discovered their mistake. They expostulated; they entreated; but in vain. The guards threatened to cut down all who hesitated. The captives were driven into the cell at the point of the sword, and the door was instantly shut and locked upon them. Nothing in history or fiction, not even the story which Ugolino told in the sea of everlasting ice, after he had wiped his bloody lips on the scalp of his murderer, approaches the horrors which were recounted by the few survivors of that night. They cried for mercy. They strove to burst the door. Holwell, who even in that extremity retained some presence of mind, offered large bribes to the gaolers. But the answer was, that nothing could be done without the nabob's orders—that the nabob was asleep, and that he would be angry if any one awoke him. Then the prisoners went mad with despair. They trampled each other down, fought for the places at the windows, fought for the pittance of water with which the cruel mercy of the murderers mocked their agonies—raved, prayed, blasphemed, implored the guards to fire among them. The gaolers in the mean-time held lights to the bars, and shouted with laughter at the frantic struggles of their victims. At length the tumult died away in low gaspings and moanings. The day broke. The nabob had slept off his debauch, and permitted the door to be opened. But it was some time before the soldiers could make a lane for the survivors by piling up on each side the heaps of corpses on which the burning climate had already begun to do its loathsome work. When at length a passage was made, twenty-three ghastly figures, such as their own mothers would not have known, staggered one by one out of the charnel-house. A pit was instantly dug. The dead bodies, 123 in number, were flung into it promiscuously, and covered up."

The horror and excitement of the English at Madras (which had again reverted to their possession), on hearing the news of this terrible deed of wanton tyranny, was intense, and they sent a military and naval force, under Colonel Clive and Admiral Watson, to attempt to punish the nabob, and save the British settlement at Bengal. They had selected the right man to avenge the fate of his unhappy countrymen, and to teach the dusky and capricious tyrants of the East that English blood could not be unjustly shed without the exaction of a terrible retribution. The bravery of Clive (who had won from the natives the name of Sabat Jung, "the daring in war"), and, probably, his treachery also, enabled him to succeed beyond the most sanguine expectations. Triumph followed triumph; and at the memorable battle of Plassy, Clive, at the head of 3,000 men, of whom less than one-third were British, in one hour completely routed an army of 55,000 men, led by Surajah Dowlah. The young savage was deposed, and Meer Jaffier, his vizier, was rewarded for treachery to his late master by the vacant throne. This irresolute and feeble-minded man being raised to the supreme power in Bengal by the English, became little more than their instrument. In reality, they governed in his name. Surajah Dowlah, who had fled on his swiftest elephant from the field of battle, was discovered some nights afterwards, in a famishing condition, in a deserted garden. Some women who had accompanied him were endeavouring to prepare a dish of rice and pulse, when they were discovered and betrayed by a man whose ears the despot had caused to be cut off about a twelvemonth before. Meeran, the son of Meer Jaffier, confined the tyrant in a chamber, where he was shortly after murdered.

The directors of the East India Company, on receiving news of Colonel Clive's success, appointed him governor of their possessions in Bengal, and Meer Jaffier came to regard him with slavish awe and as an instrument of destiny. Shah Alum, the eldest son of the Great Mogul (for that potentate yet retained a shadow of power), collected an army of 40,000 men, with the design of overthrowing Meer Jaffier and expelling the English. It was in vain; the genius of Clive was in the ascendant, and this army melted away at the mere terror of his name. After defeating an attempt, on the part of the Dutch, to wrest from the English their ascendancy in India, Clive returned in 1760, with an income of £40,000 a-year, to England, where he was received with honours, and raised to the peerage. Great confusion arose in Bengal during his absence; and at the solicitation of the Company, Clive (then Lord Clive) sailed again to the shores of India, and reached Calcutta in May, 1765. Such had been the corrupt conduct of the Company's servants, and the misery they had brought upon the natives, that on his arrival he exclaimed, "I could not avoid paying the tribute of a few tears to the departed and lost fame of the British nation—irrevocably so, I fear. However, I do declare, by that Being who is the searcher of all hearts, and to whom we must be accountable if there be a hereafter, that I am come out with a mind superior to all corruption, and that I am determined to destroy these great and growing evils, or perish in the attempt." His commanding will destroyed oppression, preserved peace, and still further extended the British power. When, after a stay of eighteen months, he returned for the last time to England, he left the representatives of the Company the actual rulers of Bengal, Orissa, and Bahan. The right to collect the revenues of these districts was purchased from the feeble Mogul; and the son of Meer Jaffier, thus deprived of a power he was unable to wield, was consoled with a pension. On his return to England, Lord Clive experienced the ingratitude of a nation that had once covered him with honours: he sunk into a desponding state, and, in his forty-ninth year, terminated his existence by suicide.

We may not here pause to trace the career of Warren Hastings, who rose from a clerkship at Calcutta to be the first governor-general of India. Endowed with a large mind and a cold heart, calm, scheming, and unscrupulous, this extraordinary man preserved and extended the dominion Clive had won. The kingdom of Mysore, an extensive tract of Southern India, whose lofty table-lands, swept by the cooling breezes of the Indian Ocean, bred a more hardy and manly race than the lower plains of Hindostan, was governed by an able Mohammedan adventurer, named Hyder Ali. This man, originally only a common soldier, and so illiterate as to be unable either to read or write, impelled by a daring ambition, and sustained by great capacity, seized the kingdom of Mysore, and seated himself upon the throne of Seringapatam. War arose between Hyder Ali and the English presidency of Madras, and the latter found him the most formidable enemy with whom they had to contend in effecting the conquest of India. In the month of June, 1780, he led an army of 20,000 regular infantry and 70,000 horsemen into the Carnatic, and gave towns and villages, in every direction, to the flames. The wretched inhabitants were slaughtered, without respect to sex or age, and thousands who escaped the sword perished by famine, or were driven away before the goading spears of their captors, to be sold as slaves. Hyder interposed his living torrents between the two small English armies commanded by Colonel Baillie and by Sir Hector Monro, and then overwhelmed

the former with numbers, and compelled the latter to retreat. Bodies of the wild Mysorean horse dashed up almost to the gates of Madras, and the British empire in Southern India trembled on the verge of ruin.

The news speedily reached Calcutta, and the emergency brought the great genius of Warren Hastings into action. It has been truly observed that it is invariably in a crisis of this kind that the really great acquire an ascendancy. The timid shrink from responsibility, the multitude clamour for submission, but the brave and intrepid stand forth as the deserving leaders of mankind. He dispatched the brave veteran, Sir Eyre Coote, with a small force to the assistance of his countrymen; and superseding the incapable council of Madras, took upon himself the supreme direction of affairs. The ability and wisdom of his master-mind soon made itself apparent. The progress of Hyder Ali was checked; siege after siege was raised; and at length the forces of the Mohammedan chieftain were, after a struggle of six hours' duration, driven in wild, disorderly flight from the battle-field of Cuddalore. Hyder Ali died in December, 1782, at the advanced age of eighty-two, bequeathing to his son, Tippoo Saib, his kingdom and his hatred to the English.

In consequence of the severe censures cast upon his conduct in England, Mr. Hastings resigned his office as governor-general, and returned to England early in 1785. He was impeached by the House of Commons, and then followed that extraordinary trial, lasting 130 days, and extending over a period of seven years, which will ever be famous as one of the most remarkable judicial inquiries on record. Political motives, of an exceptionable character, on the part of the ministers, favoured the promoters of the trial; and after many tedious preliminaries, Warren Hastings appeared at the bar of the House of Lords, and knelt before the tribunal of his country, in presence of one of the most remarkable assemblages ever convened in the great hall of William Rufus. Of the brilliant aristocracies of rank, talent, wealth, and beauty, of which England then boasted, few members were absent. The queen and princesses had come to witness the impeachment of a subject known to have enjoyed no ordinary share of royal favour, and to listen to the charges urged against him by the thrilling eloquence of Burke, the solid reasoning of Fox, and the exciting declamation of Sheridan. The trial commenced with a strong feeling on the part of the public against the accused; but it dragged on, like most state proceedings, until people ceased to care how it ended. At length, after seven years spent in law proceedings of a most tedious character, the wrongs inflicted in a distant clime, and at a distant period, became almost a matter of indifference: a sort of sympathy, such as is often felt for acknowledged criminals, took the place of lively indignation; and when the inquiry ended in the acquittal of Hastings, he was generally believed to have been sufficiently punished by the insuperable obstacles which his peculiar position had imposed to prevent his selection for any public office, and by the ruinous condition to which his finances had been reduced by the costly expenses, legitimate and illegitimate, of the painful ordeal through which he had passed. The law charges alone exceeded £76,000: so that Hastings, when finally dismissed, turned from the bar of the House of Lords an absolute pauper—worse than that—an insolvent debtor. The Company came to his relief with an annuity of £4,000 a-year, and a loan of £50,000, nearly half of which was converted into a gift; and they continued to aid him at intervals, in his ever-recurring difficulties, up to the period of his death, in 1818, aged eighty-six.

Lord Cornwallis succeeded to the rank of governor-general of India and commander-in-chief, in 1786, and the affairs of that vast Eastern peninsula were subjected to a department of the English government called the Board of Control. Cornwallis was directed to act in a pacific manner, but still soon found himself involved in a war with Tippoo Saib, who was intriguing with other native powers for the subversion of the English dominion. Tippoo was the aggressor; but he was defeated, and compelled to purchase peace with half his kingdom; to pay £3,500,000 as the expenses of the war; and to surrender his two sons as hostages. On the return of Lord Cornwallis to England, he, who had been sent out in the interests of peace, had added 24,000 square miles to its Eastern dominions.

Lord Cornwallis was succeeded as governor-general by Sir John Shore, afterwards Lord Teignmouth, a man whose abilities were respectable rather than great, and who also was partly chosen on account of his pacific disposition. During his four years' rule the scourge of war was rather delayed than averted. The English in India were to experience the truth of the observation of a French writer, that "in the light of precaution, all conquest must be ineffectual unless it could be universal; since the increasing circle must be involved in a larger sphere of hostility." They had no alternative but to go on conquering until their dominions were bounded by the snowy heights of the Himalayas, and the dark rolling waters of the Indus.

The Earl of Mornington (afterwards Marquis Wellesley) was the next governor-general of India, and arrived at Madras in April, 1798. His attention was soon called to the intrigues of Tippoo Saib, who was negotiating with the French for the expulsion of the English from India, and for the assistance of a European force to aid in the accomplishment of that design. The elder brother of the "Iron Duke," the latter then a young and undistinguished soldier, was also a man of commanding talent. The illustrious and world-wide reputation since acquired by the younger brother, has thrown that of the elder one somewhat into the shade. When the latter entered on active life, his talents for business soon introduced him to the notice of government; but his predilection was so strongly evinced from the first for Oriental affairs, that nature appeared to have expressly formed him for the command of the East. At an age when most of his contemporaries were acquainted with the affairs of India only through the uncertain medium of distant report, or the casual hints of private conversation, he was fully master of the politics of Hindostan, and had already formed those clear and luminous views of the condition and situation of our power there which enabled him, from the very outset of his career, to guide with so steady a hand the complicated mazes of Indian diplomacy. He had for several years been an active member of the Board of Control, then under the able direction of Lord Melville, and had acquired, from his remarkable proficiency in the subject, a large share in the confidence of government.

The duplicity of Tippoo Saib was met by a declaration of war; and on the 5th of March, 1798, the British force, under General Harris, together with that of an allied native power, entered the Mysore territory and pressed forward upon its capital, Seringapatam. The storming of that famous city, the death of Sultan Tippoo, the overthrow of his dynasty, and the annexation of the territory of Mysore to the British dominions, demands a more lengthened notice than the limits of an Introduction will afford.

The new possessions of the British brought them into contact with a new enemy, the

Mahrattas, a powerful confederacy of northern native chieftains, of warlike and predatory habits, and who, when united, could bring no less than 200,000 horsemen into the field. These fierce tribes, but for their constant feuds with each other, would no doubt have subdued the whole of India, and founded a Mahratta dynasty. The most renowned of them were the rajahs of Berar, Scindia and Holkar, each of whose standards were followed by nearly 60,000 horsemen. The head of their confederation was styled the Peishwa, who, though his authority was little more than nominal, yet from his seat of government at Poonah, professed to execute treaties and issue orders binding on the whole allied states. That these wild and fierce warriors should view the approaches of the conquering strangers with feelings of alarm and bitterness, is not calculated to excite surprise. A more extensive war than had hitherto existed was commenced on the 4th of September, 1803; the fort of Allyghur was taken by storm, and the British colours planted on its walls. On the 11th of the same month, General Lake defeated 20,000 of the enemy, commanded by French officers, at the battle of Delhi, and captured that famous city, the ancient capital of Hindostan, and seat of the Mogul emperors. Further successes followed at Agra, at Ahmednuggur, at the noble city of Aurungabad; and at length the united powers of Scindia and the Rajah of Berar, numbering 50,000 men, and supported by above a hundred pieces of cannon, were attacked and overthrown at Assaye, by Wellesley, with a force not exceeding 8,000 men, of whom not more than 1,500 were British troops. The Mahratta power thus shaken at Assaye, was completely humbled on the plains of Argaum. A few fortresses stood out for a while, but they fell before the warlike genius of General Wellesley, and Scindia and the Rajah of Berar were compelled to sue for peace. This was granted them at the price of an enormous territory; and the influence of the British was rendered paramount through the whole north of Hindostan. With this ended General Wellesley's career in India; and he returned to England in the March of 1805, to win still brighter laurels from more noble foes.

Passing from the crimsoned records of these mighty triumphs of the sword, there is much we may refer to, in the history of British domination in India, at which humanity rejoices, and which reason and Christianity recognise as their own work. The abolition of the cruel and soul-destroying rites of *Suttee*, by which women of all ages, in a state of widowhood, were compulsorily subjected to immolation upon the funereal pile of a deceased husband, was abolished. A restraint was put upon the fierce and absurd tortures to which ignorance and fanaticism had condemned the benighted inhabitants of India, when seeking to propitiate their gods; and the sanguinary and merciless sacrifices of human life that characterised the festivals of the demon idol Juggernauth, were prohibited. The unnatural practice of infanticide was repressed by the operation of a protective law, and a value was attached to human life that it never had possessed through the successive ages of native rule. The horrible practices of Thuggee were revealed, and the perpetrators of crime for crime's sake, were brought under the restraining and reforming influences of laws that were equally able to protect and to punish. Great as have been the triumphs of war upon the soil of Hindostan, those of peace, since its vast territory has owned the rule of Britain, may justly vie with them for the enduring nature of their benefits, and the humanising tendency of their influence over the impulsive and unreflecting races that inhabit it.

It is time to close our Introductory chapter, and we will not now stay to recapitulate

the contents of those dark pages of Anglo-Indian history, on which are inscribed the memories of blood-stained aggressions, the triumphs of systematic treachery, and the renown of those hard-won battle-fields, by means of which, severally and collectively, the territorial acquisitions of an association of the merchant princes of England have, between the days of Plassy and the middle of the nineteenth century, been extended to dimensions far exceeding those of the mightiest of the kingdoms of Europe, and have contributed to their treasury, wealth beyond calculation, and to their government, power without limit. Neither is it requisite we should stay to scrutinise in its details the morality of that successful diplomacy by which the gigantic power has been consolidated, or the influences by which, until within a few months past, the mental and physical energies of two hundred millions of people have been held in subjection to the rule of a government established many thousand miles away from them, and separated by vast oceans from the numerically feeble band of Europeans, by whose instrumentality the imperial policy of the "Governor and Company of Merchants trading to the East Indies," has been hitherto successfully carried out. It may suffice for the present purpose, to have briefly traced the more important steps by which India has progressively and continuously descended from a state of haughty independence and imperial splendour, until it has fallen to the position of a mere dependency upon an Island Empire, not equal in geographical extent to many of the kingdoms included within its own boundaries, and whose whole population amounts, in numbers, to less than one-sixth of the living inhabitants of its tributarv empire.

TABLE OF DISTANCES BETWEEN DIFFERENT

To find the Distance between two places, such as Bombay and Poonah, look along the column parallel to the word in the intersection show

	Ahmedabad	Ahmednuggur	Ajmere	Allahabad	Arcot	Aurungabad	Bahar	Ballary	Bangalore	Bareilly	Benares	Bhooj	Bombay	Calcutta	Cawnpoor
Agra	460	660	200	296	1205	625	579	1019	1207	125	379	705	848	839	185
Ahmedabad		388	280	625	850	320	800	640	921	600	680	245	321	1234	600
Ahmednuggur			610	735	602	66	1047	340	530	875	700	627	181	1038	640
Ajmere				564	1214	545	787	978	1161	335	587	400	650	1085	395
Allahabad					1110	635	279	975	1096	283	80	805	977	498	143
Arcot						649	1392	262	135	1312	1180	1198	722	1850	1165
Aurungabad							960	428	616	782	704	596	260	963	638
Bahar								1267	1455	509	196	1121	1236	297	400
Ballary									176	1110	1045	977	455	1090	1030
Bangalore										1324	1162	1141	632	1161	1147
Bareilly											345	830	1036	910	177
Benares												875	950	428	226
Bhooj													556	1415	749
Bombay														1301	939
Calcutta															700

	Chittledroog	Cochin	Cuddapah	Dharwar	Dacca	Deesa	Delhi	Dinajepoor	Ellore	Etawah	Furruckabad	Ganjam	Goa	Gooty	Hansi	Hydrabad
Agra	1104	1473	1060	980	984	400	120	794	836	70	98	760	1046	1052	200	830
Ahmedabad	740	1183	886	681	1304	104	570	1085	903	500	550	840	678	798	490	610
Ahmednuggur	400	683	440	270	321	523	965	1000	379	640	690	670	250	350	810	280
Ajmere	1058	1407	1056	870	1194	220	220	997	930	260	304	953	995	977	210	816
Allahabad	1060	1391	965	905	690	610	429	493	934	190	238	510	1036	1099	509	785
Arcot	273	390	145	360	1227	1125	1329	1252	323	1116	1230	685	530	209	1409	375
Aurungabad	513	882	512	412	1275	492	749	1210	523	610	700	630	423	440	750	315
Bahar	1352	1673	1247	1237	407	889	703	230	1115	502	467	430	1312	1201	549	1017
Ballary	85	454	149	130	1192	863	1143	1288	335	1000	1079	450	240	53	1118	240
Bangalore	138	317	155	260	1327	1011	1331	1352	423	1107	1242	753	396	176	1252	361
Bareilly	1195	1622	1135	1105	904	525	142	737	1175	120	82	830	1215	1151	322	967
Benares	1130	1461	1035	995	559	690	503	410	873	270	321	460	1100	989	589	745
Bhooj	985	1510	1109	888	1639	219	669	1748	1148	699	747	1085	923	1043	600	855
Bombay	494	780	609	364	1475	452	880	1400	779	710	956	851	292	487	790	480
Calcutta	1173	1498	997	1172	177	1226	976	233	719	768	...	369	1300	1017	1049	902
Cawnpoor	1115	1446	1020	980	833	530	309	636	655	80	95	653	975	974	389	790
Chittledroog		397	190	130	1348	923	1228	1373	444	490	1164	784	257	20	1268	325
Cochin			472	442	1673	1306	1597	1698	769	1396	1541	1070	467	472	1632	656
Cuddapah				279	1172	1005	1184	1197	268	970	1085	608	389	96	1171	220
Dharwar					1344	684	1105	1260	420	1022	1112	720	80	173	1080	265
Dacca						1140	1108	190	904	829	880	546	1505	1192	1148	1112
Deesa							450	1106	810	450	500	870	730	873	430	630
Delhi								911	960	175	185	880	1172	1125	80	900
Dinajepoor									919	691	692	544	1620	1217	991	1137
Ellore										808	923	340	601	288	1040	208
Etawah											55	660	1033	924	210	740
Furruckabad												748	1134	1069	265	885
Ganjam													843	590	960	450
Goa														293	1055	393
Gooty															1020	187
Hansi																880
Hydrabad																
Islamabad																

DISTANCES FROM CALCUTTA.

Adoni	1030
Allyghur	803
Almora	910
Anjengo	1677
Arracan	557
Azimghur	448
Backergunge	125
Balasore	116
Bancoorah	101
Banda	560
Barrackpoor	16
Beder	980
Bednore	1290
Beerbhoom	127
Beitool	677
Bijnour	800
Broach	1226
Bhaugulpoor	268
Bhopal	790
Burdwan	74
Buxar	356
Cabool	1815
Calingapatam	460
Calpee	648
Cambay	1253
Candahar	2047
Cashmere	1564
Chunar	437

Distances from Calcutta (contd.)

Comorin Cape	1770
Catmandoo	560
Dinapoor	411
Ellichpoor	700
Ferozpoor	1181
Futtyghur	703
Ghazeepoor	431
Golconda	907
Guntoor	867
Gwalior	772
Hoosungabad	924
Indore	1030
Jeypoor	850
Lahore	1356
Lassa	850
Midnapoor	69
Mirzapoor	448
Monghyr	304
Moorshedabad	124
Muttra	831
Mysoor	1246
Oude	562
Purneah	283
Sironj	849
Sumbulpoor	309
Tattah	1602
Vellore	1029

DISTANCES FROM MADRAS.

Adoni	270
Arnee	74
Azimghur	1220
Backergunge	1246
Balasore	922
Bandah	1102
Beder	470
Bednore	360
Belgaum	519
Bimlipatam	518
Broach	947
Burdwan	1066
Cabool	2134
Calicut	335
Cannanore	345
Cashmere	1882
Chinglepnt	36
Chunar	1146
Comorin Cape	440
Condapilly	285
Conjeveram	42
Cuddalore	100
Dindigul	247
Dowlutabad	655
Ellichpoor	600
Golconda	358
Guntoor	225
Gwalior	1164
Indore	975
Juggurnauth	595
Kamptee	722
Kurnool	269
Lahore	1675
Moorshedabad	1138

Distances from Madras (contd.)

Naggery	57
Neermull	533
Negapatam	160
Nundidroog	196
Oojein	1009
Oude	1228
Paniput	1428
Ponany	404
Pubna	1211
Pulicat	22
Quilon	385
Raichoor	349
Ramnad	275
Rhotuk	1422
Rungpoor	1322
Ruttunpoor	908
Suharunpoor	1477
Sadras	42
Secunderabad	398
Sherghotty	1258
Shahabad	1367
Tattah	1467
Sironj	905
Tinnevelly	350
Trivandrum	395
Tranquebar	147
Tuticorin	325
Vencatagherry	132
Warangul	414
Yelwall	293

LACES IN BRITISH INDIA.—(BRITISH MILES.)

Bombay until it intersects the vertical column immediately over the termination of the word Poonah. The figures the number of Miles.

	1124	628	300	916	480	156	777	202	1158	1469	1288	961	538	210	1305	454	1372	796	918	1318	920	856	250	160	1215	994	778	380	680	1400	1279	1406	1173	960	898
	1514	340	685	1145	24	480	1032	640	1049	1177	896	820	440	280	1021	820	1101	413	770	1061	860	478	400	615	941	1285	571	675	158	1161	995	1131	840	648	880
	1350	90	785	1060	384	540	853	660	613	720	503	479	360	605	580	995	682	76	520	610	550	120	440	750	500	1180	129	690	262	700	698	680	597	260	580
	1270	550	480	1037	290	310	960	445	1152	1421	1242	975	553	20	1265	747	1297	730	903	1261	910	790	305	364	1185	1197	710	580	455	1403	1150	1331	1214	920	923
	804	570	50	620	625	140	484	127	1055	1375	1244	979	405	430	1226	243	1167	788	650	1175	652	856	220	180	1149	760	735	70	765	1314	1239	1245	1075	935	933
	1310	601	1160	1218	986	1025	798	1215	73	265	360	305	705	1134	210	1340	81	636	383	120	413	542	915	1235	210	1395	462	1170	870	165	290	170	9	458	503
	1272	85	685	1033	353	510	774	688	689	824	697	533	293	460	720	864	739	144	470	716	490	209	380	725	640	1347	174	694	231	858	610	828	639	349	550
	547	947	190	270	840	400	455	353	1237	1657	1536	1160	717	709	1508	40	1326	1138	640	1150	630	1147	440	360	1431	410	1057	170	1060	1444	1527	1566	1390	1077	600
	1338	360	915	1210	698	890	834	1080	317	396	269	345	460	830	292	1205	343	357	370	288	400	265	770	1050	212	1413	200	1035	640	430	260	353	220	230	480
	1392	543	1146	1263	914	1011	898	1197	208	262	198	378	687	1066	130	1382	170	534	473	100	503	463	891	1181	65	1477	388	1152	809	209	160	165	110	360	522
	1059	753	270	772	605	210	940	156	1297	1577	1345	1185	575	335	1458	472	1386	940	970	1316	935	981	330	85	1381	927	810	321	842	1516	1328	1409	1235	1020	1216
	699	705	40	420	685	220	430	189	1103	1445	1314	748	475	510	1296	155	1286	930	660	1155	600	915	280	234	1170	600	815	10	905	1384	1305	1286	1180	1035	570
	1701	585	855	1349	234	669	1277	779	1167	1281	1116	1098	685	410	1125	1044	1279	620	1065	1306	1105	685	645	865	1186	1475	778	865	365	1383	1196	1306	1188	820	1125
	1531	220	1037	1312	313	660	1034	923	774	862	518	686	552	560	699	1143	805	98	705	736	740	146	555	855	622	1605	258	1120	177	674	615	845	675	270	761
	250	952	500	214	1206	600	251	649	1030	1336	1313	764	722	1106	1268	340	1130	1208	665	1192	619	1282	806	694	1170	325	934	455	1238	1236	1312	1238	1029	1252	557
	925	570	160	763	540	88	627	40	1182	1430	1199	700	460	340	1281	220	1271	841	793	1200	820	789	220	82	1204	903	709	216	738	1369	1290	1383	1120	981	1076
	1423	415	1110	1383	784	975	919	1165	345	400	184	432	655	973	220	1290	354	396	494	228	524	310	850	1195	152	1498	260	1120	671	380	188	303	230	225	614
	1709	710	1441	1580	1165	1344	1244	1496	459	150	252	751	986	1370	110	1121	360	770	790	180	820	622	1224	1524	190	1794	555	1451	1045	316	140	180	290	482	900
	1233	430	1015	1108	730	880	743	1070	165	410	380	223	560	900	285	1195	226	507	318	205	348	414	750	1000	231	1308	300	1025	725	349	331	250	110	379	438
	1452	320	955	1368	645	658	948	920	446	496	190	478	520	875	340	1475	260	268	470	360	500	180	676	976	260	1492	196	985	523	502	270	485	340	100	580
	140	1241	599	110	1120	690	429	748	1211	1492	1488	931	1011	1069	1445	447	1319	1377	842	1202	812	1109	720	818	1403	130	1109	565	1413	1438	1495	1377	1225	1462	716
	1476	380	668	1130	110	450	1052	560	1129	1259	896	848	470	220	1103	845	1205	416	840	1044	1057	581	420	560	1023	1260	664	680	261	1134	954	1166	1120	611	880
	1202	748	415	896	500	270	882	280	1295	1594	1412	1109	662	230	1435	661	448	900	1022	1402	1022	958	370	210	1355	1103	898	505	675	1533	1323	1473	1230	1098	1072
	330	970	410	80	1050	630	454	581	1236	1517	1513	964	740	920	1628	234	1324	1325	824	1317	794	1170	650	631	1428	190	1080	420	1258	1443	1528	1422	1240	1300	714
	969	400	913	840	758	718	475	705	314	588	584	45	398	838	558	945	395	681	50	425	80	510	598	1114	499	1044	378	863	735	514	599	518	310	490	160
	994	560	240	698	470	90	707	110	1114	1180	1076	853	410	260	1231	400	1220	754	755	150	770	819	210	110	1055	870	690	265	540	1319	1240	1189	1070	959	1156
	1042	605	223	727	530	140	858	111	1165	1495	1318	968	465	280	1376	481	1365	858	870	1295	796	909	250	65	1299	921	730	312	760	1434	1155	1434	1215	1049	935
	282	590	498	579	816	570	90	637	697	938	860	370	400	940	855	445	735	720	290	813	260	742	510	690	839	694	610	455	860	889	939	855	660	800	170
	1545	340	1080	1385	602	933	1076	1025	589	629	215	611	625	825	375	1260	611	265	651	410	681	160	803	1148	393	1620	210	1090	469	638	305	618	487	30	761
	550	360	1041	1128	734	834	763	1024	264	438	322	295	514	830	300	1149	290	350	338	250	368	310	714	954	230	1342	230	979	652	418	280	320	190	273	448
	1313	660	495	976	500	350	962	360	1358	1514	1313	1181	738	230	1416	741	1360	790	1083	1412	1098	930	450	290	1336	1183	924	584	665	1449	1360	1471	1344	1070	1148
	1152	250	185	1157	556	650	683	840	388	640	509	218	330	670	491	900	480	387	225	410	250	302	530	770	417	1227	170	735	565	569	500	549	330	350	320
....		1202	739	250	1456	919	501	888	1280	1586	1563	1014	740	1199	1518	500	1380	1458	915	1442	869	1482	1056	933	1429	190	1184	704	1488	1486	1562	1488	1279	1502	807
Jaulnah..			620	990	300	480	690	1600	668	756	535	468	230	470	652	865	682	168	430	643	506	210	350	650	572	1277	155	695	247	790	580	713	540	370	500
Juanpoor..				460	675	190	470	135	1143	1425	1294	788	410	517	1276	160	1233	861	700	1195	705	840	270	185	1202	603	750	40	815	1354	1285	1334	1115	970	610
Jumalpoor..					1110	640	460	609	1240	1483	1660	974	760	930	1393	300	1340	1211	830	1567	810	1190	740	659	1434	143	1120	430	1160	1446	1657	1388	1223	1340	720
Kaira........						460	1033	580	1025	1153	872	768	416	270	997	840	1077	377	746	1037	766	443	400	620	917	1253	513	675	122	1084	911	1064	981	572	908
Kaitah........							583	137	1024	1290	1040	763	330	308	1147	375	1140	654	675	1070	685	690	130	170	1077	783	660	210	539	1219	1050	1209	990	859	670
Kuttack......								619	812	1063	1059	520	582	790	1028	570	870	1002	380	900	350	869	480	664	974	576	680	430	1042	988	1074	993	785	1033	260
Lucknow......									1232	1480	1249	750	510	380	1331	316	1321	897	777	1250	779	897	250	50	1254	752	730	165	788	1419	1180	1389	1170	979	1060
Madras........										289	446	265	704	1058	283	1266	88	672	370	219	394	616	918	1282	284	1355	465	1093	903	206	405	207	87	566	498
Madura.......											366	570	970	1226	148	1605	200	764	648	137	678	676	1170	1410	236	1661	596	1435	1036	105	242	80	245	566	768
Mangalore												572	839	1108	198	1474	480	480	634	240	664	370	860	1160	130	1638	380	1304	755	376	90	355	335	230	744
Masulipatam ..													443	883	515	1090	378	546	80	428	100	520	643	800	464	1064	388	738	745	496	564	475	290	533	190
Nagpoor														440	821	635	811	451	374	740	388	430	200	542	744	1047	340	380	460	909	720	879	660	560	410
Nussecrabad...															1122	673	1150	560	814	1176	828	725	300	370	1100	1073	634	502	435	1260	1070	1183	1010	755	850
Ootacamund...																1391	209	608	603	88	633	520	1021	1261	80	1593	492	1288	782	165	105	135	209	405	723
Patna																	1291	1067	704	1400	693	1065	440	366	1217	443	975	165	1020	1544	1400	1481	1255	1195	627
Pondicherry ..																		673	445	121	182	608	1010	1371	231	1443	543	1276	953	118	308	118	91	360	586
Poonah.......																			612	628	637	65	524	869	525	1498	158	920	255	776	504	750	577	195	686
Rajahmundry..																				475	30	527	574	1230	549	984	395	655	790	548	649	553	380	540	120
Salem																					505	540	940	1180	110	1515	488	1145	928	90	195	70	121	435	623
Samulcottah...																						552	530	832	579	954	420	596	721	578	679	583	411	570	80
Sattara																							560	860	140	1477	132	904	320	705	450	655	485	135	622
Saugor........																								300	982	840	480	265	450	1099	930	1079	860	729	570
Seetapoor......																									1286	802	780	236	820	1339	1262	1319	1100	1063	1118
Seringapatam ...																										1533	412	1160	702	245	100	225	176	330	659
Silhet																											1256	605	1507	1560	1633	1565	1395	1577	864
Sholapoor.........																												805	391	630	425	541	420	220	528
Sultanpoor (Benares)																													710	1335	1235	1284	1170	940	562
Surat																														1051	789	927	811	455	740
Tanjore																															270	33	165	575	668
Tellicherry																																240	276	335	759
Trichinopoly.......																																	165	525	673
Vellore............																																		517	503
Vingorla..........																																			670

Vizagapatam.

DISTANCES

FROM

BOMBAY.

Adoni	754
Asseerghur	290
Azimghur	977
Beitool	390
Beejapoor	245
Belgaum	318
Bhopal	449
Broach	190
Calpee	803
Chunar	952
Damaun	101
Ellichpoor	345
Golconda	475
Gwalior	680
Hoosungabad	460
Jeypoor	745

Distances from Bombay (contd.)

Indore	377
Loodiana	1077
Malligaum	175
Mirzapoor	890
Mhow	360
Mysoor	636
Nassick	100
Oude	1013
Oojein	408
Rajkote	458
Rutnagheriah	198

Distances from Bombay (contd.)

Ruttunpoor	772
Tattah	773
Sironi	595
Viziadroog	245

THE HISTORY

OF THE

INDIAN MUTINY.

CHAPTER I.

PREPONDERANCE OF NATIVES IN THE BENGAL ARMY; THE INCONVENIENCES OF "CASTE;" ALLEGED CAUSES OF DISCONTENT; THE GREASED CARTRIDGES; CONCESSION TO SEPOY PREJUDICES; MYSTERIOUS COMMUNICATIONS BY CHUPATTIES; AN INCENDIARY PLACARD; CONTEMPLATED OUTBREAK; LORD CLANRICARDE'S MOTION ON THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

WE shall now proceed to inscribe upon the pages of history the frightful details of a series of catastrophes, among which the lavish outpouring of innocent blood is the least evil to be deplored; to record acts of atrocity that compel manhood to blush for the species to which it belongs, and that have indelibly stained the annals of India and its people with crimes that disgrace the name of humanity. But, before opening the volume descriptive of events that have spread ruin over some of the fairest portions of the Anglo-Indian empire, and poured the blood of its women and children like water through the streets of its cities, it will be necessary to glance briefly at some of the probable causes that have led to such a succession of calamities, and to trace the earlier ebullitions of those feelings, on the part of the Hindoo and Moslem native soldiery, that have been developed by the perpetration of horrors that civilised human nature recoils from contemplating.

The germ of the late native army of Bengal sprang into vitality exactly a hundred years ago. In the month of January, 1757, when the atrocity of the Black Hole at Calcutta had been avenged by the defeat and signal punishment of Surajah Dowlah, and the authority of the English government had been firmly established by Lord Clive, the first battalion of Bengal sepoys was raised, and officered from a detachment that had accompanied him from Madras. The establishment of the new force consisted of one European captain, with a lieutenant and ensign, who acted as field-officers; a native commander and adjutant, one *subahdar* (captain), and three *jemadars* (subalterns), to each of the ten companies. The company consisted of five *havildars* (sergeants), four *naiks* (corporals), two *tom-toms* (drummers), one trumpeter, and seventy sepoys; and each company was distinguished by a colour, bearing the device or badge of recognizance of its subahdar. Upon such a foundation, and with such a slender European establishment for its *nucleus*, the vast military superstructure represented by the late native armies of Bengal had been progressively raised and perfected, by leaders who guided those armies from triumph to triumph, until the victor flag of England floated in proud supremacy over the strongholds of the most powerful of the native sovereigns of India.*

The religion prevalent among the sepoys

* As a proof of the dependence placed upon his native auxiliaries by the founder of the Anglo-Indian army, it may be observed, that the total European force with which Clive undertook the conquest of the great kingdom of Bengal, amounted but to 900 men; the remainder of his entire force of 3,100 being composed of native troops; and yet with this mimic army in point of numbers, the crowning fight of Plassy was won, and a force of 50,000 foot, 18,000 horse, and a strong train of artillery, was scattered like chaff before the wind. By this victory the imperial sceptre of India was ultimately obtained.

of the Bengal army, must necessarily be referred to in connection with events that have rendered it a prominent feature in their history. Brahminism and Mohammedanism have both their head-quarters within the extensive provinces of Bengal—the former among the fertile plains and settled populations of the provinces along the course of the sacred Ganges; the latter in the higher portions of the country in which the Moslem invader originally established his empire: but neither faith has ever pervaded the whole of India. In the presidencies of Madras and Bombay, the older worships of the aboriginal or immigrant populations exist to this time, and are adhered to by more than sixteen millions of people. The consequence is, that the native armies of those presidencies are comparatively but little affected by religious questions; while that of Bengal, recruited for the most part from the very cradle of Brahminism, and principally composed of its two superior *castes*, has demanded, and obtained, a consideration for religious scruples, which gradually had impaired its discipline, and, ultimately, has led to its destruction.

The Brahmin sepoy, springing from a class which regards the profession of a soldier as only second in honour to that of a priest, occupies a position infinitely superior in pay, and all material comforts, to the native cultivator or the mechanic. In the field and in cantonment, he has been treated by his English employers, not merely on a par with, but, in many points, with superior consideration to that accorded to the European soldier in the same service. Indulged with regular furloughs to visit the shrines of his deities or the home of his family; entitled, as of unquestioned right, to a decoration for meritorious service; rising by seniority to preferment; and, finally, assured of a competent provision on retirement—no private soldier in the world enjoyed the advantages of his profession to the same extent, or with so few of its discomforts, as the Bengal sepoy. It is true, that through years of arduous struggle and well-fought campaigns, he has evinced his sense of the advantages of his position, by faithful service and a noble emulation of European heroism. But great as the loyalty—signal as the valour of the native armies of India has been since their first organisation and submission to British rule, instances of mutiny and desertion have not been wanting in their history. Occasionally, a question of pay or provisions has supplied the motive for insubordination; but the most frequent and formidable ground of discontent has been that which presents itself at the present crisis, namely, a suspicion of meditated interference with the inviolable immunities of their faith and the privileges of their *caste*. Notwithstanding this, however, for part of the last century the confidence of the Anglo-Indian government in the loyalty of its native troops has been implicit; and it was but natural, therefore, that as territory became progressively acquired, and necessity arose for an augmentation of troops for its protection, that the native element should be largely absorbed in the consolidation of military strength. The result has followed, that, by degrees, the single battalion of Clive, in 1757, had swollen and spread over the country until, at the commencement of 1857, it was represented, in the presidency of Bengal alone, by an armament of upwards of 150,000 men, divided into seventy-four regiments of foot, and eleven of light cavalry; four troops of horse artillery, and two battalions, of six companies each, of foot artillery: this force being further augmented by irregular troops, to the extent of twenty-three regiments of cavalry, seven battalions of Sikh infantry, and upwards of twenty other corps of various arms. This vast military establishment was again increased by the contingents of several native states, raised for local service in Assam, the Punjab, Nagpore, and Oude. The whole European force acting with, and, to a great extent, looked up to as giving a tone to the military spirit of this vast mass of heterogeneous material, as regards races and creeds, consisted, in January, 1857, of thirteen regiments of infantry and two of cavalry, belonging to the English government; and three regiments of infantry, three brigades of horse, and six battalions of foot artillery, in the service of the East India Company. This force was distributed in about a hundred military stations, over a tract of country stretching from the mouth of the Ganges to Affghanistan, and from the Himalayas to Nagpore; equalling in extent, and greatly exceeding in the numerical amount of its population, the united territories of France, Austria, and Prussia.

An unfortunate recognition of the privileges of *caste*, by the Anglo-Indian government, at the commencement of its triumphs, has, doubtless, in a very great

degree, encouraged the isolated pride and religious prejudices of the high-caste sepoys, of whom the bulk of the Bengalese army consisted; and a dread of interfering with the visible mysteries of their idolatrous faith, has led from time to time to concessions and indulgences that were at last looked upon as the rightful privileges of their order, to the serious obstruction of military duty, and the lax enforcement of proper discipline. The inconvenience resulting from this state of the Bengal army, at length rendered it expedient that a stop should be put to further concessions, and that, in some minor instances, the privileges already enjoyed should be curtailed, if not entirely withdrawn; thus, the dâk letters of sepoys, that had hitherto passed free of postage-tax, became chargeable. Tolls were exacted when they travelled, although formerly they had been exempt from the imposition of them, and they were deprived of the privilege they had enjoyed of purchasing their provisions in the markets at a lower price than other consumers. The sepoys had also been granted the right to choose whether they would, or would not, go beyond sea on active service; and this most inconvenient and dangerous discretionary power was sought to be withdrawn. Promotion among them, which had gone by seniority, without reference to merit or ability, and which, moreover, was in a great degree subject to the dictation of the men themselves, was also to be henceforth in the hands of the military authorities only. The pride of *caste*, which had been absurdly encouraged for the purpose of conciliating the people and recruiting the ranks of the army, it was now found necessary in some measure to discourage; the preponderance of Hindoos in the army having become so great, that in some of the regiments of 1,000 men, from six to seven hundred were Brahmins, combining the priestly with the military character, and exercising peculiar influences over the minds of their comrades of inferior *caste*. The European officers attached to the native regiments, had seen their power to control by the enforcement of discipline, gradually reduced, until even trivial questions connected with regimental duty, could only be settled by a reference to head-quarters, or to the supreme council at the seat of government. Officers in charge of companies had little, if any, power to punish or reward their own men; and the colonel had as little power to promote, or punish, in the regiment under his command, and, consequently, was without that summary and effective control over his men that the efficiency of military discipline requires: besides these disadvantages, not more than two or three of the whole staff of European officers attached to each native regiment, were able to speak or understand the language of the men they commanded; who were necessarily accustomed to look to their native officers of the same or higher *caste* than themselves for direction and guidance, while their European officers were regarded with indifference, and obeyed only mechanically. These several causes operating together, through a period of some years' duration, and being strengthened by the adverse influence of the agents of the *Dhurma Sobha*, a Hindoo association, established at Calcutta for the avowed purpose of defending the religious customs of Brahminism from encroachments by the government, had at length rendered the sepoy arrogant, self-sufficient, and independent of his officers; and the evil has been encouraged, and the men petted, until, as in the case of spoiled children whom parental authority lacked nerve or resolution to correct, the mischief grew into a settled habit, and its eradication from the system became a work of great difficulty and of danger. There can be no doubt, also, that a species of fanaticism was largely auxiliary in working up the real, or assumed, grievances of the native troops to the dangerous magnitude they had acquired.

It has been remarked by a high military authority in India, "that in the Bengal army there is a constant studying of many *castes*, which *the European appears to think as much of, and to esteem as high, as do the natives themselves;* and the sepoys, instead of looking on the European officers as superior beings, are compelled to consider them as bad Hindoos! Instead of being taught to pride themselves on their soldiership and discipline, the sepoys are trained to pride themselves on their absurdities of *caste*, and think that their power and value are best shown by refusing to obey any orders which they please to say do not accord with their religious prejudices. It is a grave mistake to suppose that religious feelings have any real influence on these occasions; it is a mistake, which would be ridiculous if its consequences were not so serious; but it is certain that the Bengal sepoy is a stickler for his imaginary *rights of caste, for the sake*

of increased power: he knows well that government never intend any insult to his creed, however absurd it may be; but he knows that, by crying out about his *caste,* he keeps the power in his hands, saves himself from many of the hardships of service, and makes his officers afraid of him. This is proved by what takes place in the armies of India. In the army of Bombay, even a Purwarree may, and does, often rise to the rank of subahdar by his own merit: in Bengal such a man would not even be admitted into the ranks, for fear of his contaminating those fine gentlemen the Brahmins; yet, in the Bombay army, the Brahmin (father, brother, or son may be, of him of Bengal) stands shoulder to shoulder in the ranks—nay, sleeps in the same tent with his Purwarree fellow-soldier, and dreams not of any objection to the arrangement. If this subject be mentioned to a Bombay Brahmin sepoy—as it is, sometimes, by Bengal officers—the ready answer is, 'What do I care? is he not the soldier of the state?' The reply speaks volumes, and shows a state of affairs which the officers of the Bengal army cannot conceive."

Of this privilege of *caste,* the late General Sir Charles Napier has expressed the following deprecatory opinion in his despatches to the home government. He says—"The most important thing which I reckon injurious to the Indian army, is the immense influence given to *caste;* instead of being discouraged, it has been encouraged in the Bengal army: in the Bombay army it is discouraged; and that army is in better order than the army of Bengal, in which the Brahmins have been leaders in every mutiny." Connecting the fact, as stated by Sir Charles Napier, with subsequent transactions, we may not greatly err in attributing much of the mischief that has occurred in India to the baneful and mysterious influences of this peculiar distinction, and the absurd and frequently mischievous privileges claimed by those who enjoy it.

Among other notions inculcated by the Brahminical theology, is a belief that certain things are so innately impure, as to defile those who taste or handle them; and the consequence of any such defilement is a loss of *caste;* the most fearful and humiliating infliction that can be imposed upon a worshipper of Brahma. It was affirmed to be in connection with a dread of such defilement, and its consequences, that the earliest symptoms of the existing mutiny were manifested.

At Dumdum,* an artillery station about eight miles from Calcutta, a depôt had been established for the instruction of native troops in the use of the Enfield rifle, the cartridge for which is made with a different material from that used in preparing the case of the ordinary cartridge, and is required to be greased.† To touch or taste the fat of animals, is, to the Hindoo, defilement, and loss of *caste* is the inevitable

* At Dumdum, the cantonment selected for the head-quarters of the Bengal artillery, the lines occupy an extensive plain, but without presenting any remarkable feature. "Handsome houses are scattered irregularly about, with pleasure-grounds around them, which are generally planted with care and taste. The mess-room and its accompaniments form a very superb building, affording suites of apartments upon a far more magnificent scale than those belonging to any European barrack. The splendour of Woolwich fades before the grandeur of Dumdum; but the balls which are given in the latter place every month, are not kept up with the same degree of spirit which characterises the parties at Woolwich, and even when the dulness which frequently pervades Calcutta might be supposed to render them of great importance, are very ill-attended by visitors from the presidency." At the grand reviews and field-days of the artillery, a fair proportion of the beauty and fashion of Calcutta may sometimes be seen; but these military shows do not attract so large a concourse of spectators as might be expected. As there is a theatre at Dumdum, the drama occasionally engages the attention of its inhabitants. There is also a good station-library, freely supplied with new publications as they arrive from England. In the neighbourhood is a menagerie of some interest, kept up by one of the retired rajahs.

† The subjoined description of the obnoxious cartridges has been furnished by an officer of the Madras army. He says—"The cartridge used with the Enfield Pritchett-rifle consists of a piece of lead called a ball, one inch in length, and rather more than a quarter of an inch in diameter at the base, which is concave, the point being convex. This fits so closely to the inside of the rifle, that the whole force of the powder being expended at the concave end, produces a slight expansion filling the grooves and effectually preventing a windage, or loss of the exploding power. In consequence of this it has been found necessary to have one end of the cartridge, which is 2½ inches in length, greased for three-quarters of an inch, the object of which is simply to lubricate the bore and prevent the adhesion of any portion of the lead to the groove. Indeed, the rifle would be useless without it. In using this cartridge it is necessary to bite off the end as heretofore, and pour in the powder; but instead of tearing the greased part, the cartridge is reversed when put into the barrel, and forced down three-quarters of an inch to the point where the grease terminates, the remaining part of the cartridge being torn off, so that it is not necessary for the fingers to come into contact with it at all. I say this from experience."

consequence. The offender becomes an outcast, and disinheritance follows; for the Brahminical law says, "No outcast can inherit property." This is, however, a British as well as a Hindoo law; for it was enacted by the 21st George III., cap. 70, "That inheritance in the case of Gentoos (Hindoos) shall be determined by the laws and usages of Gentoos." Another effect of the forbidden act is excommunication, such as formerly was practised among Christians, but carried to a point of infinitely greater severity. The intercourse of a sepoy so circumstanced, even with his wife or family, is visited, according to Hindoo law, by mutilation and death. The stain inflicted is, in some cases, capable of being removed from the family of the offender by a series of penances, that are crowned by passing over a burning mass of red-hot charcoal, nine yards square, and twenty-nine inches deep, vehemently fanned during the operation; and this purgation can be accomplished on one day of the year only.

In the month of January, 1857, a workman of the lowest *caste* (a sudra attached to the magazine at Dumdum), asked a Brahmin sepoy of the 2nd grenadiers to give him water from his "lotha" (a small brass pot for drinking from); the sepoy refused the favour, on the ground of his superior *caste*, and because his "lotha" would be defiled by the touch of the sudra: the latter, incensed by the refusal, observed, that "the pride of *caste* would soon be brought low; for the sepoy would presently have to bite cartridges covered with the fat of cows and pigs!"—the former animal being an object of special veneration; the latter of abhorrence and hatred. The Brahmin soldier reported the language of the sudra to his high-caste comrades in the barrack, by whom it was listened to with disgust and indignation, and the alarm quickly spread through the depôt. Intelligence of the occurrence having reached the ears of the officer in command, the native troops were paraded, and asked if they had any complaint to make? Upon this, the whole of the non-commissioned officers, and the larger portion of the men, stepped to the front, and stated their objection to the new cartridge; respectfully suggesting the use of a substitute in the making-up, that would not interfere with the peculiarities of their religion, and render them liable to the deprivation of *caste*. The appeal of the men, thus urged, was listened to by the colonel in command of the depôt, and immediately reported to head-quarters; and upon the representation of General Hearsey, then commanding the presidency division—who remarked, that "though totally groundless, it would be most difficult to eradicate the impression from the minds of the native soldiers, who are always suspiciously disposed when any change of this sort affecting themselves is introduced"—the required concession was promptly made by order of government. The colonel was also authorised to procure from the bazaar unobjectionable ingredients for greasing the cartridges, and the men were to be permitted to make them up themselves in their quarters, that they might be satisfied there was no desire to interfere with their prejudices.

By a despatch dated February 7th, the governor-general in council informed the directors of the East India Company of the display of feeling on the part of the sepoys, relative to the use of grease for the cartridges. He writes:—

"Fort William, February 7th.

"We have the honour to transmit, for the information of your honourable court, copy of a correspondence relative to an uneasiness which first manifested itself amongst the men attached to the depôt of musketry at Dumdum, in consequence of a report having reached them that the grease used in the arsenal for preparing the cartridges for the Enfield rifles, was composed of the fat of 'pigs' and of 'cows.'

"The men were appeased on being assured that the matter would be duly represented; and, at the suggestion of the inspector-general of ordnance, we have, as a present measure, authorised the issue of cartridges without grease, the men being permitted to apply, with their own hands, whatever mixture they may prefer.

"As it appears, however, that service-ammunition requires to be bundled, and to be greased previously with a composition that should last for a considerable time without renewal, we have requested his excellency the commander-in-chief to cause some experiments to be made at Meerut, where the presence of a rifle corps (her majesty's 60th) offers means which do not exist at any other station, for the purpose of ascertaining the best ingredients to be used in greasing the cartridges, with reference both to the feelings of the native soldiery and to the requirements of the

service. We have desired that we may be favoured with his excellency's advice on this subject as early as may be conveniently practicable. We would suggest to your honourable court the expediency of obtaining some information on this subject in England, where, doubtless, many experiments have been made.

"Your honourable court will observe that the matter has been fully explained to the men at Barrackpore and at Dumdum, and that they appear perfectly satisfied that there existed no intention of interfering with their *caste;* and also that proper measures will be taken to remove the cause of their objection to the composition of the material used for greasing the cartridges.

"At the suggestion of the inspector-general of ordnance, we beg to recommend to your honourable court that no more ready-made ammunition for the Enfield rifles be sent to this presidency."

The directors, in reply, expressed their entire approval of this order, and added, "no more cartridges will be sent from this country. In making them up in India, there will not, we are persuaded, be any difficulty in your prescribing a composition which, whilst sufficient for the purpose, will be unobjectionable to any of the *castes* in our native army."

But while matters seemed thus to be progressing satisfactorily at Dumdum, another cause of dissatisfaction, arising from an alleged design of the English government to Christianise by compulsion the entire native army, had shown itself in operation at the military station of Barrackpore,* near Calcutta. The first indications of an unquiet feeling were shown by incendiary fires, that broke out in various parts of the cantonment, and by one of which the telegraph station was purposely destroyed.

Contemporaneously with these transactions, a singular, and, at the time, incomprehensible, incident occurred at Cawnpore,† a town in the north-western division of the presidency of Bengal; which occasioned

* Barrackpore is an irregular-built town, or station, on the eastern bank of the Hooghly, sixteen miles above Calcutta. It has been the policy of the Indian government to separate soldiers and citizens from each other; the forces, therefore, which are considered necessary for the defence of Calcutta, are stationed, the infantry at the distance of sixteen miles, and the artillery at eight, from the seat of government. Fort William—a stronghold to which the governor-general may retire in case of invasion from abroad, or rebellion at home, considered by experienced engineers to be impregnable, and which will contain provisions and stores to withstand a siege as long as that of Troy—in times of security is garrisoned by a single Queen's regiment, or a part of two at the most; the sepoy duties being performed by a detachment from Barrackpore, relieved at stated periods, while the guard employed in Calcutta is composed of the city militia. Many of the houses at Barrackpore are as splendid as those of Calcutta; but the larger portion of the residences are bungalows, considerably smaller than those of the upper provinces, but completed in a superior style. A few look upon the river, but there is no broad esplanade, as upon the opposite bank, where Serampore's proud palaces are mirrored on the glassy surface of the stream. Such, however, as do command the fresh breezes from the water, are delightfully cool; and the views from their balconies are superb. Without any architectural display, the buildings of Barrackpore are mostly embosomed in trees; and, with the exception of the palace of the governor-general, which occupies a commanding site, only peep out amongst the branches of luxuriant groves. This edifice, one of the Marquis Wellesley's splendid projects, was originally designed to be a most magnificent structure; but an authoritative mandate from the court of directors, whose notions were less aristocratic than those of the projector, prevented its completion. Enough, however, had been done to render the mansion a very elegant and commodious residence; and the gardens attached to it are unrivalled both in beauty and stateliness, combining the grandeur of Asiatic proportions with the picturesqueness of European design. A large stud of elephants is kept here, and these noble animals, decorated with flowing *jhools* of scarlet cloth edged with gold and bearing fair freights of ladies belonging to the vice-regal court, may be seen pacing along the flowery labyrinths—to European eyes, strange guests in a private garden. The approach to Barrackpore, from Calcutta, on the land side, is by one of the finest roads in the world, very broad, kept in excellent repair, and well shaded by trees. The cantonments and their vicinity present a flat surface; yet the combinations of wood, water, and greensward, in numberless vistas, nooks, and small open spaces, yield scenes of tranquil beauty, which eyes, however cold, can scarcely contemplate unmoved. The garrison usually consists of several regiments of sepoys, under the command of a major-general. The staff is exceedingly numerous, embracing appointments peculiar to the place. As a military station, Barrackpore is in bad odour with the officers of the Bengal army; the climate of the upper provinces is esteemed of superior salubrity; and the very sound of *half-batta* is of itself sufficient to render it distasteful. The cemetery, occupying a cheerful site near the park, is kept in better order than most places of a similar kind in India.

† Cawnpore, which has obtained a frightful notoriety in consequence of the unparalleled brutalities perpetrated upon women and children within its walls, is the capital of a district of the same name, in the province of Allahabad. It is situated on the right bank of the Ganges, which is here 500 yards wide when lowest, and about a mile across when swollen by the periodical rains, which commence in July; the river is navigable, downwards to the sea, 1,000 miles; and upward, from Cawnpore to Sukertal, about 300 miles: the area of the city covers 690 acres; and the total population, exclusive of the military, amounted, in 1855, to upwards of 100,000 souls.



much surmise, and no inconsiderable degree of apprehension. It was reported to the authorities, that the chowkeydars, or village policemen, were speeding from Cawnpore through the villages and towns of the peninsula, distributing on their way a symbol, of the origin of which no European could at the time form an intelligible idea, or conjecture the purpose. The manner of effecting this singular movement—which later events have shown to be somewhat analogous to that of the Fire-cross of our own Highland clans in earlier times—was as follows:—One of the chowkeydars of Cawnpore ran to another in Futteghur, the next village, and placing in his hands two *chupatties* (small unleavened cakes about the size of a gingerbread-nut, and similar in composition to the ordinary food of the poorer classes), directed him to make ten more of the same kind, and give two of them to each of the five nearest chowkeydars, with instructions to perform the same service. He was obeyed; and in a few hours the whole country was in a state of excitement, through these policemen running from village to village with their cakes. The wave spread over the provinces with a velocity of speed never yet equalled by the bearers of government despatches. The English officials in the districts through which this extraordinary and mysterious operation progressed with the rapidity of light, were bewildered; some of the messengers were arrested, and themselves and the cakes examined by the magistrates and superior police, who looked at, handled, and tasted the latter, but could arrive at no satisfactory conclusion respecting them. The chowkeydars professed to be ignorant of the source whence they originated, or of the object in view by their transmission and distribution over the country, which they believed to be by the order of government. The magistrates thereupon reported the occurrence as a strange but harmless affair;* and no further notice was taken by those in authority, nor does it appear that any subsequent effort was made to discover the object of the parties with whom the movement originated. The circumstance occasioned much conversation; but no one appeared capable of elucidating the mystery in which it was involved. Some thought it might be a superstitious act of Hindoo faith to propitiate Vishnu (the preserver), that the deity might be induced to avert the cholera: others, who, more penetrating than their neighbours, ventured to suggest the possibility of a plot against the government, were laughed at for their apprehensions; and at last the novelty lost its attraction as a topic for conversation, and the fact was for a time forgotten.

Another incident had then recently occurred, that, viewed in possible connection with the above mysterious affair, might reasonably have generated suspicion of impending evil. It had been made known to the government, that early in January, an incendiary address, written in Hindostani, was placarded at Madras, calling upon "all true believers to rise against the English infidels, and drive them from India. It declared that the English had now abandoned all principles of justice, and were bent on appropriating the possessions of the Mohammedans, and that there was but one way of resisting their encroachments—a holy war! He who fell in such war

* The following official letter endeavours to explain the mystery, but leaves it very much as it originally stood:—

(No. 68 of 1857.)

"*From Major W. C. Erskine, Commissioner, Saugor Division, to C. B. Thornhill, Esq., Officiating Secretary to Government, North-West Province, Agra.*

Jubbulpore, 5th March, 1857.

Sir,—Observing in the *Mofussilite* newspaper of the 27th ult. a notice of certain small baked cakes of atta having been distributed, through the chowkeydars of certain districts, in the North-West Provinces for some unknown purpose, I have the honour to report that the same signal has passed, in the same way, through the districts of Saugor, Dumah, Jubbulpore, and Nursingpore, in my division.

2. I first heard of it in Nursingpore, and on making official inquiries, found that it had extended to other districts, and although the deputy-commissioners have used their best endeavours to find out the purport, nothing has yet been discovered beyond the fact of the spread of the cakes, and the general belief that such distribution, passed on from village to village, will prevent hail falling, and keep away sickness.

3. I also understand that this practice is adopted by 'dyers' when their dye will not clear properly; and the impression is, that these cakes originally came from Scindia's or the Bhopal States.

4. Certain it is that no attempts were made at concealment, several of the kotewars, or chowkeydars, having brought the cakes to the deputy-commissioners.

5. Inquiries are still being made, and should any further information on the subject be received, I will inform the government.

6. There appears to have been no harm intended, and I inclose one of the cakes in question.

I have, &c.,

W. C. ERSKINE, Commissioner.

Jubbulpore Commissioner's Office, 3rd March, 1857."

would be venerated as a martyr. He that held back would be execrated as an infidel and a heretic." As a proof that the smouldering fires of the volcano were not yet apparent to the authorities, the Indian journals of January and February describe the whole country at that time as "profoundly tranquil."

On the 17th of the same month, the tranquillity into which Oude had subsided since its annexation was broken in upon in consequence of a Maulavi, named Sekunder Shah, arriving with some armed followers at Lucknow, and preaching war against the infidels; at the same time distributing proclamations calling upon the faithful, and even the Hindoos, to arise, or be for ever fallen. The Maulavi and his people were arrested after a conflict, in which Lieutenant Thomas, of the 22nd regiment of native infantry, and four sepoys, were wounded; and three persons were killed, and five wounded, belonging to the seditious preacher, himself being among the latter.

Whatever may have been the positive, long cherished, but hidden grievance of the native soldiers, it is more than possible that the alleged insult offered by the greased cartridges, and the dread of conversion to Christianity, gave the main impulse that roused the discontented spirit of the troops into mischievous activity. On the 6th of February, 1857, a jemadar (lieutenant) of the 34th regiment of native infantry, stationed at Barrackpore, disclosed to his colonel some proceedings in which he had taken part on the preceding night, and which afforded ample ground for believing that the sepoys contemplated an outbreak—during which they intended to kill the European officers at the station, and, after plundering it, to destroy the place, and retire towards Delhi. The communication was duly reported to the general commanding the district, but no serious notice appears to have been taken of it at the time.

While the mischief was yet "looming in the distance," and before the discontent that pervaded the native population of India had developed itself by military outrage, the Marquis of Clanricarde had called the attention of the imperial legislature to the system under which the government of India was administered. His lordship, on introducing the subject to the House of Lords, in February, 1857, declared that, when we assumed the government of India, we took upon ourselves a heavy responsibility. He believed our power in that country might be used to its advantage; but it could only be done by showing a capacity to govern them, by the constant supervision of parliament, and its prompt interference whenever interference was necessary. The noble marquis deprecated the slow progress of improvement in India, and attributed it to the system under which it has been governed, which was neither satisfactory, wise, consistent with reason, maintainable in argument, or really and substantially advantageous. He observed, that "the mode of administration introduced by Mr. Pitt, considering the great difference of times and circumstances, was, on the whole, a wise one, and it worked well for a certain time; but we had totally abolished that system in its integrity and substance, and were keeping up a shadow which, at the present moment, was utterly absurd and untenable. The East India Company had been lords of the soil and territorial proprietors; but parliament had totally deprived them of all such rights and powers. By the Act of 1833, the Company was really and virtually in its substance at an end. In that year, however, the public mind of this country was still disturbed by the contest which arose out of a great reform. It was impossible that the minds of men should be properly directed to the analysis and rectification of the Indian government at such a moment; and, on the whole, he did not think it unwise on the part of Lord Grey's government, to avail themselves of a machinery which they found ready to their hands, and (although they took away really the substance and property of the East India Company) to continue the court of directors, and allow them to carry on, with the same modifications, the government of India. But the very modifications then introduced, showed the feeling entertained on the subject. In 1853, parliament was unfortunately again not in a condition to deliberate calmly upon the subject, because there had been changes of government which disturbed the administration; and no man could say that the bill which passed in that year was intended as a final settlement. The committee appointed at the instance of the noble earl's (Lord Derby's) government, instituted their inquiry, as he believed, with a sincere desire to elicit information and facts upon which a decision might be based. It was, however, indisputable, that long before the labours of the committee were

brought to a conclusion, it was determined by the government to continue for the nonce the Indian government pretty much in the state in which it then existed. 'Oh, but,' it was said, 'the evidence taken was, as far as it went, in favour of a continuance of the existing government!' Of course it was; because that evidence was given by men whose whole lives, so to speak, were bound up with the existing system; but the inquiry ought to have extended much further before any satisfactory decision could be come to as to the form of government required. Parliament, however, determined to continue the board of directors and what was called the court of proprietors. Now, if it was wise to allow the court of proprietors to elect eighteen gentlemen to consult upon the affairs of India, and to interfere with the deliberations of her majesty's government, he wanted to know why parliament took away from them the power of electing six more, and why six nominees of the crown were introduced? The reason given for the direct nomination of these six gentlemen by the crown was, that men best fitted to act as directors would not submit to the canvass which was necessary to secure their election. Now, it was known that this canvass was anything but a pure one, and that nothing in the world could be more absurd, than to place the election of directors, intrusted with the government of India, in the hands of a constituent body simply because they happened to hold East India stock; a body of men who had no more interest in the welfare of the people of India than had the proprietors of any railway company. The electoral body consisted of a number of old ladies, and others, residing in the suburbs of London and on the continent; and what did they know of the merits of the candidates? A gentleman might represent to them that he had lived twenty years in India; but he still might know no more of the real requirements and condition of the people, than a man who had passed all his life in London. Then, the way in which parliament had connected the directors with the public service was ridiculous. They were allowed £500 a-year, the chairman and deputy-chairman receiving £1,000. Could anything be more absurd than to suppose that for such sums the services of efficient men could really be retained? Acccording to a return moved for by the late Mr. Hume, giving an account of the salaries of those Indian officials who received £1,000 and upwards, it appeared that one gentleman had earned in his office the sum of £23,000 a-year. Was he to be told that, after residing, perhaps, for many years in a country where such a sum might be honourably earned—where the interest of money was notoriously high, and where a rapid fortune might therefore be accumulated—the services of such men, when they returned home, could be secured for such a sum as £500 a-year? The thing was a perfect farce, and threw ridicule upon the whole proceeding. Again, with regard to the bankers and merchants who accepted places in the direction, was it to be supposed that men of their wealth and position would give their time and attention for such a salary? No. Then, why did they covet the situation? Because of the patronage it bestowed; and this had been really at the bottom of all the misgovernment of India. It was the power and patronage in the hands of the directors which had really retarded the improvement of the country, and had excluded the natives from any fair share in the government in a manner unknown in any other country. He was not disposed to say, upon mere theory alone, that the present system should be abolished, if the results of it were satisfactory; but in reality they had been quite the reverse, and had not been caused by the individuals connected with the government of India, but by the system itself. One of the most important functions of a government was the regulation of financial operations in accordance with the condition of the people of the country; and another was to levy a becoming and proper amount of revenue from the people with the least possible pressure. Neither of those functions was easy. On the contrary, they required skill, judgment, and discretion, for their performance; and how had they been carried out by the government of India? With regard to the financial expenditure of the East India Company, what could be more ridiculous than the cost of the establishment in Leadenhall-street? The cost of the Board of Control amounted to £29,421. The salaries of directors, £10,000; contingent expenses, £32,063; salaries of officers, &c., £94,387; law charges, £14,200: making a total of £180,071. Now, the whole cost of the Colonial-office was £28,421, making a difference of £151,650; and supposing, therefore, the expense actually necessary for the government of India to amount to

double that of the whole Colonial-office, the sum at present expended exceeded that sum by £123,060. He did not mean to say, that by altering the present system of government, the whole of that expense would be saved; but he believed that the cost need not exceed £50,000, and thus over £100,000 would be saved, which, considering the condition of Indian finance, and the state of the inhabitants of that country, might prove of great advantage in providing for the proper administration of law and the security of life and property. The public debt of India was at present about £54,000,000—a sum which might be provided for with tolerable ease, but that only in the case of the government being carried on in an economical and discreet manner; yet during a series of years, when that debt ought to have diminished, he found that it had actually increased, and that that increase had not been occasioned by any extraordinary expenses, but from the want of a proper adjustment of expenditure to income." After referring to some financial statistics, the noble marquis proceeded to say, that "a new code of laws had been promised for India, but as yet no such code had been introduced, and meanwhile the administration of justice remained in a state of confusion and uncertainty that was positively disgraceful. Could it be believed, that in India there was a large body of her majesty's subjects who had no legal protection whatever for their property? The rights of property as respected the natives, were in a state of utter confusion, and had been so ever since we took possession of the country. In these remarks he excepted, of course, the supreme courts at the presidencies, which were administered by persons trained to the exercise of the law, and by whom justice was dispensed with as much care as in this country. But their lordships would be enabled to judge of the gross partiality with which the law was put in force in India, when he stated, that if an Englishman murdered or inflicted serious injury upon a native, no matter in what part of the country, the relatives of the deceased native, or the native himself, should he not be killed outright, would obtain no redress without going to the supreme court of the presidency. The consequence was, that if an Englishman murdered a native in the Punjab, 1,500 miles from Calcutta, or made a murderous assault upon a man there, no redress could be obtained unless the witnesses were taken the whole distance of 1,500 miles to Calcutta to be examined. But if a native committed any crime, he could be brought at once before a court of judicature on the spot; the magistrate presiding in which was, in almost every instance, utterly unfit for the discharge of the duties intrusted to him. The character of these magistrates was such, that the whole of the European community were rising up against the idea of being placed under the same code as the natives; not that they objected to this in itself, or thought the natives ought to be treated hardly, but because the character of the magistrates who were to be intrusted with the execution of the new code was such, that they could not submit to their jurisdiction. He (the Marquis of Clanricarde) considered that the chief causes of these evils were the system of double government, and the manner in which the patronage of the East India Company had been exercised. It was true, that the civil service was now thrown open to public competition, and that appointments were given to persons who passed a prescribed examination; but he wished to know what measures had been adopted to insure the qualification of young men of twenty years of age, who were appointed to judicial offices, and who decided questions affecting, not only the property, but the lives, of the native population. This system was defended on the ground, that out of 140,000,000 of natives, not one could be found who was fitted to fill an office of real responsibility; but the truth was, that the whole system by which India was governed tended to degrade the natives, and to render them cunning, sordid, and deceitful; whereas, if they were treated as friends and allies, and employed in the public services, as had been recommended by some of the greatest men who had been in India, including the Duke of Wellington, they would be found to be valuable servants and faithful friends. The Mohammedan conquerors found no difficulty in administering government, combined with justice, towards the natives of India. But instead of acting upon that principle, the very opposite system was adopted, even in the army; and how could it be expected that the natives of India could be contented with British rule, when that rule rested upon a base which no Englishman could justify? Within the last few days, he saw in a newspaper, that there

was a question of removing two European regiments to the Persian Gulf; but that it was found to be impossible; because, if it were done, the sepoys would be left without control, and without a sufficient number of European officers. He, however, would suggest, that the people who in former times furnished not only large armies but able officers, could be relied upon again to supply men to whom we might intrust command. At present, those men were condemned almost to the ranks, and could not rise beyond the grade of *subahdar*—equivalent to captain; but even then, a native captain was inferior to the youngest ensign fresh from college in this country. How was it possible to depend upon the fidelity of an army thus constituted? He would abstain from reading extracts from the works and correspondence of the most eminent Indian authorities, including Sir T. Monro, Mountstuart Elphinstone, and Lord Metcalfe; but they all concurred that native Indians might, and ought, to be employed in the public service, and attached to it by the hope of honours and rewards. If, however, such a plan were to be tried, the whole Anglo-Indian press and community would be in arms. He had heard that, in one of the presidencies, the governor wished to appoint a native to an office in the uncovenanted service as secretary; but the whole civil service rose in a body, and the governor was forced to forego his intention. He (the Marquis of Clanricarde) repeated, that so long as the system continued of confining the civil service to a select body, making it a close service, and repudiating the assistance of able, honest, and learned natives, they could not expect the government to be served in a manner worthy of the queen and parliament of Great Britain." The noble marquis said, in continuation, that he could not see any difficulty in drawing up a scheme of government that should be a vast improvement on the present system; and he concluded by moving a resolution, to the effect, "that the system under which the government of the Company's territories is administered, is no longer suitable to the condition and prospects of that vast empire, or the development of its resources and the improvement and welfare of its inhabitants." The Duke of Argyle briefly replied to the statement of the noble marquis; he defended the existing system of Indian government, and asserted that discussions on Indian affairs ought to be taken on substantive propositions, and not on abstract resolutions, such as that produced by Lord Clanricarde, which were not calculated to produce any practical good either to India or to this country. The motion, finding no support, was then withdrawn, and the discussion ended, leaving the prospect of Indian reform as indefinite and unsatisfactory as ever.

CHAPTER II.

MORE ASSUMED GRIEVANCES; MUTINOUS CONDUCT OF THE 19TH REGIMENT OF NATIVE INFANTRY; THE CARTRIDGES REFUSED; ANOTHER UNFORTUNATE CONCESSION; DISCONTENT OF THE 2ND AND 34TH REGIMENTS; THE SEPOY MUTINEER, MUNGUL PANDY.

On the 24th of February, a detachment of the 34th native infantry arrived at the station of Berhampore, in the district of Moorshedabad, and about 100 miles from Calcutta, *en route*, and, on their dismissal from parade, the men were entertained by the sepoys of the 19th regiment, who naturally sought intelligence of their comrades at Barrackpore. The 34th were not slow to communicate all they knew or surmised, and repeated to their eager and excited hosts the intelligence respecting the cartridges—the animal fat—the alleged determination of the government to deprive the Brahmin sepoys of the privileges belonging to their *caste*, and to destroy the religion of Brahma, with many other assumed grievances of the cantonments. Nothing was omitted by the narrators that could tend to exasperate the feelings of their auditory, and the pernicious effect of their eloquence will be shown in subsequent proceedings.

On the following day (the 25th), Lieutenant-colonel Mitchell, commanding the 19th regiment, ordered a parade with blank cartridge for the next morning. The cartridges were directed to be given out that evening; but when the native sergeants proceeded to distribute them, they were peremptorily rejected by the sepoys. The 19th irregular cavalry was then ordered to parade on the spot, with a view to intimidate the refractory men, and the guns of the station were placed in position to command the native lines. After a short delay, in which sullen defiance and culpable irresolution were exhibited on either side, the men were dismissed to their quarters; but between eleven and twelve o'clock, the sepoys of the 19th regiment made a rush upon the bells of arms (little houses in which their weapons were kept), and possessing themselves of their muskets and ammunition, carried them into their lines. When, on the following morning, the European officers reached the parade-ground, they found the men in undress, but armed and formed in line. As they approached, the sepoys shouted tumultuously, and threatened violence if they came near them. The cavalry and artillery were again paraded, and the mutineers were commanded to lay down their arms. Another pause ensued, and the native officers, after conferring with the men, informed Colonel Mitchell that they would not lay down their arms until the whole of the cavalry and artillery were withdrawn. This dangerous concession to open and undisguised mutiny was unfortunately made by the colonel, and then, but not till then, the refractory sepoys submitted to the command of their officers.

It is possible that this unmilitary compliance with the demands of a mutinous soldiery, when the means for enforcing submission and preserving authority were at hand, may have encouraged, if it did not hasten, the explosion that followed throughout the presidency. The colonel perhaps dreaded the responsibility of a conflict between armed men in the same service, and may have had no desire to witness the destruction of his own regiment.

Upon the receipt of this intelligence at Barrackpore, great agitation became visible among the sepoys of the various regiments at the station, and more especially it was remarked among those of the 2nd and 34th regiments. The men obeyed orders with sullen and threatening indifference, which they took no pains to conceal; nightly meetings for conference took place in their lines, when the conduct of the 19th sepoys was discussed and openly applauded. Those meetings were reported to the general commanding the district, but they were not further noticed or prevented.

The elements of mischief were now at work in another quarter. The 1st regiment of Madras native infantry, recently arrived from Burmah, and subsequently engaged in the Kimedy campaign, was in cantonment at Vizianagram,* a town in the Madras presidency; and, on the 28th of February, the men were under orders to march to Kurnool† without their families. One and all, while on parade, decidedly refused; and when remonstrated with by their colonel, raised shouts of derision and defiance. As there was no force at hand to compel obedience, the colonel was obliged to submit to the mutinous spirit of the men without attempting to make a single arrest. The regiment, however, quietly left on the 3rd of March; but, in the meantime, its destination had been changed to Secunderabad‡—another unfortunate concession to military insubordination.

At length, on the 23rd of March, it was announced in garrison orders, that government had resolved to punish the men of the 19th regiment for their mutinous conduct at Berhampore, and the regiment was ordered to march to Barrackpore preparatory to its being disbanded. In military circles the intended punishment was deemed wholly inadequate to the offence committed; but the authorities appear to have been anxious to restore a proper state of subordination, and a better feeling among the disaffected troops, without re-

* Vizianagram is a military station in the presidency of Madras, situated about 82 miles north-east of Golconda, and 989 miles from Calcutta. Though large, the town is meanly built; the principal edifice is a stone fort, with the palace of the rajah inclosed.

† Kurnool, a strongly fortified town, at the southern extremity of the Nizam's dominions, is situated on the river Toombudra, about 110 miles S.S.W. of Hyderabad, and 1,012 from Calcutta. It was acquired by the English in 1815.

‡ Secunderabad is a town of importance in the Deccan, and had been the head-quarters of the British subsidiary force in the Nizam's dominions. It is situated three miles N. of Hyderabad, and 358 N.N.W. of Madras. At this place and Bolarum (a contiguous and more healthy station), 12,000 men of the Madras army were generally quartered.

sorting to extreme measures. At the same time the sentence was severe enough to be sensibly felt by those on whom it fell; as, by disbanding the regiment, every native officer lost his position, and every sepoy his pension for service; and as recruits for the Bengal army are not accepted after a certain age, many of the men who had attained it, and were of high caste, were deprived of the means of procuring a future livelihood. As it was generally believed that the blame rested chiefly with the officers and old soldiers of the regiment, the punishment was upon the whole deemed not inequitable, though possibly too lenient in some individual cases.

At the time this order was promulgated, there were about 5,000 sepoys at the station of Barrackpore, and it was thought possible that, emboldened by the presence of so many of their co-religionists, the 19th might again refuse to obey orders. The men of the 34th regiment were known to be in active correspondence with them, and the 2nd grenadier regiment, though not in a state of actual mutiny, was suspected to be well acquainted with their plans, and friendly to their proceedings. It was therefore considered necessary to provide against any possible danger from those quarters by concentrating upon the station some of the European regiments then in and near Calcutta: the Queen's 84th regiment was accordingly brought in from Chinsurah, and a wing of the 53rd was ordered to Barrackpore. The native body-guard (cavalry) were removed from the city in the course of the night of the 28th of March, and two troops of artillery, with twelve pieces of cannon, were brought from Dumdum into the cantonment. Orders were privately issued to the chief civil magistrate, to place strong bodies of police upon the bridges and avenues leading into Calcutta; and, to perfect the whole arrangement, should a conflict turn out to be inevitable, Major-general Hearsey was ordered to act with vigour in suppressing the mutinous spirit, and, if necessary for the purpose, to use the European troops under his command for the utter extermination of the three refractory regiments.

The 19th accordingly received the route for Barrackpore, and, upon the arrival of the regiment at Barrasset (about eight miles from their destination) on the 29th of March, the men found a deputation from the 34th regiment waiting their approach, with a proposal—the result of deliberations of the previous night—to the effect that they should, the same evening, kill all their European officers; march, during the night, into Barrackpore, where the 2nd and 34th were prepared to join them; fire the bungalows; surprise and massacre the Europeans at the station; and, having secured the guns, march into and sack Calcutta! For this nefarious proposition it appeared the sepoys of the 19th regiment were not yet sufficiently ripe.

In the course of the same night, the officer in command at Dumdum received intelligence that the 19th were marching upon the station for the purpose of taking possession of the artillery. In consequence of the departure of the two troops for Barrackpore, he had but thirty men at the station effective for duty; but with these he hastily prepared for defence, and ordered the families of the officers to provide for their own safety by repairing to Calcutta.

An occurrence that transpired at Barrackpore about this time (the 29th of March), showed the intensity of the adverse feeling that had grown up among the native troops. A sepoy of the 34th regiment, named Mungul Pandy, rushed out upon the parade-ground of the regiment, shouting, "Come out, men! come out, men! You have sent me out, why don't you follow me? You will have to bite the cartridges! Come out for your religion!"—and he called upon the bugler to sound the assembly. This scene took place about a hundred yards from the quarter-guard, which did not interfere, the jemadar in charge remaining a silent spectator of the whole proceeding. The sepoy, who had with him his musket loaded, suddenly levelled it at the sergeant-major, Hewson, and fired; the latter, on being wounded, called upon the officer to turn out the guard and seize the man; but the jemadar gave no orders, and the guard remained inactive. By this time, Lieutenant Baugh, the adjutant of the 34th, had been informed of the outrage, and repaired to the parade. Upon his approach, Mungul Pandy concealed himself behind a gun in advance of the quarter-guard, and as the adjutant came near, deliberately took aim and fired. The ball struck the horse on which Lieutenant Baugh was riding, in the flank, and brought it and its rider to the ground. The lieutenant, however, disengaged himself from the struggling animal, and taking a pistol from one of the holsters, advanced towards the sepoy, who, being un-

able to load a second time, had grasped a sword he brought with him. The adjutant fired at the fellow and missed, and before he could disengage his sword from its sheath, the sepoy sprang upon him, and with one stroke brought him to the ground. At this instant the wounded sergeant-major rushed toward the mutineer to rescue his officer, but was felled to the earth by a blow with the butt-end of a musket, given by a sepoy behind him. The cowardly perpetrator of this ruffianly act, on returning to his post at the quarter-guard, with the wounded man's blood upon his clothes, was merely desired by the native officer, "to change his pantaloons." Four men of the guard made an effort to seize the assassin; but the jemadar ordered them to desist, saying, "If you kill *that* man you will be hung for it."

Colonel Wheler, in command of the regiment, now made his appearance, and ordered the jemadar to turn out the guard. He obeyed; but after advancing a few paces, the men halted, and the officer informed the colonel that they would not interfere because the mutineer was a Brahmin. The colonel appears to have been satisfied with this reply, and certainly took no steps to enforce obedience to his orders. When called upon for an explanation of his conduct, the gallant officer said, "I felt it was quite useless going any further with the matter; considering it might involve a sacrifice of life to order a European officer with the guard to seize him. So I left the ground, and reported the matter to Brigadier-general Hearsey, then at his quarters."

The general, upon receiving intelligence of the outrage, instantly summoned his two sons and his aide-de-camp, and rode to the scene of disturbance. Mungul Pandy was still at large on the parade, energetically upbraiding his comrades for their cowardice in not turning out to support him, and defend their religion. Upon seeing this man, General Hearsey rode up to the quarter-guard, his sons and Major Ross following closely. As he drew near, an officer shouted, "Beware, sir! his musket is loaded!" "D—— his musket!" exclaimed the general, at the same time rapidly nearing the assassin, who levelled his piece as if about to fire. Observing this, the general looked round to his son, saying, "If I fall, John, rush upon him, and put him to death." Happily, at the last moment, the mutineer appears to have changed his mind, and, instead of firing at the general, he discharged the contents of the musket into his own body. Upon the instant, the general drew a revolver from his belt, and turning to the men of the quarter-guard, who were standing near, he ordered them back to their post, declaring he would shoot the first man that hesitated to obey him. This determined conduct produced the desired effect upon the guard, which at once returned to its duty.

The extraordinary and unsoldier-like behaviour of Colonel Wheler, who, in addition to his professional duties as commander of a native regiment, had taken upon himself the functions of a zealous Christian missionary among the Hindoos and Moslems in his vicinity, became a subject of investigation, in the course of which, it was elicited that the gallant officer had been in the habit of circulating tracts, and addressing the men both of his own and other native corps (but not within the lines), with the declared object of converting them to the Christian religion.* It was not then alleged that any visible ill effect had ensued from his preaching, beyond a laxity of the rigid course of discipline inseparable from the management of a well-conducted regiment; although the consequence of such relaxation was, that, by his own admission, "the state of the corps was so questionable, that if it had been ordered on field service, he could not have placed himself at its head in full reliance upon its loyalty and good conduct."† It is true that two officers of the regiment ventured to declare, that the feelings of the sepoys, with one or two exceptions which they could *not* name, were good; and that their own confidence in them was unbounded, notwithstanding the fact that, several months before the dissatisfaction regarding the cartridges had birth, the regiment, in coming down the river, had encountered a gale, in which three boats

* In the course of the evidence given by this officer before the governor-general, he said—"During the last twenty years I have been in the habit of speaking to natives of all classes—sepoys and others, making no distinction, since there is no respect of persons with God—on the subject of our religion, in the highways, cities, bazaars, and villages (not in the lines and regimental bazaars.) I have done this from a conviction that every converted Christian is expected, or rather commanded, by the scriptures, to make known the glad tidings of salvation to his lost fellow-creatures."

† See proceedings of the Court of Inquiry, in Parl. Papers, Appendix, p. 143.

were wrecked, and not a single sepoy came forward to assist the European officers in their struggle for life. However, the whole circumstances connected with this affair were of so serious a nature, that a report was immediately forwarded, by the general commanding the district, to the governor-general in council; and his excellency, in referring to the occurrence, said—"Were it necessary to come to an opinion upon this evidence alone, I could come to none more favourable to Colonel Wheler, than that he is entirely unfit to have the command of a regiment. But the occasion is so grave, and the misconduct of Colonel Wheler bears, *prima facie*, so serious an aspect, that I do not think any decision upon that officer's case will be satisfactory which is not founded upon a full inquiry specially directed to his conduct, giving him of course opportunity of explanation and defence. I therefore propose that the commander-in-chief be requested to submit the conduct of Colonel Wheler, on the 29th of March, to an investigation by court-martial, or to such other investigation as his excellency may think proper."*

The attempt of the sepoy, Mungul Pandy, to escape the punishment due to his crimes, was not successful. He was removed from the ground, and after his self-inflicted wound had received attention from the regimental surgeon, he was, with the jemadar who had abetted his outrageous proceedings, placed under arrest to await trial by court-martial.

CHAPTER III.

THE 19TH N.I. REGIMENT DISBANDED; EXECUTION OF THE MUTINEER, MUNGUL PANDY; SPREAD OF DISAFFECTION, A NEW CAUSE OF OFFENCE AT LUCKNOW; DECISIVE CONDUCT OF SIR HENRY LAWRENCE; INSUBORDINATION AND DISARMING OF THE 7TH NATIVE INFANTRY; GRAND MILITARY DURBAR; THE 34TH REGIMENT DISBANDED

AT daybreak on the morning of the 31st of March, the whole of the European force in cantonment at Barrackpore, assembled on the parade-ground. The two regiments of the Queen, with the artillery and cavalry, occupied one side of the area, the native regiments being drawn up on the other side. The 19th, which during the night had been halted outside the cantonment, was then marched into the vacant space between the forces. After a short interval of impressive silence, the major-general, surrounded by his staff, advanced to the front of the delinquent corps, and read aloud the following order:—

"The 19th regiment of native infantry has been brought to the head-quarters of the presidency division, to receive, in the presence of the troops there assembled, the decision of the governor-general in council upon the offence of which it has been guilty. On the 26th of February, the 19th regiment of native infantry was ordered to parade on the following morning for exercise, with fifteen rounds of blank ammunition for each man. The only blank ammunition in store was some which had been made up by the 7th native infantry, the regiment preceding the 19th regiment at Berhampore, and which had been left at that station on the departure of the 7th regiment. This ammunition had been used by the recruits of the 19th regiment up to the date abovementioned. When the quantity of ammunition required for the following morning was taken to the lines, it appears that the men objected to the paper of which the cartridges were made, as being of two colours; and when the pay havildars assembled the men to issue the percussion-caps, they refused to receive them, saying that they had doubts about the cartridges.

"The men have since stated, in a petition addressed to the major-general commanding the presidency division, that, for more than two months, they had heard rumours of new cartridges having been made at Calcutta, on the paper of which the fat of bullocks and pigs had been spread, and of

* The result of this investigation may be understood from the fact, that Colonel Wheler received leave of absence from military duty in April, 1857.

its being the intention of the government to coerce the men to bite these cartridges; and that, therefore, they were afraid for their religion. They admit that the assurance given to them by the colonel of their regiment satisfied them that this would not be the case; adding, nevertheless, that when, on the 26th of February, they perceived the cartridges to be of two kinds, they were convinced that one kind was greased, and therefore refused them. The commanding officer, on hearing of the refusal, went to the lines, assembled the native commissioned and non-commissioned officers, and explained that the cartridges were unobjectionable, and had been left at Berhampore by the 7th regiment. He instructed them to inform their men that the cartridges would be served out in the morning by the officers commanding companies, and that any man who refused to take them would be tried by a court-martial and punished. This occurred at eight o'clock in the evening. Between ten and eleven o'clock a rush was made by the sepoys to the bells of arms; the doors were forced open; the men took possession of their arms and accoutrements, and carried them to their lines. On learning what had occurred, Lieutenant-colonel Mitchell ordered out the 11th regiment of irregular cavalry and the post guns.

"When the cavalry reached the parade, the men of the 19th regiment rushed out of their lines with their arms, shouting, and assembled near to the bells of arms, where many loaded their muskets. Upon Lieutenant-colonel Mitchell and the European officers approaching the men, they were warned not to go on, or the men would fire. The native officers were assembled, and Lieutenant-colonel Mitchell, after addressing the men, directed the officers to separate the companies, and to require them to give up their arms. The men hesitated at first, but eventually gave up their arms and retired to their lines. These are the principal features of the outbreak at Berhampore, on the 26th of February.

"The men of the 19th regiment have refused obedience to their European officers. They have seized arms with violence. They have assembled, in a body, to resist the authority of their commander. The regiment has been guilty of open and defiant mutiny. It is no excuse for this offence to say, as has been said in the before-mentioned petition of the native officers and men of the regiment, that they were afraid for their religion, and that they apprehended violence to themselves. It is no atonement of it to declare, as they have therein declared, that they are ready to fight for their government in the field, when they have disobeyed and insulted that government in the persons of its officers, and have expressed no contrition for their heavy offences. Neither the 19th regiment, nor any regiment in the service of the government of India, nor any sepoy, Hindoo, or Mussulman, has reason to pretend that the government has shown, directly or indirectly, a desire to interfere with the religion of its troops. It has been the unvarying rule of the government of India to treat the religious feelings of all its servants of every creed with careful respect; and to representations or complaints put forward in a dutiful and becoming spirit, whether upon this or upon any other subject, it has never turned a deaf ear.

"But the government of India expects to receive, in return for this treatment, the confidence of those who serve it. From its soldiers, of every rank and race, it will at all times, and in all circumstances, enforce unhesitating obedience. They have sworn to give it, and the governor-general in council will never cease to exact it. To no men, who prefer complaints with arms in their hands, will he ever listen. Had the sepoys of the 19th regiment confided in their government, and believed their commanding officer, instead of crediting the idle stories with which false and evil-minded men have deceived them, their religious scruples would still have remained inviolate, and themselves would still be, as they have hitherto been, faithful soldiers, trusted by the state, and laying up for future years all the rewards of a long and honourable service. But the governor-general in council can no longer have any confidence in this regiment, which has disgraced its name, and has lost all claim to consideration and indulgence. It is, therefore, the order of the governor-general in council, that the 19th regiment of native infantry be now disbanded; that the native commissioned and non-commissioned officers and privates be discharged from the army of Bengal; that this be done at the head-quarters of the presidency division, in the presence of every available corps within two days' march of the station; that the regiment be paraded for the purpose; and that each man, after being deprived of his arms, shall receive his arrears

of pay, and be required to withdraw from the cantonment. The European officers of the regiment will remain at Barrackpore until orders for their disposal shall be received from his excellency the commander-in-chief. This order is to be read at the head of every regiment, troop, and company in the service."

Up to this moment it was felt to be very doubtful if the refractory corps would quietly submit to the degradation it had brought upon itself; or whether a shout of defiance, and some mutinous effort, would not compel the general to open fire upon the regiment. Fortunately for themselves, perhaps otherwise for the country, the men listened to the sentence with silent attention; and when the general had concluded his painful duty, two of the native officers, in the name of the regiment, asked his permission to again petition the governor-general for forgiveness, offering to serve in any part of the globe, so that the regiment might be retained in the Company's service. They were told the time for petitioning had passed; that nothing now remained for them but unconditional submission, and to lay down their arms and disperse.* The formidable preparations made to enforce obedience, left the repentant mutineers no alternative between instant compliance or total annihilation. The instinctive terror felt of old by the Hindoo races, when opposed to European resolution, revived; and, without attempting further remonstrance, the entire corps grounded arms and retired several paces, their officers actually shedding tears of grief or rage during the degrading ceremonial. No further humiliation was offered; both officers and men were allowed to retain their clothing; and, after a short delay, the whole were escorted by a detachment of cavalry to Chinsurah, at which place they were ordered to disperse, bearing from thence the germs of treason and revolt, to be presently scattered over the whole presidency.

At this time no lack of vigour or of moderation had been exhibited on the part of the government. Every possible effort was made to remove the unfounded and unreasonable suspicion of the sepoys; and if indeed there had been some error at first, in allowing cartridges to arrive from England, greased with a composition of which the materials could not be positively defined by the troops, the mistake was rectified before a single native could be really affected by it. The matter was carefully and clearly explained by General Hearsey and the commanding officers of the several regiments; and the general orders issued on the occasion of each disbandment, and read at the head of every regiment, troop, and company in the service, contained the most explicit assurances of protection and regard.

To show the anxiety of the Company's officers, that the religious prejudices of the troops should not be offended even by accident, the following incident, which occurred on the very day the 19th regiment

* The following is given as a correct translation of General Hearsey's address in Hindostani:—

"Native officers and men,—The government you have served is just; I will consent to receive your petition and lay it before the governor-general. I cannot give you any hope, but I will make known that you are penitent. I have always been your friend as well as your commander; and in consequence of your good behaviour since the night of the 26th of February, when you were misled by *your* enemies and committed mutiny—the night on which the act of securing your arms, and standing with those in defiance of your officers; since that night you have behaved well. In consequence, the just government has been merciful; you have been punished; no vindictiveness has been shown. You are permitted to leave this parade with your uniform, and thus your honour as soldiers is left you though this horrible calamity has befallen you. In consequence of your good behaviour on the march down from Berhampore, I am directed by government to inform you, that the expenses incurred in carriage by land of your baggage, and in the hire of the boats on which some heavy baggage and families of some of you have been sent, will be paid by government. [On hearing this the men were visibly affected, and blessed the government.] By this act you will know that a just and stern government knows how to be merciful in its anger. You will be paid the uttermost farthing that is due to you. You must settle with the purveyors of the regiment the sums you owe to them. The clothing, the property of the state, must be given up agreeably to the clothing regulations, as laid down in respect of sepoys dismissed the service. You will be escorted by five companies of her majesty's 84th regiment, and the body-guard of cavalry, to Pultah Ghat, and then be crossed over on steamers and ferry-boats to Ghyretty. All your European officers will go with you. Tents to shelter you have been sent. The surgeon and native doctor, and the hospital establishment of your *late* regiment, will accompany you, for I am told cholera has broken out in your ranks; and every care will be taken of the sick, for a just government is not vindictive, and is careful of its subjects. You will be permitted to stay at Ghyretty a day or two, until your officers can see all accounts properly settled; you will then go on six miles to Chinsurah, from whence you will be permitted to go to your homes, to *worship* at the temples where your fathers worshipped before you; and those Brahmins or other Hindoos who wish to do so, can visit the Thackoor at Juggernauth Gya, or any temples deemed holy by them. It is thus I give the lie to the infamous reports that the government wish to interfere with your castes or your religion."

was disbanded, may be referred to:—Her majesty's 84th regiment was landed from a steamer at the Barrackpore ghat, adjacent to which is a small temple, having a space around it wherein the sepoys were accustomed to range their household deities—small, ugly images of brass, stone, or earth. As the first impulse of a European soldier, when he sees one of those frightful idols so much venerated by the Hindoo population, is to knock off its head for the mere love of mischief, General Hearsey (who knew that any insult of the kind would exasperate the sepoys to madness), in order to prevent the chance of it, received the troops himself on landing, and ordered the first two soldiers that ascended the steps of the ghat to stand sentry over the idols. Thus, on the parade-ground, a short distance off, there were European troops prepared to put down a mutiny originating in the sepoy's dread of conversion, while at the ghat there were also European soldiers actually mounting guard for the safety of the sepoy's idols!

The sepoy Mungul Pandy, who had attacked and wounded the adjutant and sergeant-major of his regiment, having been tried by court-martial for the mutiny and outrage, was sentenced to be hung for his offences; the morning of the 3rd of April being appointed for his execution. The gallows was erected in the centre of the parade-ground at Barrackpore, and at gun-fire the troops were drawn up, forming three sides of a square. The 70th, 34th, 43rd, and 2nd grenadiers, native infantry, formed separate squares on one side of the area, faced by the governor-general's body-guard and her majesty's 53rd regiment in line. On the third side of the square were her majesty's 84th regiment in line, flanked by two batteries of the Company's artillery. The culprit was carried to the ground accompanied by a detachment of the guard, and followed by the prisoners of the mutinous quarter guard, also under escort. Upon taking up the positions assigned to them, the four regiments of native infantry were marched up in front of the gallows. The preparations being now complete, General Hearsey addressed the men of the 34th regiment on the melancholy fate of their comrade, and reminded them of the obligation they lay under by the articles of war, which they had sworn to observe. At the conclusion of his address, the prisoner, who had become exhausted, and made no effort to speak, was placed under the gallows. He had previously declared that he had no personal feeling against either of the persons he had injured; but he would reveal nothing that might tend to implicate his comrades in the offence for which he was to suffer death. At a signal the platform was withdrawn, and the body of the mutineer—whose name has become a recognised distinction for the rebellious sepoys throughout India—swung trembling in the air.* The native troops were then marched past the gallows on their way to quarters; the men of the 34th appearing glad to be relieved from any further contemplation of the spectacle, but offering no demonstration of offended feeling. The prisoners of the quarter guard, to the number of nineteen, with the jemadar in charge of the post at the time of the outrage for which this expiation was required, were marched back to their place of confinement, under a European escort, to await their trial and meditate upon their probable punishment.

The effect of the melancholy display on the 3rd of April, was to render the men of the 34th regiment more sullen and insolent than before; and it was at length felt by the military authorities, that nothing short of disbanding the corps could satisfy the requirements of martial discipline. While the 34th remained in this unsatisfactory state at Barrackpore, it became known at the seat of government, that a native regiment stationed at Dinapore was only restrained from breaking into open mutiny by the presence of her majesty's 10th regiment. At the same time, the soldiers selected for practice at the Umballah and Sealkote riding-schools, were loud in their complaints that they should lose *caste* and be degraded if they were compelled to use the defiling cartridges; and the men of the commander-in-chief's escort actually proceeded to excommunicate some of their comrades for the offence of having only touched them. A suspicion now became prevalent, that nearly all the native regiments of infantry belonging to the presidency were ready to take part with the 34th, in the event of its revolting from its allegiance. On the other hand, all the irregular troops, the Sikhs, the Ghoorkas, and the cavalry, professed unshaken loyalty to the English

* Some difficulty had arisen, on the previous day, in procuring a hangman for the occasion, and four low-caste natives were obliged to be sent from Calcutta, that there might be no disappointment at the last moment.

government, and affected to treat the discontent of the 34th and other regiments with disdain and indifference.

The jemadar of the 34th regiment, in charge of the quarter-guard on the 29th of March, was now brought to trial. The charges against him were—"That while officer of the guard, when the sepoy, Mungul Pandy, made his mutinous attack upon the adjutant and sergeant-major of his regiment, he refused to allow any of the guard to interfere for the protection of his superior officer, or the arrest of the assailant. That he had encouraged sedition in the lines of the 34th native regiment, by telling the men, that if any of them brought him one of the new cartridges, he would cut his head off. That he had warned the men of the 34th native infantry to hold themselves in readiness for a general revolt on the night of *Hoolee;* and, lastly, that he had held a meeting in his quarters for the purpose of organising a general revolt of the sepoys against the government."

The misguided man, who relied upon the commiseration of his superior officers for a commutation of the sentence pronounced upon him, expected mercy until the rope was actually placed round his neck; and then, seeing that his doom was inevitable, he addressed the men of his regiment as follows:—"Sepoys! listen to me. I have been a traitor to a good government, and I am about to be punished for my crime; I shall be hanged, and I deserve it! Sepoys, obey your officers, for they are your rightful and just rulers; or else, like me, you will be brought to the gallows. Listen to your officers, and not to evil advisers. I listened to evil advisers, and you see what I am come to! I call upon God to bless the governor-general and all the great gentlemen, the general, and all the *sahib loge* (gentlemen) here present. Seeta Ram! Seeta Ram! Seeta Ram!"

The arrangements for the execution of this native officer were similar to those adopted in the case of the sepoy, Mungul Pandy; and, contrary to the expectation of many, the affair passed over without any ebullition of feeling on the part of the native troops assembled on the occasion.

The mutinous spirit thus promptly suppressed at Barrackpore and Berhampore, was supposed, in the early part of the month of April, to have received an effectual check: the fate of the 19th regiment appeared to have disheartened men who, by the dignity of *caste,* had no choice for the means of subsistence but to remain soldiers. The men of the 34th, although sullen and careless, appeared to be without energy, thoroughly dispirited, and unwilling to risk the chances of further quarrel with their European officers. Some sepoys of the 36th native infantry, who had taunted the pupils in the Umballah school of exercise, were put under arrest, and ordered for trial by court-martial, without exciting any visible feeling among their comrades; and several regiments suspected of being undecided between duty or revolt, had by this time ranged themselves under the banners of discipline and loyalty, and remained passive. Thus everything connected with the native troops appeared to be in an improving and satisfactory state, when suddenly, and simultaneously, symptoms of discontent burst out with fearful earnestness at several stations of the Bengal presidency. At Agra, numerous incendiary fires heralded the approach of greater calamities. At Sealkote, inflammatory letters from the sepoys at Barrackpore were intercepted; and at Umballah, the conflagrations became so frequent and destructive, that a reward of 1,000 rupees was offered by government for the discovery of the incendiaries.

Towards the end of April, indications of disaffection and revolt became apparent at Lucknow, the capital of Oude, which speedily assumed a formidable aspect. The grievance of the obnoxious cartridges had of course been adopted by the sepoys stationed there; and, in addition, they had adopted a private wrong, which was especially their own. The European surgeon of the 34th regiment, in cantonment at Lucknow, had inadvertently tasted a bottle of medicine before handing it over to a sick Brahmin soldier. The act was immediately construed into a flagrant violation of the privileges of *caste,* and a premeditated attempt to break down its distinctive barrier; and the sepoys of this ill-conditioned regiment forthwith revenged the insult by burning down the doctor's bungalow. They also began to hold nightly meetings, and conflagrations were of frequent occurrence. Sir Henry Lawrence, the British resident at Oude, was fortunately upon the spot at the time, and took effective means to trample out the smouldering fire. He applied, by electric telegraph, to the governor-general in council for enlarged authority. "I

want," said he, "unlimited powers; I will not abuse them:" and in a few seconds he received the desired grant. Thus armed, he prepared to put down any attempt at insurrection the instant it should become apparent.

On the 3rd of May, a letter addressed by the men of the 7th Oude irregular infantry to the sepoys of the 48th regiment, was brought to his notice under the following circumstances. The writer, in the name of the 7th regiment, said—"We are ready to obey the directions of our brothers of the 48th in the matter of the cartridges, and to resist either actively or passively." This communication was handed to a Brahmin sepoy of the 48th, for the purpose of being read to his comrades; but the man being "true to his salt," and an exception to his class, at once made known its purport to his havildar, who, in his turn, reported it to his subahdar; and these having consulted together, it was decided to bring the matter to the notice of the commissioner, and the letter was accordingly placed in his hands. In the course of the same or the preceding day, some men of the 7th had displayed an offensive temper; and among other outrageous acts of insubordination, four of them had forced their way into the quarters of the adjutant of the regiment (Lieutenant Meoham), and ordered him to prepare for death. They informed him that, personally, they had no quarrel with him, but that "he was a Feringhee, and must die!" The adjutant was at the moment without any means of defence; his visitors were armed to the teeth; and resistance being useless, the unfortunate officer resolved to meet his fate calmly and with dignity. The mutineers having paused, that he might speak to them, he said—"Men! it is true that I am unarmed, and you can kill me; but that will do you no good. You will not ultimately prevail in this matter; another adjutant will be appointed in my place, and you will be subjected to the same treatment you have received from me. Why, then, should you desire to destroy me?" The expostulation had a fortunate and unexpected effect upon the intruders, who turned and left the place without further attempting to molest the astonished officer.

Information of this mutinous outrage having been forwarded to Sir Henry Lawrence in the course of the same evening, he, without a moment's unnecessary delay, ordered out her majesty's 32nd foot, the 13th, 48th, and 71st native infantry, the 7th cavalry, and a battery of eight guns, manned by Europeans, and proceeded to the lines of the mutineers, about seven miles from the city. Darkness had set in before he arrived, and his movement had been so sudden, that the men of the 7th regiment were completely taken by surprise. Within five minutes after his troops had reached the parade-ground, the bugler was ordered to sound the assembly; and the men, on making their appearance, were commanded to form in front of their lines. In the presence of a force so overwhelming they saw they had no choice but to obey. The infantry and cavalry then formed on either side of them—the guns, within grape distance, being ranged in front; and with this energetic demonstration before them, the 7th, completely baffled, awaited their doom, whatever it might be. They were simply ordered to lay down their arms, and they obeyed without a moment's hesitation. At this juncture the port-fires of the artillery were lighted: a sudden panic seized the whole regiment; the men shouted, as if frantic, "Do not fire! Do not fire!" and, breaking from the ranks, rushed into their lines for shelter or concealment. So far the object of Sir Henry Lawrence had been accomplished without bloodshed; the ringleaders, and many of their most active followers, were discovered and put under arrest the same night, and the remainder of the regiment was relieved from duty and confined to its lines, pending further measures.

Having thus promptly succeeded in quelling the first open attempt to excite mutiny among the troops at Lucknow by the agency of the 7th regiment, Sir Henry Lawrence hoped to remove the groundless dissatisfaction that prevailed among the native regiments, by explanation and conciliatory treatment. He consequently directed that every possible effort should be made to undeceive the sepoys, in regard to the pretences upon which their religious prejudices had been awakened, and to excite a soldierly indignation against the treachery and disloyalty of the regiments that had disgraced themselves by mutinous conduct. He held, also, a grand military *durbar*, or audience, at which he publicly acknowledged and rewarded the fidelity of those men of the 48th regiment who had shown their high sense of honour and

loyalty by not only resisting the temptation to join the mutineers, but who, by apprising their officers of the impending mischief, had enabled the authorities to act in time for the protection of the faithful and well-disposed. Everything was done to give effect to the proceedings, which were conducted in the presence of the whole garrison, and the principal native and European inhabitants of the city. After an energetic address to the native troops, in the course of which he positively disclaimed, on the part of government, the slightest intention or desire to interfere in the most remote degree with the free exercise of the Brahminical religion, or the privileges of *caste*, he compared the tyranny and oppression to which their fellow-countrymen had been subjected under former rulers, with the mild and tolerant government under which they now lived with their families in peace and security; and then, after alluding to the glorious triumphs and high reputation of the Bengal army, and threatening signal chastisement to all who should dare, by mutinous conduct, to tarnish that reputation, he concluded thus:—"And now, soldiers, it is my pleasing duty to reward, in the name of the government, those who have served it well and honourably. Advance, Subahdar Sewak Tewaree; come forward, havildar and soldiers; and receive from the government, which is proud to number you among its soldiers, the gifts I am delighted to present to you. Accept these swords of honour—you have won them well—long may you live to wear them! Take these sums of money for your families. Wear these robes of honour at your homes and your festivals; and may the bright example that you have so conspicuously shown, find, as it doubtless will, followers in every regiment and company in the service."

Sir Henry Lawrence then himself presented to the subahdar and havildar a handsome sabre each, a pair of rich shawls, a splendid *chogah*, or cloak, and four pieces of embroidered cloth; the sepoys, two in number, were each presented with a handsome sword and turban, and pieces of cloth; 300 rupees, in a purse, were also given to each; and the commissioner, at the close of the ceremony, cordially shook the hand of each recipient of these merited rewards.

Notwithstanding the storm of revolt had been thus happily for a time averted from bursting over Lucknow, the official report of Sir Henry Lawrence respecting the occurrences that had taken place, aroused the government at Calcutta to a sense of the gathering danger, and of the necessity for vigorous measures to arrest its progress. As a first step in the right direction, the governor-general ordered that the 34th regiment of native infantry, part of which was yet in cantonments at Barrackpore, and the other part at Lucknow, should be immediately disbanded;* a correspondence having been discovered in the possession of a native officer of the corps, which proved the existence of a conspiracy for organising a general revolt of the native troops throughout the presidency; and accordingly, on the 7th of May, the seven companies of the regiment at Barrackpore were reduced. It will be recollected that the notorious Mungul Pandy was a sepoy of this corps; and it should be remarked, that during the hand-to-hand conflict that ensued after his attack upon the adjutant, some hundreds of sepoys in undress, and others in uniform, looked passively on, while several took part in the struggle, and attacked the European officers with the butt-end of their muskets. As it was found impossible to procure evidence to identify these men, and the general conduct of the regiment had been conspicuously bad, it was selected upon this occasion for an example of the determination with which the government had resolved to crush the mutinous spirit prevailing throughout the native army. The order was carried out under all necessary precautions; but the men exhibited a most daring and insolent tone of defiance throughout the whole proceedings.

From the beginning of May, it was suspected that the mutinous feeling which had been exhibited by the different regiments throughout Bengal, had its origin in the 34th native infantry. The disbanded 19th persistently accused the 34th of having planned and counselled the mutiny for which they were disbanded. Recent discoveries proved, that some of the native officers of this regiment had been in communication with nearly every native regiment in Bengal; and that a conspiracy had been set on foot with a view of organising

* The distribution of *caste* in the 34th regiment at this time, was as follows:—Brahmins, 335; Rajpoots, 237; Hindoos of inferior caste, 231; Mussulmans, 200; Sikhs, 74; Christians (drummers, &c.), 12: total, 1,089. The 19th regiment, at the time of its disbandment, contained 409 Brahmins and 180 Rajpoots.

a general and simultaneous rising of the entire native army, who were to murder all Europeans in the country. A considerable mass of this correspondence was discovered in the possession of the principal native officer of the 34th; and these documents fully proved the complicity of a large number of the highest grade of native military officers throughout Bengal. The discovery naturally occasioned much alarm; but the confidence of the government in its own resources continued unabated.

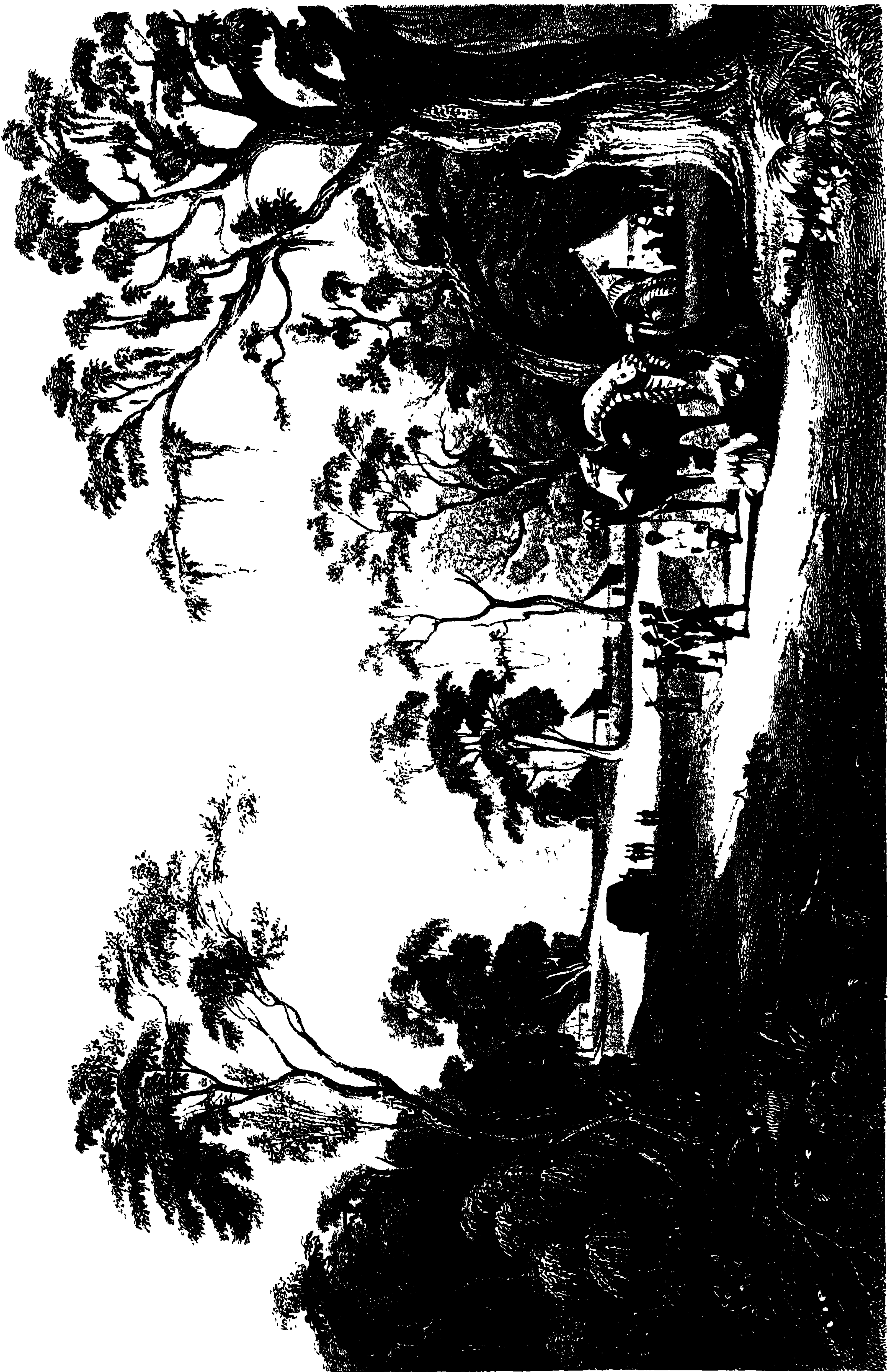
CHAPTER IV.

MUTINY AT MEERUT; ANOTHER ALLEGED CAUSE OF GRIEVANCE; THE CANTONMENTS AND TOWN OF MEERUT; THE 3RD NATIVE CAVALRY AND THE CARTRIDGES; MUTINOUS CONDUCT OF THE SOWARS; A PUNISHMENT ARADE; REVOLT OF THE TROOPS; MASSACRE OF THE EUROPEAN OFFICERS AND INHABITANTS; FLIGHT OF THE MUTINEERS TO DELHI.

WHILE the transactions we have narrated were in progress through other parts of the presidency, a cloud had been gathering over Meerut,* an important military station situate in the Doab, nearly equidistant from the Ganges and the Jumna, and about thirty-two miles from Delhi. Little suspicion was yet entertained of the tempest about to burst, in torrents of blood, over the streets of the populous capital of an important district; but, as it afterwards appeared, the native troops, like those quartered at Barrackpore and other places already named, had become deeply impressed by a sense of grievance in connection with the objectionable cartridges, and they had also a supplemental imaginary wrong to excite the more credulous among them. A rumour had been privately circulated amongst the Brahmin sepoys, that the government designed to deprive them of the privileges of *caste*, by having the bones of bullocks, ground and mixed with flour, sold in the markets, so that the Hindoo, by inadvertently partaking of food with which a portion of the substance of the forbidden animal was combined, would become polluted and outcast, and thus be compelled to embrace Christianity. The hostile influence of this impression at length became visible to the European inhabitants; and General Hewitt, commanding the forces at Meerut, attempted, through the instrumentality of the officers of the different corps, to combat these notions, and to efface the mischievous impression. The remonstrances and arguments employed were, however, listened to with sullen impatience; and it soon became evident that some deep-seated feeling, hostile to the Company's government, was operating upon the impulsive temperament of the entire native army, which merely waited for favourable opportunity, and slight provocation, to burst into active revolt. In the early part of May, the *Bombay Times* represented the whole district from Calcutta to Lahore, as "either in open mutiny, or upon the verge of it." The preconcerted arrangement, as subsequently disclosed, appears to have warranted such an opinion; as it had been planned that a rising should take place simultaneously at Meerut, Lahore, and other cities of the Punjab. The revolted troops were then to fall back on Delhi, and make it their head-quarters, and the base of future operations in the Mogul empire; which was to be there proclaimed and established, by the extermination of the whole European army and population throughout India.

The rising at Meerut was the earliest in point of date of the several attempts at insurrection, and it became successful, as much from the peculiar nature of the ground, as from a variety of other circum-

* The capital of a district of British India, in the presidency of Agra. It is situated in a grassy plain, about thirty-two miles north-east of Delhi. The town is inclosed by a ruined wall of great extent; and the most important structure within it at the time of the recent outbreak, was the English church. Population from 30,000 to 40,000. The cantonments, about two miles north of the town, afforded accommodation for 20,000 troops, and were generally occupied by a large native force.



stances. The cantonment was itself distinguished for its spacious area: a parallelogram in shape, it extended east and west five miles, and from north to south two miles, the ground being divided as follows:—On the extreme right of the north front were the lines of the horse artillery, consisting of barracks and stabling for one native and three European troops of horse artillery, with hospital and bazaar. On the left of the royal artillery lines, and also in the north front row of the cantonment, were the bungalows of the European infantry. These bungalows were in rows of four or five deep, each accommodating twenty men; and at the time of the outbreak they were occupied by the 60th rifles. About a quarter of a mile to the left rear of these bungalows were the stables of the European cavalry, and in rear of them the barracks of that regiment. These barracks were about the centre of the cantonment. To their rear was an extent of broken ground much larger than is met with in the unoccupied portion of cantonments generally, and it owed the ruggedness of its surface to the circumstance of its being, in the rainy season, the water-shed of a large portion of the cantonment. To the right rear, and rear of this broken ground was situated a very large bazaar, amply stocked with some of the worst specimens of the native population; and between this and the south front of the cantonment were a number of officers' quarters, stretching up to the rear of the artillery lines. Facing towards Delhi, and at the left rear of the parallelogram, were the lines of the native regiments, forming three sides of a square, and about four miles from the horse artillery lines at the opposite corner of the enclosure. The road to Delhi was contiguous to the native lines. The officers of the European corps had mostly their bungalows behind the lines of their respective regiments; but the dwellings of officers of different corps were often intermixed, without regard to strict order; and this irregularity chiefly prevailed in the rear of the broken ground already mentioned, and in the vicinity of the Sudder Bazaar, where there were a large number of bungalows occupied by European traders, wine-merchants, and clerks in the public offices. The bungalows of the officers of the native corps were in the rear of the lines of their respective regiments. The old town of Meerut was south of the cantonment, and about a mile from the Sudder Bazaar. It was crowded with a bad and turbulent population; and the civil gaol was in its immediate vicinity. The lines of the sappers and miners were at a considerable distance to the south-west of the cantonments.

The circumstances that immediately preceded the military outbreak at Meerut were as follows:—Some refractory temper having been exhibited by several men of the 3rd native cavalry, in reference to the obnoxious cartridges, it was considered proper, by the officers in command at the station, to test the discipline of the regiment; and with this view, a parade was ordered on the 6th of May, at which the cartridges were served out to the men. Out of ninety sowars on parade, only five would receive, or even submit to touch them. Anxious to conciliate, rather than push matters hastily to an extreme point, the havildars were ordered to offer them a second time to the eighty-five men, who again peremptorily refused to receive them; and their insubordinate conduct being reported to the general in command, the whole of the refractory soldiers were by his orders placed under arrest, and were subsequently tried by a court-martial composed of native officers, by whom the delinquents were severally sentenced to periods of imprisonment varying from six to ten years. The eighty-five prisoners were then placed in charge of a guard of European soldiers, composed of two companies of the 60th rifles, and twenty-five men of the carabineers, and were thus conducted to their lines.

A general punishment parade was ordered at daybreak on the morning of Saturday, the 9th of May, and at that time all the troops at the cantonment, with the exception of the standing guards, were paraded on the ground of the 60th rifles; that battalion, with the carabineers, the 3rd light cavalry, the 11th and 20th regiments of native infantry, a light field battery, and a troop of horse artillery, being present under arms. Upon the arrival of General Hewitt and his staff, the carabineers, horse artillery, and rifles, were ordered to load; and having performed this significant military operation, the eighty-five prisoners were marched to the ground under escort, the European regiments and the guns of the artillery being disposed so that the slightest effort to get up a mutinous outbreak would have been followed by their inevitable destruction. The prisoners were in uniform when

marched on to the ground; but as soon as their respective sentences had been read in the hearing of the assembled troops, they were ordered to take off their military clothing and accoutrements; and the armourers and smiths of the horse artillery being in readiness with the necessary implements, irons were riveted upon the legs of each individual, and, finally, they were marched off the parade, and escorted to the gaol, about two miles from the cantonment. During the progress of this scene, so humiliating to the character of the regiment to which the men belonged, the officers and men of the 3rd cavalry present, appeared intensely, though silently, to feel the degradation of their comrades: they sat mounted, with swords drawn and sloped, but allowed no outward indication of the fires of revenge and hatred that were scorching their hearts, and consuming whatever had existed of human feeling within them, to appear. The sepoy regiments, evidently intimidated by the preparations that had been made to crush any mutinous demonstration on the ground, marched sullenly to their lines.

Up to this date no suspicion of a general rising of the native troops had been entertained either by the officers in cantonment or by the European residents at Meerut, the discontent of the native troops and their connections in the bazaars and town having merely shown itself by incendiary fires in the lines, scarcely a night passing without one or more conflagrations, and the partial and abortive attempt at mutiny already noticed. All was therefore in comparative repose until the evening of Sunday, the 10th of May, when a movement commenced among the native troops, which, in its results, showed that a plan of wholesale and indiscriminate massacre had been arranged, and was then about to be carried into effect, the intent of the conspirators being to surround, during church-time, the whole of the European population, civil as well as military; which, thus surprised, unarmed, and defenceless, was to be destroyed, without exception or regard to age, sex, or station. To the successful accomplishment of this diabolical scheme there was but one obstacle—namely, the want of unanimity among the chief actors in the proposed tragedy. The 11th native infantry had less thirst for European blood than either the 3rd cavalry or the 20th regiment. The moment for decisive action approached; and the 11th still holding out against a massacre, the men of the 20th, excited by rage and disappointment, at length fired several shots at the sepoys of the 11th, who, being either intimidated by the fury of their comrades, or probably not sincerely unwilling to join in the sanguinary work proposed to them, now joined the rebellious movement; and the men of the three regiments, thus united, rushed together into the parade-ground, with shouts and execrations against the Europeans generally, and at once began their task of unrelenting slaughter. Unfortunately, at this critical moment, General Hewitt, in charge of the troops at the cantonment, seems to have shown much indecision as to the means to be adopted to arrest the first steps of the rebellious and murderous outbreak.

One of the European officers attached to the 11th regiment has described the incidents connected with this affair by a communication from Meerut, dated May 12th, 1857, in which he says—"On Sunday, the 10th, between five and six o'clock in the evening, I was in my bungalow, in rear of the lines of the 11th native infantry, where I have resided since my arrival at the station; when, as I was dressing, preparatory to going out for a ride with Colonel Finnis, of the 11th native infantry, my attention was attracted to my servants and those in the neighbouring compounds, going down towards the front of our enclosures, and looking steadily into the lines of the 11th, whence a buzzing murmuring noise proceeded, such as I have often heard in cases of fire, or some such alarm. Of this I took little notice, but went down to my gate, still dressing; and the noise still increasing, I returned to the bungalow, put on my uniform, and again went out. I had scarcely got to the gate, when I heard the popping sound of fire-arms, which I knew at once were loaded with ball-cartridge, and a European non-commissioned officer came running, with others, towards me from the 11th lines, saying, 'For God's sake, sir, leave! come to your bungalow, change that dress, and fly!' I walked into my bungalow, and was doffing my uniform, the bullets by this time flying out of the 11th lines into my compound, when the havildar-major of the 11th rushed into the room, terrified and breathless, and exclaimed, 'Fly, Sahib—fly at once! the regiments are in open mutiny.' The tumult was now drawing nearear, and the shouts of the infuriated soldiers increased. The affair was evidently becoming serious. I came



out, and ordered my horse to be saddled and brought up, my servants still begging of me to fly for my life. I mounted. The lines of the 6th dragoon guards (carabiniers) lie to the north of my bungalow, separated by a rugged and barren plain, cut up by nullahs and ravines, upon which, riding out of the back part of my compound, I descended. A Briton does not like actually 'running away' under any circumstances; and I was riding slowly through the uneven ground, when the havildar-major before-mentioned exclaimed, 'You, Sahib, are mounted and can make haste; ride to the European cavalry lines, and give the alarm.' Good; I galloped off, crossed the difficult ground all right, got into the cavalry lines and made for the colonel's house, which he had just left, and found him in the barrack lines on horseback, ordering the dragoons to saddle, arm, and mount without a moment's delay."

In the meantime the work of destruction was rapidly approaching consummation. The moment the alarm had reached Colonel Finnis, commanding the 11th regiment, that officer rode to the parade-ground, and endeavoured, by haranguing the men, to induce them to return to their duty as soldiers: he exhorted them, by their former good character and the confidence that had always been deservedly reposed in their loyalty and obedience, to remain true to their colours, and to avoid the stain that a useless attempt at mutiny would indelibly inflict upon the regiment. He appealed to them as their colonel and their friend; but the reply to his remonstrance was a shot from a sepoy of the 20th regiment, which struck him in the back as he uttered his last sentence. A volley from the muskets of the tumultuous rabble instantly followed this signal, and the colonel fell from his horse, riddled by bullets. Observing the fate of Colonel Finnis, and being utterly unprepared to resist the fury of the mutineers, the other officers withdrew from the parade-ground, and sought protection in the lines of the rifles and 6th dragoons, their longer continuance upon the scene being useless as well as personally hazardous. Throughout this scene, the men of the 11th regiment were not so murderously disposed as those of the 3rd and 20th, since, if their desire had been to massacre their officers, they had ample opportunity to accomplish their purpose while the colonel was addressing them; and it may be observed also in their favour, that they offered no impediment to the escape of their officers after the colonel had fallen.

During this lamentable scene on the parade-ground, a strong party of the 3rd regiment had mounted and rode off to the gaol, where, as before stated, some eighty-five of their comrades had been conducted in irons the previous day, in accordance with a sentence of court-martial. Meeting with no attempt at resistance on the part of the *burkandazes* (gaol guards), the liberation of the troopers was speedily accomplished, as well as that of about 1,200 other individuals, then in confinement for sundry crimes and offences. The yet fettered sowars, exasperated by the disgrace they had been subjected to, added greatly to the frenzied excitement of their comrades, who escorted them back to their lines in the cantonments, followed by a tumultuous rabble from the gaol, yelling and shouting, and vociferating savage denunciations of vengeance upon all Europeans. The first object of the rescuers, on returning to the cantonment, was to free their comrades from the irons riveted upon them; the next, to join their brother mutineers of the 20th regiment in the frightful carnage that had already commenced, and in which the soldiers of the 3rd regiment spared neither sex nor age. The men of the 20th regiment were equally busy at the like sanguinary pastime, and the murders committed by them were as numerous and unprovoked as those of the 3rd; although, if it be possible to make a distinction in the character of such atrocities, the acts of the 20th were not signalised by the unspeakable brutalities that marked the pitiless vengeance of the 3rd. The 11th regiment, as before observed, seemed at first to enter with reluctance into the reckless outrages of the other troops; but at length they also became excited by the fury of their companions in the mutiny, and exhibited a like avidity for the shedding of European blood. By this time darkness had set in; and the fires that had been conveyed to every house and building, officers' bungalows, public edifices, the mess-houses of the troops, and, in short, every structure between the native lines and Meerut, began to proclaim their ascendancy over the fragile materials by which they were fed. On all sides great pinnacles of waving flame, of all hues and degrees of intensity, shot up high into the darkness; huge volumes of smoke came

rolling on in the sultry atmosphere; and the cracking and roar of the extending conflagration, the frantic yells of the mutinous sepoys, and the shouts and shrieks of the multitude gathered to witness the progress of the revolt, and share in the plunder (many of whom fell from the random shots of the soldiers)—all combined, on that dark and awful night, to present a scene of horrors it would be impossible to exaggerate in attempting to describe. Every living thing within reach was attacked at once, as the furious mob of sepoys and plunderers rushed from place to place, uttering cries of revenge on the Europeans, mingled with shouts of exultation at their easily-acquired triumph over unsuspecting and defenceless victims.

The official details of the occurrence at Meerut on the 10th of May, as given by General Hewitt, are very meagre, and do not at all explain the reason why no European guard was placed over the gaol or the native lines, although the men were well known to be disaffected. Neither do they afford information why the brigadier did not advance in pursuit of the fugitives with even a portion of his force. Promptitude on the part of General Hewitt, in following up and attacking the mutineers the next morning, would have struck a mortal blow at the revolt, and would, in all probability, have saved Delhi from massacre and plunder. The despatch is as follows:—

"*Major-general Hewitt to the Adjutant-general of the Army.*

"Meerut, May 11th, 1857.

"Sir,—I regret to have to report that the native troops at Meerut broke out yesterday evening in open mutiny. About half-past six P.M. the 20th native infantry turned out with arms. They were reasoned with by their officers, when they reluctantly returned to their lines; but immediately after they rushed out again, and began to fire. The 11th native infantry had turned out with their officers, who had perfect control over them, inasmuch as they persuaded them not to touch their arms until Colonel Finnis had reasoned with the mutineers, in doing which he was, I regret to say, shot dead; after which act the 20th native infantry fired into the 11th, who then desired their officers to leave them, and apparently joined the mutineers.

"The 3rd light cavalry, at the commencement, mounted a party, and galloped over to the gaol to rescue the eighty-five men of the corps who were sentenced by the native general court-martial, in which they succeeded, and at the same time liberated all the other prisoners, about 1,200 in number. The mutineers then fired nearly all the bungalows in rear of the centre lines south of the nullah, including Mr. Greathed's (the commissioner) and my own, together with the government cattle-yard and commissariat officer's house and office. In this they were assisted by the population of the bazaar, the city, and the neighbouring villages. Every European—man, woman, and child—fallen in with, was ruthlessly murdered. Amongst those who are known to have fallen, are Colonel Finnis, 11th native infantry; Captain Taylor, Captain Macdonald, 20th native infantry; together with the wife and three children of the latter; Cornet M'Nabb, Veterinary Surgeons Phillips and Dowson, together with the wife of the latter. The above particulars I have learned from different parties.

"As soon as the alarm was given, the artillery, carabiniers, and 60th rifles were got under arms; but by the time we reached the native infantry parade-ground, it was too dark to act with efficiency in that direction; consequently the troops retired to the north of the nullah, so as to cover the barracks and officers' lines of the artillery, carabiniers, and 60th rifles; which were, with the exception of one house, preserved, though the insurgents—for I believe the mutineers had at that time retired by the Allygurh and Delhi roads—burnt the vacant sapper and miner lines. At break of day the force was divided: one-half on guard, and the other taken to reconnoitre and pat ol the native lines.

"The guard from the 20th native infantry at the pension pay-office and cantonment magistrates' remained at their posts; two native officers, and some twenty men of the 11th native infantry, remained with their officers; also about fifty men of the 3rd light cavalry, who came in with their respective troop officers, whom they had aided and preserved.

"I am led to think the outbreak was not premeditated, but the result of a rumour that a party was parading to seize their arms; which was strengthened by the fact of the 60th rifles parading for evening church service. Efficient measures are being taken to secure the treasure, ammunition, and barracks, and to place the females and European inhabitants in the

greatest security obtainable. Nearly the whole of the cantonment and zillah police have deserted. The electric wire having been destroyed, it was impossible to communicate the state of things except by express, which was done to Delhi and Umballah. His excellency will be kept daily informed of the state of things, and a more detailed account will be furnished as soon as circumstances permit commanding officers to furnish the necessary reports.—I have, &c.,

"W. H. Hewitt, Major-general,
"Commanding Meerut Division."

The following are the names of some of the victims who perished in this outbreak:—In the 3rd cavalry, Dr. Christie, Cornet M'Nabb, and Mr. Phillips, veterinary surgeon, were killed: in the 11th native infantry, Colonel Finnis and Mrs. Chambers: in the 20th native infantry, Captain Taylor, Captain Macdonald (acting interpreter of the 3rd cavalry), Mr. Macdonald, Lieutenants Henderson and Pattle, all killed; Lieutenant Lewes, slightly wounded. Mr. Dawson, veterinary surgeon (horse artillery), and Mrs. Dawson, were also among the killed; Lieutenant Templer, 6th native infantry, was badly wounded. It is due to the men of the 11th to say, that they left Meerut without touching their officers, so that the deaths in that regiment must be attributed to the mutineers of other corps. Many other persons unconnected with the army, also fell before the rage of the mutineers who had carefully prearranged *their* outbreak. At the very commencement, all possibility of telegraphic communication with Delhi was cut off. They also had the precaution to keep possession of the road to the capital, as some movements made by the cavalry in that direction, were rendered unsuccessful by the advantages of time and position the rebels secured by their unmolested flight.

Returning to the letter of which an extract has been already given, the writer says, in reference to the dragoons ordered out for the protection of the cantonment—"It took a long time to get ready, and it was dark before the dragoons were prepared to start in a body; but when the carabiniers were mounted, we rode off at a brisk trot, through clouds of suffocating dust and darkness, in an easterly direction, and along a narrow road; not advancing in the direction of the conflagration, but, on the contrary, leaving it behind on our right rear. In this way we proceeded for some two or three miles, when suddenly the halt was sounded, and we faced about, retracing our steps, and, verging towards the left, approached the conflagration, and debouched on the left rear of the native infantry lines, which were now all in a blaze; skirting along behind these lines, we turned them at the western end, and, wheeling to the left, came upon the 11th parade-ground, where, at a little distance, we found the horse artillery and the 60th rifles."

It will be observed, that the first movement of the 3rd and 20th regiments commenced between four and five o'clock in the afternoon, and that the lines of the European cavalry ranged off from the centre of the cantonment, and consequently were within two miles and a-half of the extreme limits (inclusive) of the lines of the three mutinous regiments; and were certainly not more than four miles and a-half from the town of Meerut: but, notwithstanding the proximity of the 6th dragoons and the other European troops, night had set in before they were on the parade-ground in service order; and then, as far as the 6th dragoons were concerned, according to the letter we have just read, began the system of marching and countermarching that ended in their doing nothing. The 60th rifles and the horse artillery were first upon the scene of outrage; the dragoons (probably fearful of blowing their horses by too much haste) leisurely followed; but long before they reached the native lines, the mutineers had exhausted their fury, and, sated with blood and carnage, had began to retire in the direction of Delhi. Their rear was already disappearing in the gloom, when it was discovered by the 60th rifles and the horse artillery, who fired a few volleys into a wood in which the fugitives had sought cover. It was now quite dark, and beyond the wood no search was made or pursuit attempted; the rifles and artillery therefore retraced their steps to the cantonment, and, on the parade-ground of the late 11th regiment, met the 6th dragoons, returning from their useless ride. The mutineers, thus left free to choose their accommodation for the night, encamped unmolested within six miles of Meerut. The European troops bivouacked upon the scene of devastation and slaughter they had *not* prevented by timely interposition; and the remainder of the night of the 10th of May was occupied in devising plans for the future safety of the smoking

ruins of Meerut, and of the portion that yet survived of its European population.

The horrors of that dreadful night could scarcely have been surpassed, though, unfortunately, they were too closely paralleled by subsequent atrocities in other places. The mutinous and infuriated soldiers had, it is true, withdrawn from the scene of their outrages; but the liberated prisoners from the gaol, and the rabble of the town, continued their ravages almost without a check. The first act of Major-general Hewitt, after the return of the troops from their tardy, and consequently ineffective pursuit, was to post European sentries in different parts of Meerut; and the constant fire of their rifles showed that the measure, late as it was adopted, was necessary. To many of the surviving Europeans, the night of the 10th of May, 1857, was one of agonising suspense; to some it was a night in which the desolated heart was numbed by the intensity of its hopeless grief. Husbands had missed their wives, wives had been torn away from their husbands; infants had been wrenched from their mothers' arms to be butchered before their eyes; and children had been compelled to witness the expiring agonies of their murdered parents, and even to drink their blood!

It is quite clear that no attempt was made, even on the following morning, to pursue and attack the fugitive mutineers, who were consequently allowed to advance upon Delhi without hindrance—an advantage that enabled them the more effectively to perpetrate the atrocities we have yet to record.

Continuing the details furnished by individuals on the spot, we have the following in a letter, dated Meerut, May 12th:—

"Last night we had to flee to the artillery school of instruction, which is the safest place in Meerut. You cannot imagine how many were there: the commissioner and Mrs. Greathed, the Cooksons, the Scotts, and, indeed, almost all the officers' wives. Mrs. Greathed escaped by a miracle; she was on the top of the house when it was burning the evening before last. The servants declared both Mr. and Mrs. Greathed were from home, so it was useless trying to find them. After the insurgents left, Mr. and Mrs. Greathed remained a whole night under a tree. Last night was more calm than the previous one. Two stables were burnt down close to where we are: a few guns were pointed at the insurgents, who are still prowling about. The military could not guard further than the Mall, along which artillery was placed; and dragoons and riflemen were parading all round Meerut. It was a pitiable sight to see the general so affected at the funerals of the poor fellows who have been butchered. I heard yesterday that eighty sepoys have already laid down their arms, and are begging for forgiveness, and others wish to follow if they may be forgiven. The night before last they murdered every European they came across, sparing neither men, women, nor children. Mrs. Courtenay, of the hotel, was murdered, as also her niece; so you see they penetrated well into the cantonment. Every bungalow in the native cavalry and native infantry lines has been burnt to the ground.'

The following extracts are from a letter written by the wife of an officer of the 3rd cavalry, dated Meerut, May 11th:—

"There has been an awful mutiny of the native regiments here, in consequence of the severe sentence pronounced on our skirmishers. On the 9th inst. some eighty-five men were committed to gaol for ten years in irons, and with hard labour. On the evening of Sunday, the 10th, an outbreak of the native infantry occurred for their release. I cannot describe it now. It was a massacre—a carnage! Eliza and I were driving to church, when we saw rioters pouring into the road, armed with clubs and swords. They warned us back, and we reached home safely. What a night followed! My husband tore off to keep his troop steady, and partially succeeded, but many of our poor 3rd joined the mutineers.

"17th. So far I wrote a few days ago; now I trust to be able to write more calmly of the awful scene through which we have passed. How you will shudder! We are safe as yet, and trusting to continue so until happier times come. To begin. As we went to church, when passing the mess of our regiment, servants were leaning over the walls of the compound, all looking towards the road from the native infantry lines. I saw something was wrong, and, on asking, several men called to us to go back, as there was a mutiny of the native infantry, and a fight in the bazaar. Here was our first escape; for had we been further on our way, we might never have been able to drive through the road. We saw crowds of armed men hurrying towards us. We drove home furiously. On the way we

passed a private of the carabiniers unarmed, and running for his life from several men armed with *lattees* (a long stick.) We stopped the carriage, and drew in the poor Englishman; the men continued to strike at him as we took him in, but stopped when we held out our arms and screamed to them to desist; and we reached home safely. On telling my husband, he started off at once for his lines, in uniform, but without waiting for his horse, ordering it to be sent after him. When he reached the gate, he found ——, surrounded by three of the 3rd troopers, cutting at him with their swords. My husband shouted, 'What are you doing? that's my friend;' and they desisted. He then hurried to the lines; found the three first troops had run away; but his own, with the 5th and 6th, were still there. Captain —— had also joined him. They asked the men if they could rely on them, and to a man they swore fidelity. They heard there was fighting at the gaol to release the prisoners. The men clustered round Henry, and on his asking them what they were going to do, they replied, 'Whatever you order us.' So Henry gave them their horses, and bade them follow him, or rather Captain ——, as his senior, and they rode off in the direction of the gaol. They had first asked Mr. ——, who came up, if he had any orders from the colonel. Mr. —— said the colonel was flying for his life, and had given no orders. They rode on with their three troops; but, after a short distance, my husband discovered that he was alone with the fourth troop. To this moment he is unaware when the others turned back. He soon afterwards met the cavalry prisoners free, and with their irons broken. They were flying to Delhi. They recognised Henry, and shouted blessings on him as they passed. They were mounted and in uniform. Their comrades, who had broken open the gaol and set them free, having given them their own equipments. One of these escaped prisoners sprang to meet Henry, crying, 'I am free, my lord. My captain, let me press you to my bosom before I fly;' and he did it. He was indeed their friend, and had he been listened to, these horrors might never have happened. Still, who can say? for the cartridges seem to have been made the excuse for the outbreak of a long-brewing animosity. On seeing that the gaol was broken open, Henry determined to turn back, and try to save the standards of the 3rd from the lines. The roads were in uproar! They with difficulty charged through crowds of infantry mutineers and bazaar men, armed and firing. Henry saw a trooper stabbing a woman as she drove by in a carriage. He cut him down with his sword; and as he reeled in his saddle, Mr. —— ran him through, but the woman (Mrs. Courtenay, wife of the hotel-keeper), was already dead. That showed Henry that a massacre of all Europeans was proposed. Soon a ball whizzed by Henry's ear, and, looking back, he saw one of the troopers, not in uniform, and with his head muffled, fire at him again. Henry shouted, 'Was that meant for me?' 'Yes,' said the man, 'I will have your blood.' Henry did not fire at him; he believed the men might mutiny from him were he to do so. He only asked his men if they would see him shot? They vociferated 'No,' and forced the assassin back again and again, but would not kill him. What an awful position! The man was not of those who had started with Henry, as he had made them all dress properly; while this man wore native clothes. Henry believes it to have been a man he removed from being 'daroga,' for carelessness and disobedience; but he is not quite certain. A christian trumpeter urged Henry to save himself by riding faster; so they dashed back towards the lines, but the assassin followed, firing again and again. Henry kept cheering his men, and keeping them together by praise, &c. He reached the lines; but, passing our house on his way, he asked what men would come to defend me? The whole troop (at least, all with him) raised their hands. He said he only wanted four men. 'I, I, I,' cried every one; so he sent the first four. Then reaching the lines, he found there Major ——, Captain ——, and Mr. ——, with a few remaining men of the other troops. The infantry were flying across the parade-ground, followed by European artillery. Now the officers, bidding their men follow, galloped into the open country with three of the four regimental standards; and on seeing them safe near the dragoon lines, Henry asked Major —— if he might return and look after me, and he got permission. How truly thankful was I to see him again! But, I! what a time had I passed through since he had gone to his troop, about two hours before! I had first hidden the uniform of the carabinier

we had rescued, and dressed him in a coat of Henry's, bidding him sit with us. I fancied that he alone might be the object of possible attack, as the native troops have been incensed by a guard of carabiniers having been over our skirmisher prisoners. Crowds began to hurry past our grounds, both on the road and in the open ground behind; many parties were our own lost cavalry. They were half in uniform, half without. Many shots were being fired, and the shouting was awful. I could ever and anon hear my husband's name blessed by the poor madmen. Bungalows began to blaze round us, nearer and nearer, till the frenzied mob reached that next to our own! We saw a poor lady in the verandah, a Mrs. Chambers (lately arrived.) We bade the servants bring her over the low wall to us, but they were too confused to attend to me at first. The stables of that house were first burnt. We heard the shrieks of the horses. Then came the mob to the house itself, with awful shouts and curses. We heard the doors broken in, and many, many shots; and at the moment my servants said they had been to bring away Mrs. Chambers, but had found her dead on the ground, cut horribly, and she on the eve of her confinement! Oh! night of horrors! Still I heard shouts of my husband's name, and assurances that our house should be spared, but crowds kept threatening. I almost believed we should escape, but watched in agony with Eliza from the upper verandah. I saw men bring a burning log across the next compound, and thought we should be the next to be murdered. A few of our Hindoo servants were with us—one Buctour, the klassie, running to and fro, driving the men out of the compound, and saying my husband 'was the people's friend, and that no one should burn his house.'

"They tell me shots were fired at me, but I saw it not. Oh, agony! every house in sight was blazing—nine or ten I could see. At last a few horsemen rode into the compound. I saw the cavalry uniform. 'Come, come,' I shouted, 'and save me;' and poor Eliza joined. 'Fear nothing,' said the first man; 'no one shall injure you.' Oh! how I thanked them; and in a minute they were with us in the upper room, and I tried to take their hands in mine, but they laid themselves at my feet, touching them with their foreheads. They were unknown to me—these four; but the first who spoke, Madho, I can never forget. They implored me to keep inside; but, oh! how to do that when I was watching for my husband? Alfred joined us first, safe, and reporting Henry the same. And then our cavalry guard kept dashing through the compound, forcing back parties who rushed in to fire the house. The pistol-shots rang on every side; and now my husband arrived in speechless agony on our account, and made us leave the house, fearing it might be surrounded. Wrapped in the black stable blankets, to hide our light dresses in the glare of the flaming station, he took us to hide under trees in the garden; but moved us afterwards into a little temple that stands on our grounds. It is very thick-walled, and having only one narrow door, was a good place for shelter. We sat there whispering for some hours, listening to the noises, as crowds came near or fell away. Still no one attacked us; and more of the cavalry troops were continually joining us, vowing to live or die for us. A band of armed thieves now broke into the house, but two of them were shot, and the others fled. Buctour, the klassie, taking one of my husband's rifles, killed one of them. The cavalry men wished us to remain where we were, promising to keep us unharmed; but Henry dared not venture our doing so, and only waited till about dawn to drive us away. All this time bands of men were rushing into the compound, asking for us, and were told by the servants that we had escaped to the artillery lines. The fourth standard was now brought in by Rhomon Sing, our poor old acquaintance, and Colonel ——'s victim. He never left us again. At times we had thirty men about; but they looked very blank at the idea of taking us to the European lines. Henry feared they might desert us, but kept them together astonishingly; and now, the roads appearing quieter, we hurried off. All the stable servants had fled, so Henry had much trouble to find all the harness, and himself put it on the horses. Eliza and I ventured to return to the house to collect a few clothes, and secure our trinkets. The plate we could not get, the khitmutgurs having run away with the keys. There, in darkness and fear, we left our house, so loved and beautiful, probably never to see it again. Eliza and I and the carabinier got into the carriage, carrying all the guns; Henry and Alfred mustered all the troopers round us, and we drove off. We had nineteen of the 3rd remaining with us, including the jemadar

of our troop. One of the prisoners had come to us offering to stay and defend us; but my husband told him he must give him up again if he did. So—only hoping his conduct towards us would mitigate his sentence—after a time the boy disappeared. All the men feared being made prisoners by the European troops, and some loitered as we went; but Henry's commanding energy kept them in check. We drove among the smouldering houses to the cavalry parade-ground almost at a gallop; and making a wide circuit to avoid the native infantry lines, we reached the dragoon lines. A picket of carabiniers, with a cannon, commanded the road, and nearly fired on us. As we came up, Henry rode ahead and explained, and we were allowed to pass. Day was dawning on our night of misery; and the manly faces of the English dragoons sent comfort to our hearts. We warmly told the officers how splendidly our men had saved us, and Henry promised them all promotion and high favour; and I blessed and thanked them with all my soul. Our men were ordered to stay at one of the dragoon pickets. We there found Major ——, Captain ——, and his brother, Mr. ——, ——, and Captain ——; a few more of our men, too, and the other three standards that Henry had helped to rescue. Then came the awful news of the murdered. Poor young M'Nabb, just joined; Mr. Phillips, our veterinary surgeon; and, alas! our dear friends, Mr. and Mrs. Dawson, dead; and Dr. Christie, awfully wounded. The 20th native infantry had been fiends, and shot five or six of their own officers. One or two of the 11th were also killed. Several ladies had been cut to pieces. Colonel —— was safe. He had fled to the brigadier's, and now joined us; but Henry got the general to send for him, fearing what the men might do. The rebel corps—namely, ours, the 20th, and 11th native infantry—had fled to Delhi. There was no sufficient force to send after them without sacrificing the station. We remained for two days in the carabinier lines, in a sergeant's rooms; his kind wife doing us great service; and a party of men brought up many of our things from the bungalow. It was feared that the rebels, strengthened by the native corps at Delhi, might return to destroy Meerut, and the dragoon lines were ordered to be given up. Colonel Hogge offered his school of instruction as a refuge for the ladies. No fort of any kind exists in Meerut, so Henry brought us here to the school. It is an inclosure with lines of barracks; all the ladies of Meerut are here with their children, and the civilians and such of the staff as are not required outside. There is a corner for everybody, but, of course, much confusion. Mrs. Hogge would have kindly shared her little room with us, but fugitives from Delhi came afterwards, in more need than we; and a crowd of helpless babies are there. News soon came that our wretched rebel cavalry had galloped to Delhi, and murdered every Christian in the city. The poor 3rd did it all, for the infantry had not arrived. They spread the mutiny to the station of Delhi (a few miles off), and the native infantry corps there fired on their officers, and the native artillery, too, proved false. They told their commandant to escape, or they would turn the guns on him. People daily arrive after hairbreadth escapes. Everything is uncertain now. This may never reach you; dâks are constantly lost, and the telegraphic wire is daily cut, as soon as mended. The secret cause of the rebellion is unknown; the cartridges being considered a mere pretext. But our own army turning against us is the most awful event in the history of India. Many individual cases of fidelity to their officers have been shown, but none equal to that of our men. The few who saved us were the only body who kept together that night. Every one speaks of it, and the men have since behaved very well. They are 'made' men, these faithful among the faithless. Our officers have volunteered to do duty with the carabiniers. There are occasional night alarms, which are very awful. Firing continues all night long. The lieutenant-governor urges, from Agra, by telegraph, that a force should immediately march on Delhi; but I trust nothing will be done till reinforcements arrive. We are all quite well, notwithstanding heat and exposure. We are in a tent. Most of our property is saved, and being brought to a house near this. Pray for our safety. We had a horrible alarm during the night of the 16th. Eight hundred sappers and miners had been called into the station from Roorkee, a short distance from the cantonment, to raise the works; but the day after their arrival, they shot their commandant and fled. Guns and carabiniers followed, and fifty of them were killed. Colonel Bagge rode after them, and got a ball in his thigh—only a flesh wound, but it lays him up. There is

beautiful brotherhood among us all. Ladies who were mere formal acquaintances now wring each other's hands with intense sympathy. What a look there was when we first assembled here—all of us had looked death in the face!"

On the 16th of May a party of sappers and miners, about 800 strong, who had been dispatched from Roorkee to Meerut, for the purpose of assisting to repair the lines, &c., of the cantonment, mutinied as soon as they arrived at the latter place; and, after shooting their commanding officer, Captain Fraser, set out on their return to Roorkee. As they were marching off, Captain Lighter, of the artillery, galloped to the head of the column, and commanded them to "halt;" the response was a bullet, which, happily, did not take effect; and the gallant officer, deeming it useless to persevere singly in the effort to recall such men to their duty, returned to Meerut, where, being joined by a few men of the 3rd cavalry that had remained faithful, some troopers of the 6th dragoons, and two guns, he pursued the mutineers, and overtook them. A conflict ensued, and sixty of the fugitives were cut down by the Queen's troops, whose loss was one killed and three wounded.

Another account of this occurrence says—"There is dreadful work going on yet. The sappers and miners that were sent for from Roorkee have rebelled. Yesterday (the 16th), all of a sudden, they commenced fighting amongst themselves, and then they shot their commanding officer through the head; after this they, or rather a part of them, left for Roorkee. When the officers heard of the affair, they took a party of rifles, 6th dragoons, and artillery after them. They overtook them on the sand-hills, and killed about eighty or ninety. Major Waterfield sent an express off to the residents of Roorkee to be prepared to receive them. Two hundred and fifty of the sappers were at work at one end of the station; and when the officer commanding the station heard of the rebellion of the others, he sent for them very quietly and disarmed them, and turned them out of the station. Some of the 3rd cavalry have repented and given up their arms. The military authorities appear to have acted unwisely in taking those men back; for five of them were sent with a jemadar to protect some men going yesterday to repair the telegraph, and these five troopers again rebelled. We have prayers here (school of instruction) every evening in one of the houses. The Rev. Mr. Smythe gives us lectures. Last evening he gave one on the unfaithfulness of the sappers. You cannot imagine what a very feeling one it was. The news from Delhi is better. The villagers refused to join in destroying the Europeans. There is a great dearth of food, &c. The insurgents are said to be sorry for what they have done, and are ready to reform. A spy from Delhi was caught taking the measurement of our heavy guns; he is to be hung this evening, with some others who have been committing murder here."

The following details of the revolt at Meerut were forwarded by the Rev. T. C. Smythe, M.A., protestant chaplain at the station. This gentleman says—"All remained quiet till the evening of Sunday, the 10th of May, when I was driving down to church as usual (distant about a mile from my house), for the 7 P.M. service, and met on my way two of her majesty's 60th rifles covered with blood and supported by their comrades. On reaching the church I found buggies and carriages driving away in great confusion, and a body of people running to me and pointing to a column of fire and smoke in the direction of the city. Frequent shots were then heard, and the distant cries of a large mob. My colleague, the Rev. Mr. Rotton, and his wife, came up at the moment; but, finding that the people had all gone back, we abandoned of course the thought of commencing divine service, and I drove home, about half-past seven or a quarter to eight, in the direction of the rifle and artillery lines, avoiding the most public places of resort. I may mention that a guard of some eight or ten sepoys at the artillery depôt, or school of instruction (three of whom were killed shortly afterwards in resisting an officer, who came with his party to take their post), saluted me in passing. I reached my house (which I share with Mr. and Mrs. Bicknell, of the horse artillery) in perfect safety, but found from them that the sepoy guard at the brigadier's (close at hand) had, shortly before, fired a shot, which passed between them while they were standing at the gate of their compound. We went together, just after my return, into the western verandah, and heard a shot in the adjoining road, followed by a cry and the galloping off of a horse with a buggy. This proved to have been the murder of Mr. Phillips (veterinary surgeon

of the 3rd light cavalry), who was shot and mutilated by five troopers; Dr. Christie (the surgeon of the same regiment), who accompanied him in the buggy, having been sadly disfigured and injured at the same time. He is still living and doing well. By this time the English troops (consisting of her majesty's 6th dragoon guards, a troop and a battery of Bengal artillery, with the 1st battalion of her majesty's 60th royal rifles), had reached the native infantry lines, into which they fired with grape and musketry. The inhabitants of the Suddur Bazaar and city committed atrocities far greater than those of the sepoys, as in the case of Captain Macdonald's wife, whom they pursued some distance and frightfully mutilated (though her children were happily all saved by the ayahs), and of Mrs. Chambers, wife of the adjutant of the 11th native infantry, who was murdered in her garden during Mr. Chambers' absence on duty, her clothes having been set on fire before she was shot and cut to pieces. About ten o'clock a bungalow, immediately opposite our house, was set on fire by five troopers of the 3rd light cavalry, and an attempt (though happily unsuccessful) was made to fire the brigadier's house. After eleven, strong pickets and patrols of the English cavalry, artillery, and infantry were posted on the road near our house, but the firing of houses, &c., continued till close upon daybreak, principally caused by the neighbouring villagers, after the guarding of the lines. The loss of property, and alas! of life, has been very dreadful. The part of Meerut in which the insurrection principally raged is a miserable wilderness of ruined houses, and some of the residents (as was the case with Mrs. and Mr. Greathed, the commissioner of the division) escaped miraculously from the hands of their pursuers, by hiding themselves in the gardens and outhouses of their burning bungalows, and in some cases by disguising themselves as native servants. Before the European troops arrived on Sunday night at the scene of action the following were barbarously cut to pieces:—Mr. V. Tregear, inspector of schools; Captain Macdonald, of the 20th native infantry, and Mrs. Macdonald; Captain Taylor, Mr. Pattle, Mr. Henderson, all of the same corps; Colonel Finnis, commanding the 11th native infantry; and Mrs. Chambers, whose murderer was caught on the 15th, tried at once, and hanged on a tree without further delay, his body afterwards being burnt to ashes. In the 3rd light cavalry the following were killed:—Mr. Phillips, veterinary surgeon; Mr. and Mrs. Dawson; Mr. M'Nabb (lately joined), and a little girl of the riding-master's, Mr. Langdale; together with several soldiers of the artillery and 60th rifles, and women and children of the military and general residents in the station. Among other instances of frightful butchery was that of Sergeant Law, his wife, and six children, who were living beyond the precincts of cantonments. The state in which the father and three of the infants were found defies description. Happily the mother and three other children, though grievously mangled, crawled about midnight to the artillery hospital, and it is hoped will recover. Mr. Rotton and I have buried thirty-one of the murdered, but there are others whose bodies have not as yet been brought in. The 3rd light cavalry (with the exception of some seventy or eighty troopers) and the 20th native infantry went off to Delhi during Sunday night. The 11th native infantry, who not only refrained from murdering their officers and burning houses, but protected the ladies and children of the corps, remained in the neighbourhood; 120 of these have returned, and it is thought that many more of them will do so; a proclamation of pardon, under the circumstances, having been sent to them. On Monday night many people (including a large number of women and children) slept in the artillery school of instruction—a walled enclosure, well guarded. On Tuesday I returned with my friends to our house, but while we were at dinner I received the news that all the Delhi troops had mutinied and joined the insurgents. We were consequently ordered, with the ladies and children, back into the depôt, and the troops were at once placed under arms and posted with cannon, so as to command the European lines of the station, the rest being abandoned. The night passed away with no disturbance, except constant shots between the pickets and rioters, the latter consisting of villagers and residents in the city and bazaars."

In subsequent communications of the 16th and 17th of May, the Rev. Mr. Smythe says—"Six companies of the sappers and miners arrived yesterday (the 15th); they have suddenly murdered their commanding officer, Major Fraser, by shooting him in the back, and have made at once for the open country, pursued by a troop of horse artillery and

several of the 6th dragoon guards. Fifty or sixty of the mutineers have been shot on the plain, and the rest have probably escaped to Delhi. Two companies, disarmed, remain in Meerut, and are perfectly quiet."

Again he says—"On Tuesday, while writing to you, we heard that Sirdhana* had been devastated. We made sure all the children in the convent had been murdered. We remained in this fearful suspense till Wednesday evening, when we got a short note, saying they were uninjured, though in imminent peril, being besieged by the villagers. The postmaster had sent a man to Sirdhana, having promised him a reward to go and bring intelligence of the convent; and it was this man who brought the note. He had, however, set off before the coolie's return, and had been asked to take an express himself to poor Captain Fraser, who, it was expected, was at Sirdhana about that time, and was promised a European guard of eight dragoons. After he consented to take and deliver the express himself, they could not afford to let a single soldier leave the station, but would send four native troopers with him. The postmaster said he would go even with four natives; but when he sent for them he could not get more than two, and these two, after coming and hearing what errand they were required on, turned their horses' heads, and very soon let us hear the clatter of their hoofs, galloping away as hard as they could. The postmaster was so uneasy about his relations, that he did not consider a moment after the two sowars ran away, but he armed three or four of his office-people, and set off for Sirdhana. He started from here at about half-past four in the evening, and returned a little after seven o'clock with our dear sisters, B——, Miss B——, and another poor girl, the daughter of a sergeant in the dragoon guards, all safe and well. He met several parties of villagers, about fifty or sixty in number, along the Sirdhana road, but they did not attempt to molest him. In returning, he made some of these very men conduct him part of the way. The poor nuns begged of him, when he was coming away, to try and send them some help; he tried all he could to get a guard to escort them to this station, but did not succeed; and yesterday morning, having given up the idea of procuring a guard from the military authorities, he went round, and by speaking to some gentlemen, got about fifteen persons to volunteer their services to go and rescue the poor nuns and children from Sirdhana, and I am happy to say they succeeded in their charitable errand without any one having been injured.

"A butcher of the Suddur Bazaar was hung the other day, it having been proved that he was the murderer of poor Mrs. Macdonald; six others have been caught, and murders proved against them also, but they have not received their deserts yet. Since Tuesday night we have been in the laboratory, without once having gone beyond its wall. We are in a small house at one end of the place, which consists of one large room and verandah rooms all round; and in this miserable shed, for we can scarcely call it anything else, there are no less than 41 souls, viz.—Billings, 10; Beans, 4; Shuldams, 4; Moore, 13; Mitchells, 3; Trotters, 3; Mr. Pocock, his mother, sister, and little nephew, besides having in our verandah room the post-office, and arranging at present a small room adjoining to the post-office as the telegraph office."

Another letter of June the 4th, says—"The best portion of our Meerut European troops left this about a week ago for Delhi. They have had two severe engagements with the rebels. The loss on our side is, thank God, but little in comparison to that on the enemy's: seventeen altogether, on our side, have been killed, and nineteen wounded; and among these, five, I believe, died from strokes of the sun. Dr. Moore, of the carabiniers, was taken ill while he was coming in with the wounded, and died shortly after his arrival here. A lieutenant of the rifles (Mr. Napier) had one of his legs shot off. Mr. Budd is out with the camp as baggage-master.

"We are still living in the arsenal; but are a little more comfortable now, our numbers having decreased a little. Last evening five murderers were hanged, and the evening before, six. Some of those who suffered last evening were proved to be Mrs. Courtenay's murderers; one was the private jemadar of the native deputy-collector. One of these savages was undaunted to the last: he wished all his brothers, or rather his brethren, good-bye, and blessed them all, and told them the Feringhees were taking his life for no fault of his: he scarcely gave them time to secure

* A town in the upper provinces of Bengal and the Meerut district, situated thirty-seven miles N.N.E. of Delhi. It was formerly the capital of the Begum Sumroo.

the noose properly round his neck before he jumped off the platform.

"P.S.—June 5.—Dr. Moore, of the 6th dragoon guards, died this morning. A party of the 60th rifles and carabiniers have just returned from a very successful foray, having killed some 150 of the Goojurs without having a man hurt. Five villages were destroyed."

As a relief to the darker shades of the picture, Mr. Greathed, the late resident commissioner at Meerut, in a letter from that place of the 16th May, says—"Among all the villanies and horrors of which we have been witnesses, some pleasing traits of native character have been brought to light. All the Delhi fugitives have to tell of some kind acts of protection and rough hospitality; and yesterday a fakir came in with a European child he had picked up on the Jumna. He had been a good deal mauled on the way; but he made good his point. He refused any present, but expressed a hope that a well might be made in his name, to commemorate the act. I promised to attend to his wishes; and Himam Bhartee, of Dhunoura, will, I hope, long live in the memory of man. The parents have not been discovered; but there are plenty of good Samaritans."

In reference to the outbreak at Meerut, the *Bengal Hurkaru*, of May 19th, observes—"The most marvellous circumstance is, that the European troops were not sooner brought to the rescue, since they were in strength more than adequate for the protection of the station, and might surely have been expected to prevent the greater portion of the bloodshed; but not only were the atrocities to which we have alluded—and some of them of a nature to which the narrators, in deference to the feelings of surviving friends, scarcely venture even to allude—committed without a check, but when the insurgents were at length put to flight, the pursuit of them by the European troops seems to have been of a most undecided character, and was abandoned for no apparent cause, except that the night was dark; and yet even this difficulty did not continue, for the moon rose upon the scene of desolation."

After the mutiny and flight of the native portion of its garrison, the cantonment of Meerut for some time remained free from serious alarm. A great many prisoners, who were identified as having taken part in the murders that initiated the general rising of the native soldiers, were hanged on successive evenings; and a wholesome dread of consequences kept the budmashes and vagabonds of the bazaars in check. The revolted soldiery, as already mentioned, for the most part went off to Delhi; but detached parties spread themselves over the country for the sake of "loot," and naturally produced much disquietude among the well-disposed population.

However the fact may be, as it regards any prearranged co-operation of the native troops in an effort to overthrow the rule of this country in India, it is quite evident that there was among them no recognised centre of action, no master-mind with ability sufficient

"To ride the whirlwind and direct the storm,"

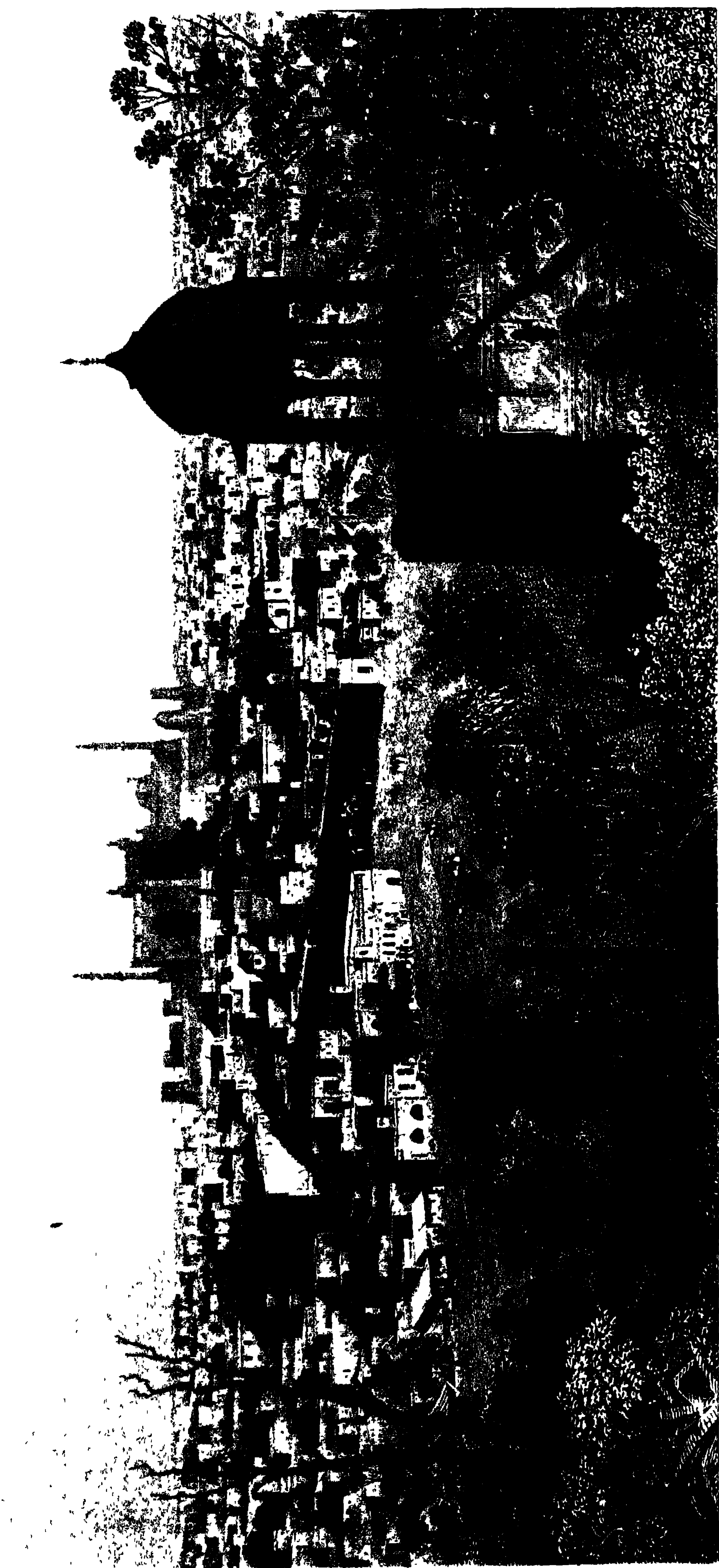
when raised; and it is equally clear on the other hand, that whatever may have been the amount of wisdom and energy displayed by the government itself, in its general measures for the protection of society and the preservation of empire while neither were in peril, the instruments by which those protective measures should have been applied upon an emergency, were, at this particular juncture, incompetent for the purpose. To support this view, it is only necessary to refer to the fact, that at the time of the outbreak at Meerut, there were in cantonment at that place the following European troops, viz.—the 6th dragoon guards, the 60th rifles, a troop of horse artillery, and a company of foot artillery, with a full complement of guns; a force more than sufficient to have reduced to perfect helplessness treble the number of native troops then at the station. Yet not one of these arms of service was put in motion until after the work of destruction had reached its culminating point, and life and property had been sacrificed in its ruthless career. The efficiency of the European soldiers was wasted in inaction, or in uselessly marching and countermarching round the scene of havoc, instead of at once being led to the rescue, and arresting the blind fury of the revolt. General Hewitt had shown, on the previous day, that he had outlived the limits of ordinary discretion, when, after his ignominious punishment of the mutineers of the 3rd native light cavalry, he allowed their comrades of the regiment to remain in cantonment, in possession of arms and ammunition, and within two miles of the gaol to which

their fellow-soldiers had been consigned, without taking any precautionary measures against the more than probable consequences of the punishment. It is true, he had already been more than half a century in active or *inactive* service; and, with others of equal rank and merit, seems to have been retained in command of a division, for the sole purpose of repressing the energies and curbing the spirits of those who, unfortunately for Bengal, could not move without his orders.

For months previous to the outbreak at Meerut, unmistakable symptoms of dissatisfaction and insubordination amongst the native regiments, were notorious to every one but those who alone had the power to arrest and crush the growing evil. Irrespective of the just grounds for apprehension presented by the Brahmin sepoys of the 2nd grenadier regiment at Dumdum, in January, and by the sepoys of the 34th regiment at Barrackpore, in February, on the score of an imagined design to violate the sanctity of *caste*—the sudden appearance of a mysterious and symbolic correspondence, springing from an unknown source, and directed to an unknown object, coupled with the recollection of a similar incident preceding the mutiny at Vellore, in 1806, ought to have awakened instant caution, and produced a system of general and incessant watchfulness over a class of soldiers so excitable and tenacious of their privileges. The very fact that a mystery existed, would have been sufficient to arouse the vigilance of any other government than one which, over-confident of its own strength, and entertaining most erroneous ideas of the elements by which it was surrounded, had been content to repose supinely upon the brink of a volcano; and instead of adopting timely measures to ensure safety, had tacitly invited danger, and looked to the doctrine of chances for protection against the consequences of its own apathy and neglect.

With the outrages at Meerut, the first step of a transiently successful military insurrection was accomplished; but had the government at Calcutta possessed even a moderate share of prudence, or had its general in command of the district, who was actually upon the spot, been competent to act with vigour and decision, it is not possible to believe that such a step could have been taken; or if, even attempted, that such attempt would have been successful. In an evil hour, and encouraged by an inexcusable opportunity, the mutiny commenced; and if, in connection with it, as part of a general system of insurrection, there had been any directing power equal to the emergency, when the revolted troops from Meerut, reeking with blood and maddened by excitement, fraternised with their brother traitors in arms before the gates of Delhi, the supremacy, if not the very existence, of British rule in Hindostan might have been shaken to its foundation. With the possession of Delhi, the cause of the insurgents had acquired a *prestige* and a moral influence that, with able management and simultaneous action, might have led to the resuscitation of the Monghol empire; the kingly rank of the aged descendant of an imperial house might no longer have been nominal only, and the bearer of it might have ceased to be a discontented pensioner upon English bounty. It has been observed by the author of an article in the *Edinburgh Review*, referring to the mutinous occupation of the Monghol capital on the morning of the 11th of May, that, "if all the movements of the revolt had been prearranged, there could have been no better stroke of tactics than this: Delhi is the chief city of Mohammedan India; the 'imperial city,' the 'city of the Mogul:' it had been the home of those mighty emperors who had ruled so long in Hindostan—of Shir Shah, of Akbar, and of Aurungzebe; and was still the residence of their fallen successors, the titular kings of Delhi, whom, fifty years ago, our armies had rescued from the grasp of the Mahrattas. Beyond the palace walls these remnants of royalty had no power; they had no territory, no revenue, no authority. In *our* eyes they were simply pensioners and puppets. Virtually, indeed, the Mogul was extinct. *But not so in the minds of the people of India.* Empty as was the sovereignty of the Mogul, it was still a living fact in the minds of the Hindoos and Mohammedans, especially in Upper India."

It was evident, therefore, that to obtain possession of the ancient capital of Mohammedan India, and, if possible, to identify the living representative of a line of native conquerors with the insurrectionary movement of the sepoys, would be of immense advantage to the cause: it at once gave the attempt a political significance, and, for a time, imparted to it the character of a national movement. It signified not that



the Mogul himself, stricken in years, feeble, and little capable of independent action, would be but a tool in the hands of the soldiers. The axiom of our English poet—

"The king's name is a tower of strength,"

was perfectly appreciated, and, as we have seen, promptly acted upon by the mutinous sepoys of Hindostan.

A cruel fatality seems to have attended the decaying branches of the imperial dynasty. The grandfather of the present titular king of Delhi, was the emperor Shah Alum, who, when old, blind, and feeble, was rescued by General Lake, in September, 1803, from a state of miserable captivity into which he had been thrown by the Mahrattas. The general, upon entering the fort of Delhi, which had been used as the imperial prison, "found Shah Alum seated under a small tattered canopy, his person emaciated by indigence and infirmity, his countenance disfigured by the loss of his eyes, and bearing marks of extreme old age, joined to a settled melancholy." This prince died in 1806, and was succeeded in the then nominal sovereignty by his eldest son Akbar Shah, who enjoyed the shadow of a royal title and its endowment for upwards of thirty years. Upon his death, his eldest son Meeza Aboo Zuffur, the present (or late) king of Delhi, ascended the titular throne, which he has since occupied. Upon his accession to regal honours, this potentate styled himself Mahomed Suraj-oo-deen Shah Ghazee; and upon the recent death of his eldest son, he endeavoured to prevail on the English government to set aside the prince next in succession in favour of a younger son, whom his majesty represented to be more richly endowed with capacity for the kingly office. The request, which was believed to have originated in some intrigue of the zenana, was refused, to the intense mortification and disappointment of the king (then upwards of eighty years of age), of his favourite wife, the expectant prince, and many others of the royal house; nine out of eleven of the princes having signed a declaration of their willingness to accept the king's nominee as the head of the family. That the king himself, who had long been in his dotage, may have suffered his name to be used as sanctioning a hostile movement against the British government, is possible; but it is not even probable that he can have been an active promoter of it: the most likely person to have desired the success of the rebellion, being the disappointed nominee of the aged monarch. The annual stipend assured to the emperor Shah Alum and his descendants, upon the surrender of the kingdom in 1803, was thirteen and a-half lacs of rupees, equal to £125,000 sterling, which has been enjoyed to the present year.

CHAPTER V.

THE CITY OF DELHI; ARRIVAL OF THE REVOLTED TROOPS FROM MEERUT; FRIENDLY RECEPTION BY THE GARRISON; MASSACRE AND PLUNDER OF THE EUROPEAN OFFICERS AND RESIDENTS; THE MONGHOL EMPIRE PROCLAIMED.

THE tide of rebellion having now surged towards the ancient capital of the Patan and Monghol empires, the following sketch of the remains of once imperial Delhi, will not be out of place:—The city is situated on the western bank of the river Jumna, in 28° 43′ N. lat., and 77° 9′ E. long; 429 miles from Allahabad, 976 from Calcutta, 880 from Bombay, and 1,295 from Madras. It is walled and fortified, and had a resident population of nearly 200,000. Modern Delhi measures about two miles across, and is from seven to eight miles in circumference. The palace, inhabited by the family of the late king, is in a commanding position; and that Delhi, in its period of splendour, was a city of vast extent as well as magnificence, is evidenced by its ruins, which cover an area as large as that of London, Westminster, Lambeth, and Southwark united. The present city is situated on a rocky range of hills, and is surrounded by an embattled wall with many bastions and intervening martello towers, faced along its

whole extent with substantial masonry, and recently strengthened with a moat and glacis by the British government. It has many good houses, chiefly of brick. The streets are in general narrow, but the principal avenues are wide, handsome, and, for an Asiatic city, remarkably clean; the bazaars have a good appearance. There were formerly two very noble streets; but houses have been built down their centre and across, so as to divide and spoil them: along one of these, running from the palace, is the aqueduct of Ali Merdan Khan, reopened by Captain Blane in 1820. The principal public buildings are—the palace, the Jumma Musjeed, or chief mosque; the tombs of the emperor Humayoon and of Sefdar Jung, the Cuttub Minar, &c.; and, within the new city were, until recently, the remains of many palaces, belonging to the dignitaries of the Monghol court. Almost all these structures were of red granite, inlaid in some of the ornamental parts with white marble. The general style of building was simple, yet elegant. The palace, as seen from a distance, was a very high and extensive cluster of Gothic towers and battlements, rising above the other buildings. It was built by Shah Jehan, and surrounded by a moat and embattled wall, which toward the city was sixty feet high, with several small round towers and two noble gateways. Heber states that, as a kingly residence, it far surpassed the Kremlin at Moscow; but, except in the durability of its materials, it was inferior to Windsor Castle. The Shalima gardens (so highly extolled in *Lalla Rookh*) were also formed by Shah Jehan, and are said to have cost a million sterling; but they have long been converted to agricultural purposes. The Jumma Musjeed, the largest and handsomest place of Mussulman worship in India, was built in six years by Shah Jehan, at an expense of ten lacs of rupees. It stands on a small rocky eminence, scarped for the purpose. The ascent to it is by a flight of thirty-five stone steps, through a handsome gateway of red stone, the doors of which are covered with wrought brass. The terrace on which it is built is about 1,400 yards square, and surrounded by an arched colonnade with octagon pavilions at convenient distances. In the centre is a large marble reservoir, supplied by machinery from the canal. On the west side is the mosque itself, of an oblong form, 261 feet in length; its whole front coated with large slabs of white marble, and compartments in the cornice are inlaid with Arabic inscriptions in black. It is approached by another flight of steps, and entered by three Gothic arches, each surmounted by a marble dome. At the flanks are two minarets, 130 feet high, of black marble and red stone alternately, each having three projecting galleries, and their summits crowned with light pavilions of white marble, the ascent to which is by a winding staircase of 180 steps of red stone. This truly noble structure is in good repair, being maintained by a grant from the British government for that especial purpose. Not far from the palace is a mosque of red stone, surmounted with three gilt domes, in which Nadir Shah sat and witnessed the massacre of the unfortunate inhabitants; of whom, from sunrise to midday, the sabre extirpated, without regard to age, sex, or condition, near 100,000. There are above forty mosques: one, erected by the daughter of Aurungzebe, contains the tomb in which she was interred in 1710; some bear the marks of great antiquity, especially the Kala Musjeed, or black mosque, built of dark-coloured granite by the first Patan conquerors. It is exactly on the plan of the original Arabian mosques. The prospect south of the Shalima gardens, as far as the eye can reach, is covered with the remains of extensive gardens, pavilions, mosques, and sepulchres, connecting the village of Cuttab with the new city of Delhi, from which it is nearly ten miles distant south-west, and exhibiting one of the most striking scenes of desolation to be anywhere met with. The celebrated Cuttub Minar is a very handsome round tower, rising from a polygon of twenty-seven sides, in five stages, gradually diminishing in circumference to the height of 242 feet; its summit, which is crowned by a majestic cupola rising from four arcades of red granite, is ascended by a spiral staircase of 384 steps, and between each stage a balcony runs round the pillar. The old Patan palace—a mass of ruin larger than the others—has been a solid fortress in a plain and unornamented style of architecture. It contains a high black pillar of cast metal, of Hindoo construction, and originally covered with Hindoo characters, but which Feroze Shah afterwards enclosed within the court of his palace, covering it with Arabic and Persian inscriptions. The tomb of Humayoon is of Gothic architecture, surrounded by a large garden with terraces and fountains, nearly

all of which are now gone to decay. The garden is surrounded by an embattled wall and cloister, and in its centre, on a platform ascended by a flight of granite steps, is the tomb itself, a square building, with circular apartments within, about as large as the Radcliffe library at Oxford, surmounted by a dome of white marble. From the top of this building the desolation is seen to extend to the west, in which direction Indraput stood, as far as a range of barren hills seven or eight miles off. The soil in the neighbourhood of Delhi is singularly destitute of vegetation; the Jumna annually overflows its banks during the rains; but its waters in this part of its course are so much impregnated with natron, that the ground is thereby rendered barren rather than fertile. In order to supply water to the royal gardens, the aqueduct of Ali Merdan Khan was constructed, by which the waters of the Jumna, while pure and wholesome, immediately after the river leaves the mountains, are conducted for 120 miles to Delhi. During the troubles that followed the decline of the Monghol power the channel was neglected; and when the English took possession of this city, it was found choked up in most parts with rubbish. It is still the sole source of vegetation to the gardens of Delhi, and of drinkable water to its inhabitants; and when reopened in 1820, the whole population went out in jubilee to meet the stream as it flowed slowly onwards, throwing flowers, ghee, sweetmeats, and other offerings into the water, and calling down all manner of blessings on the British government. The deficiency of water is the great drawback upon the city and its province, since Delhi is otherwise well-fitted to become a great inland mart for the interchange of commodities between India and the countries to the north and west. Cotton cloths and indigo are manufactured; and a shawl factory, with weavers from Cashmere, has of late been established there. Shawls, prints, and horses are brought from Cashmere and Cabul; precious stones and jewellery are good and plentiful; and there are perhaps few, if any, of the ancient cities of Hindostan, which, up to the period of the revolt and its punishment, could be found to rival modern Delhi in the wealth of its bazaars or the activity of its population. At the south-west extremity of the city stands the famous observatory, built like that of Benares, by Jye Sing, rajah of Jeypore, and formerly containing similar astronomical instruments, but which, together with the building itself, have been long partially destroyed. Near the Ajmeer gate is the *Medressa*, or college of Ghazee-ud-deen-Khan—an edifice of great beauty, for the repair of which, and the revival of its functions, the government has very liberally contributed. The Delhi college is now divided into the Oriental and the English departments; astronomy and mathematics are taught on European principles; and in 1830 there were 287 students. According to Abul Fazel, no less than seven successive cities have stood on the ground occupied by Delhi and its ruins. Indraprast'ha (or Indraput) was the first, and the residence of the Hindoo rajahs before 1193, when the Affghāns or Patans conquered it; it was the seat also of the first eight sovereigns of that dynasty. Sultan Baleen built another fortified palace—Moez-ud-deen; another, on the banks of the Jumna; and others were built in different parts by succeeding sovereigns, one of which was near Cuttab; and lastly, Shah Jehan, towards the middle of the seventeenth century, chose the present spot for its site, which is certainly more advantageous than that of any of the preceding cities. In 1011 Delhi was taken and plundered by Mahmoud of Ghiznee; in 1398 by Timour; in 1525 by Baber, who overturned the Patan dynasty, and commenced that of the Monghols. In 1736 the Mahrattas burnt the suburbs; and in 1739 Delhi was entered and pillaged by Nadir Shah, who did not retain possession of it. During the height of the power of the emperor Aurungzebe, who died in 1707, this magnificent capital of Hindostan is said to have contained 2,000,000 of inhabitants; but no regular enumeration has ever been made, nor could it be attempted without exciting alarm in the natives. At the time of the recent insurrection, the population was estimated at 200,000 only.. It was in this city, in the year 1806, that Shah Alum, the last of the powerful Monghol dynasty who could be said to enjoy any portion of real empire, expired. One of his descendants has been allowed by the British to enjoy the style and title of sovereignty, and to receive a considerable proportion of the revenues of the province, by which he was enabled to support his nominal dignity with some degree of splendour. An audience of the prince could be

obtained with little difficulty; but from the Eastern custom of bringing *nuzzurs*, or presents, on such occasions, the honour was too expensive to be frequently sought after. The residence of the titular monarch was walled round, and an order from the commandant of the palace guard was necessary to obtain access to the interior.

Resuming the details of an outbreak that was destined, in its results, to involve the partial destruction of the capital of the ancient monarchs of Hindostan, and to destroy the last relics of a once mighty dynasty; we find, that after a short interval of rest from the fatigue and excitement of the previous night, the mutinous troops, at an early hour, commenced their flight towards Delhi, and by a forced march of considerably more than thirty miles, arrived within sight of its towers shortly after eight o'clock on the morning of Monday, May the 11th. The city was at this time garrisoned wholly by native troops, consisting of the 38th, 54th, and 74th regiments of infantry, and a battery of native artillery. The arsenal in the interior of the city contained 900,000 cartridges, two complete siege-trains, a large number of field guns, and some 8,000 or 10,000 muskets. A powder-magazine which had been removed, at the request of the inhabitants, from the city to the cantonments, at this time contained not less than 10,000 barrels—a formidable supply for the purposes of rebellious soldiers.

The high road from Meerut crosses the Hindun torrent fifteen miles from Delhi, over a suspension-bridge. The geographical position and military advantages of Delhi, with its garrison of three regiments of native infantry, and a battery of *golundauze* (native artillery), were more than sufficient inducements for the Meerut mutineers to direct their steps towards that city, in which they well knew they had comrades on whom they could depend for a friendly reception. On the English commandant, Brigadier-general Graves, receiving warning of the approach of the rebels, his first idea was to cut away the bridge over the Hindun and defend the river: but there were two objections to the plan. The first was, that at the season of the year (the height of the hot weather) the river was easily fordable, and his position on the other bank might be turned. The second, that in case of the rebels attempting that manœuvre, he would be compelled to fight (even if his men continued stanch) with the enemy on his front and flank, and the most disaffected city in India in his rear. Both plans were therefore rejected as untenable, even if time had allowed for their adoption. The three regiments in cantonment were immediately paraded in service order—the guns loaded; and such preparations for defence as could be made on the instant having been completed, the brigadier harangued the troops, appealing to their loyalty and valour to prove themselves faithful to the government by opposing the mischievous designs of the infatuated and desperate men that were approaching the city. The soldiers replied to this address with loud cheers and protestations of fidelity; and the men of the 54th regiment, especially, were vehement in their professions of loyalty, and earnestly requested to be led against the rebel force. Colonel Ripley, commanding this regiment, was, with the brigadier, deeply impressed by the seeming faithfulness and enthusiasm of the men. The former at once placed himself at the head of his corps, and leaving Major Paterson, the second in command, to follow with two guns, the order was given to march in the direction of the Cashmere gate, towards which the mutineers, in considerable force, were rapidly approaching. The scene, at this moment, is thus described by an eye-witness:—"As they marched out of the lines in gallant order, to all appearance true and confident, a tumultuous array appeared advancing from the Hindun. In front, and in full uniform, with medals on their breasts gained in fighting for British supremacy, confidence in their manner, and fury in their gestures, galloped on about 250 troopers of the 3rd cavalry. Behind them, at no great distance, and almost running in their efforts to reach the golden minarets of Delhi, appeared a vast mass of infantry, their red coats soiled with dust, and their bayonets glittering in the sun. No hesitation was visible in all that advancing mass; they came on as if confident of the result"—and their confidence was not misplaced. The 54th had advanced to within a short distance of the city, when they suddenly halted, and broke from their ranks. The foremost of the mutinous rabble had arrived, and were speedily among them, communicating the events of the previous night at Meerut, and calling on them, in the name of their religion, to join in the movement that was intended to put an end to

the "*Raj* of the Feringhee," and to restore to India the independent rule of its native princes. The men of the 54th required no solicitation to fraternise with the rebels; and, as if by one impulse, they withdrew from their European officers, who were thereby left standing by themselves in the middle of the road. About fifteen of the 3rd light cavalry, who were with the advanced portion of the mutineers, immediately rode towards the little group, discharging their pistols as they approached. Colonel Ripley appears to have been the first victim of this treachery, and was frightfully cut and mutilated by the ferocious troopers, two of whom he dispatched with his revolver before he fell disabled. None of the officers but himself had other weapons than their side-arms; and in the *mêlée* that followed, they were shot down by their mounted assassins without having a chance of defending themselves. For a moment, some portion of the 54th made a show of attempting to protect their officers: they fired, but it was above the heads of the troopers, who proceeded with their diabolical work in perfect confidence that no injury would befal them from their confederates in rebellion. The butchery of the unfortunate gentlemen having been completed, the sowars dismounted, and shook hands with the treacherous sepoys who had marched down to oppose them, and in all probability thanked them for their forbearance in not firing *at* the murderers of their officers. They then commenced to hack and mutilate the wounded men as long as the least symptom of life remained in them; and throughout the sanguinary and brutal transaction, the behaviour of these troopers was that of men excited to frenzy by copious draughts of *bhang*—a peculiarly intoxicating drink, produced by an infusion of hemp, much used by the lower grades of the Mohammedan population throughout India. They rode frantically up to the individual selected for their aim, fired, wheeled round, reloaded again, advanced, and fired; and thus repeated the cowardly atrocity until the victim fell. Having consummated this sacrifice as their first offering upon the altar of vengeance before the gates of Delhi, the victorious troopers, accompanied by the infamous 54th, the infantry that by this time had reached the spot from Meerut, and such accession to their strength as was afforded by some stragglers from the 38th and 74th regiments yet in cantonment, dashed into the city through the Cashmere gate, cutting down and shooting all the Europeans they met on their route.

On the departure of the 54th regiment from the cantonment, the 74th moved on to the artillery parade, where Captain de Teissier was posted with a portion of his battery: the 38th were marched toward the Flagstaff tower, and formed in line along the high road. In consequence of the obstacles placed in the way of Major Paterson by the golundauzes, that officer was unable to move with the two guns for the support of his regiment until some four hours after the latter had marched from the cantonment, and long before which time they had joined the rebellious movement. When at length the major arrived near the Cashmere gate, the first object that met his sight was the unfortunate Colonel Ripley, who, after being severely wounded and left for dead on the road, some drummers were endeavouring to convey to a carriage, that, if possible, his life might be preserved. Having assisted to place the colonel in a conveyance, and directed the driver to make speed to the cantonment, the major—who had by this time been deserted by his golundauzes; they having, with the guns, followed in the track of the mutineers—proceeded alone in the direction of the city, and at a short distance from the gate, discovered, to his horror, the cut and mangled bodies of his fellow-officers, who, but a few hours previously, had left him in the pride of life, and with the enthusiasm of British loyalty. They were dead!—the mangled bodies of these English gentlemen had been thrown together in a heap, and so left by their vindictive and brutal assassins. It was evident that any further progress by Major Paterson in the direction of the city, would be useless and hazardous, and he retraced his steps to the cantonment.

Pending the events we have but feebly described, another portion of the Meerut rebels had crossed the Jumna and taken possession of the causeway on the Delhi side of the river, within a short distance of the Calcutta gate, which at first, for a short time, had been closed against them. A report of their arrival was immediately forwarded to Mr. Simon Fraser, the commissioner at the court of Delhi, who drove down to the gate to be assured of the fact, and afterwards proceeded towards the palace. On his departure, some sepoys of the 38th

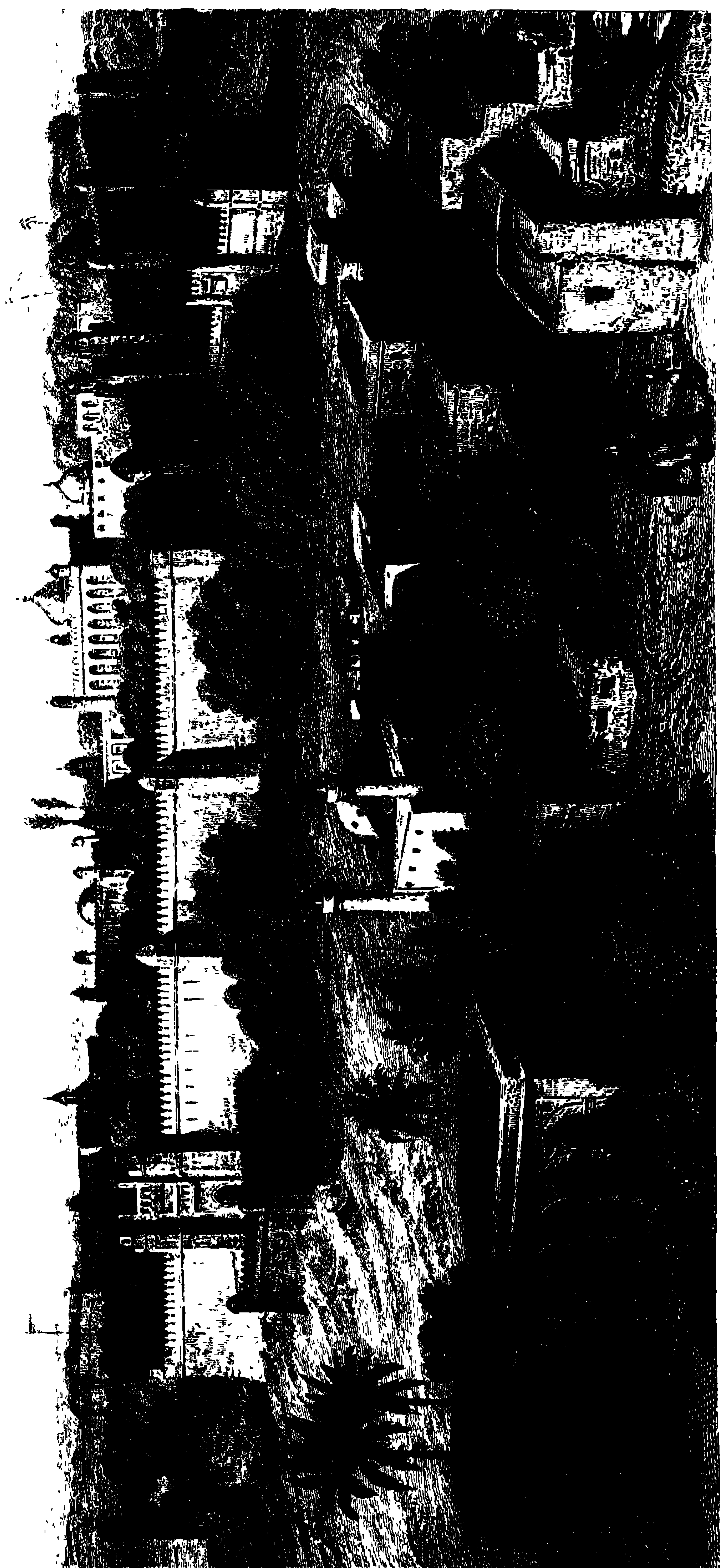
and 74th regiments, on duty at the magazine guard and at the Calcutta gate, threw open the latter, and rushed forth to welcome the mutineers, a portion of whom entered the city, and at once commenced the work of destruction. They first set on fire the bungalows in Durya Gunge, cutting down the European inhabitants as they tried to escape from the flames; they then plundered and destroyed the dispensary building near the fort, and murdered Chimmum Lall, the native doctor: then seeing the commissioner driving past, on his way to the palace, they dashed after him, overtook, and struck him down, but not before he had shot one of his pursuers; in revenge for which they afterwards cut off his head, and carried it about in triumph.

While this party of the mutineers was thus employed, others had proceeded to the river-gate of the palace, from whence communication was speedily opened with the attendants of the king; and the occurrence at Meerut was made known, with the desire of the soldiers that his majesty should ascend the throne. After a short parley the troopers were, by order of the king, admitted within the gates. It was some time, however, after the arrival of the mutineers at the palace before the king yielded to their clamour that he should suffer himself to be proclaimed emperor. It was represented to him that the whole of Hindostan had risen to shake off the yoke of the English; that Calcutta and other chief towns were already in possession of the native armies; and that it was only for his majesty to unfurl the sacred standard of the empire, and the warlike millions of India would range themselves beneath it, and re-establish the independent throne of the Moguls, driving the English tyrants into the sea, or feeding the vultures with their carcasses. Two troops of artillery, that had deserted from Meerut in the confusion of the previous night, had now arrived, and entering the city by the Calcutta gate, fired a royal salute of twenty-one guns in front of the palace. This incident decided the future of the ill-starred descendant of the royal house of Timour: he yielded; and the soldiers, exulting in their triumph over his scruples, and feeling they had now a rallying point under any emergency, rushed through the palace gates into the streets of the city, to put a climax to the work of treachery and rebellion.

The first person who fell a sacrifice to the fury of the soldiers upon their entry to the palace, was the commandant of the guard of the titular king, Captain Douglas. The next victims of their barbarity were the Rev. Mr. Jennings, the English chaplain to the residency, and his daughter, an amiable young lady of nineteen, who were seized while on their way to seek the king's protection. They were hurried into the presence of the puppet sovereign; and to the demand of the troopers, "What shall we do with them?" the king is reported to have replied, "What you like; I give them to you." History must draw a veil over the sufferings of these unfortunate martyrs.

Meanwhile the people of the city were gathering for mischief; and as the day advanced, the Goojurs* of the villages around Delhi became aware of the chances for plunder, and were ready for action. Pillage and murder now ravaged the streets; every house in which a European was believed to have resided was searched, and ransacked from the foundation to the roof. The purpose of the soldiers was massacre; that of the rabble which followed in their train, and added to the horror of their outrages, was plunder. Arming themselves with the national hatred of Europeans as a pretext, the bud-mashes and rioters broke into the houses of the rich native inhabitants, the shops of the citizens, and the public stables. Many of the shopkeepers fell victims to the fury of the rabble, merely for asking payment for their goods. While a portion of the mutinous soldiers and rabble were thus occupied, others spread through the streets in search of the European and Christian inhabitants, whom they butchered without mercy. One of their first objects, after glutting their hatred against the Feringhees, was to obtain possession of the treasure deposited in the Delhi bank, and to murder the manager in charge—a Mr. Beresford, whose wife and five children fell a sacrifice to their barbarity, by having their

* In the villages round Delhi are a numerous population of Goojurs, a race of men of the nomad tribes that originally peopled Hindostan. These Goojurs are now partially settled, and live by a rude agriculture, sufficient for the merest wants. Their old habits rendering them partial to wander with flocks and herds, rather than cultivate the soil, their chief occupation is that of cattle-lifting, and they have the character of marauders and brigands. The news of the massacres at Delhi no sooner spread amongst them than they flocked to the city, and were quickly engaged in plunder and excesses even of a worse kind. Several Europeans who had eluded the search of the troopers, fell by the hands of the Goojurs.



throats severed, and mangled with broken glass. They next plundered the government treasuries, destroyed the church, and utterly demolished the premises of the *Delhi Gazette*, throwing the presses into the river, and melting the type into slugs. The compositors attempted to escape in the disguise of natives; but, on being recognised, were literally hacked to pieces.

The fate of the unfortunate Europeans who had been unable to leave the city previous to the outbreak of the populace, was most deplorable: no mercy or consideration was shown to age or sex. Delicate women, mothers and daughters, were stripped of their clothing, violated, turned naked into the streets, beaten with canes, pelted with filth, and abandoned to the beastly lusts of the blood-stained rabble, until death or madness deprived them of all consciousness of their unutterable misery. A few Europeans, with arms, took refuge in a mosque: as they were without water or food, they at last determined to give themselves up; and, calling to the subahdar in charge of a native guard before the door, they asked for water, and that he should pledge his oath to take them alive to the king. The oath was given, and the Europeans came from their asylum. The mutineers placed water before them, and said, "Lay down your arms, and then you get water." They obeyed; and the soldiers instantly surrounded them. they gave no water, but seized the whole party, consisting of eleven children, eight ladies, and eight gentlemen, whom they marched off immediately to the cattle-sheds, placed them in a row, and shot them. One lady entreated of the murderers to give her child some water, although they killed herself. A sepoy, in reply to the mother's appeal, snatched the child from her arms, and dashed its brains out on the pavement before her face! The demoniac fury of the excited multitude had no bounds; and in a few hours after sunrise of Monday the 11th of May, the interior of Delhi was a pandemonium that fiends might have shuddered to contemplate.

Upon the first alarm reaching Sir Theophilus Metcalfe, the political agent, he immediately proceeded to the magazine, situated within the walls, near the Calcutta gate, and gave directions for two guns to be placed on the bridge of boats over the Jumna, for the purpose of preventing further approach to the city in that direction; but the movement on this point had already been anticipated by the mutineers, who had taken possession of it, and were then in considerable force on the Delhi side of the river. Foiled in this object, the attention of Sir Theophilus and the officer in charge of the ordnance stores (Lieutenant Willoughby), was directed to the defences of the magazine, which, at the time, contained an unusually large quantity of ammunition and military stores. The gates were immediately closed and barricaded, two 6-pounder guns, double-charged with grape, were placed in a position to command the gates in case they should be forced by the rebellious sepoys; other guns of larger calibre were also double-charged, and placed in position to act upon various parts of the magazine buildings; and a train having been laid communicating with the interior, and given in charge to a trustworthy non-commissioned officer, arms were distributed among the native servants of the establishment; and the little garrison of seven Europeans awaited in silence the attack they had so much reason to expect.

After a brief interval, during which the ferocity of the mutineers had been partially sated by rapine and murder, a summons was transmitted from the palace, demanding, in the king's name, the surrender of the magazine. Of this message no notice was taken by its defenders, and ladders were thereupon brought from the palace for the purpose of taking it by *escalade*. Already the mutinous troops swarmed upon the walls; the rifles of the gallant defenders sped their unerring bolts, and thinned their ranks. In the midst of the unequal conflict, the whole of the native servants of the magazine and ordnance departments contrived to scramble up the sheds and building against the outer wall, and, descending by the ladders, joined the ranks of the assailants. The attack was persevered in, although continued rounds of grape swept them from the walls only to be replaced by others. At length, the bullets of the enemy began to tell upon the little garrison, two out of the seven being wounded; and Lieutenant Willoughby felt that the moment had approached in which the defence of the magazine and its important contents must be consummated by the destruction of the whole. The walls were again crowned by the exasperated sepoys; the outer court of the building was already filled by the advancing enemy; when a preconcerted signal was given. A few seconds had scarcely elapsed

before a dull, heavy report boomed above the din of the city and the shouts of its maddened people: the ground vibrated, and a huge volume of smoke ascending in the air, spread like a pall over the palace of the Moguls, and announced, amidst the groans and shrieks of its ferocious and mangled assailants, that the great magazine of Delhi, with its vast accumulations of powder and military stores, had been blown into the air! The gallant Willoughby happily escaped the effects of the explosion with merely a severe scorching; but it was believed that from 1,500 to 2,000 of the mutineers and town rabble were blown up with the magazine, or were crushed by the falling and scattered ruins. Exasperated by the disappointment occasioned by the destruction of the stores, the sowars rushed to the palace, and demanded of the king that the Europeans who had received his assurance of protection should be given up to them. The demand was acceded to; and the unfortunate victims of royal perfidy and insatiable revenge, were murdered in cold blood by the remorseless soldiers, who, in reply to their appeals for mercy, pointed to their legs and pretended to show the marks of the irons that had been put upon them on the Saturday previous to the outbreak at Meerut.

The following report of the details connected with the blowing-up of the magazine, was transmitted for the information of government, from the inspector-general of ordnance, Colonel A. Abbott, dated July 11:—"Sir,—I have the honour to annex copy of a report addressed to me, on the 27th of May, by Lieutenant Forrest, of the veteran establishment, assistant-commissary of ordnance, who was attached to the Delhi magazine when the troops mutinied on the 11th of May. The following is an abstract of Mr. Forrest's report:—

"'The Meerut mutineers reached Delhi about 8 A.M. on the 11th of May, and were at once admitted to the palace, through which they marched into the town of Delhi. The king of Delhi supplied them with ladders, which had been prepared in the palace, for the purpose of escalading the walls of the magazine. Lieutenant Willoughby, with seven of his European commissioned, warrant, and non-commissioned officers, defended themselves as long as they could, and then blew up the magazine, the train being fired by Conductor Scully, who was most likely killed by the explosion. Lieutenants Forrest and Raynor, with Conductor Buckley, escaped to Meerut, and the fate of the others was unknown. The magazine was on fire on the night of the 11th. The conduct of the small party of Europeans under Lieutenant Willoughby, was most gallant, and will, I doubt not, be duly appreciated by government.'"

Subjoined is Lieutenant Forrest's report, dated Meerut, May 27th:—"Sir,—I have the honour to report, for the information of government, and in the absence of my commanding officer, Lieutenant Willoughby (artillery), supposed to be killed on his retreat from Delhi to this station, the following facts as regards the capture of the Delhi magazine by the mutineers and insurgents on the 11th instant. On the morning of that date, between seven and eight A.M., Sir Theophilus Metcalfe came to my house, and requested that I would accompany him to the magazine for the purpose of having two guns placed on the bridge, so as to prevent the mutineers from passing over. On our arrival at the magazine we found present Lieutenants Willoughby and Raynor, with Conductors Buckley, Shaw, Scully, and Acting Sub-conductor Crow, and Sergeants Edwards and Stewart, with the native establishment. On Sir Theophilus Metcalfe alighting from his buggy, Lieutenant Willoughby and I accompanied him to the small bastion on the river face, which commanded a full view of the bridge, from which we could distinctly see the mutineers marching in open column headed by the cavalry; and the Delhi side of the bridge was already in the possession of a body of cavalry. On Sir Theophilus Metcalfe observing this, he proceeded, with Lieutenant Willoughby, to see if the city gate was closed against the mutineers. However, this step was needless, as the mutineers were admitted directly through the palace, through which they passed cheering. On Lieutenant Willoughby's return to the magazine, the gates of the magazine were closed and barricaded, and every possible arrangement that could be made was at once commenced. Inside the gate leading to the park were placed two 6-pounders, double-charged with grape, one under Acting Sub-conductor Crow and Sergeant Stewart, with the lighted matches in their hands, and with orders that if any attempt was made to force the gates both guns were to be fired at once, and they were to fall back on

that part of the magazine in which Lieutenant Willoughby and I were posted. The principal gate of the magazine was similarly defended by two guns, with the *chevaux-de-frize* laid down on the inside. For the further defence of this gate and the magazine in its vicinity, there were two 6-pounders so placed as easily to command the gate and a small bastion in its vicinity. Within sixty yards of the gate, and in front of the office, and commanding two cross-roads, were three 6-pounders and one 24-pounder howitzer, which could be so managed as to act upon any part of the magazine in that neighbourhood. After all these guns and howitzers had been placed in the several positions above-named, they were loaded with double charges of grape. The next step taken was to place arms in the hands of the native establishment, which they most reluctantly received, and appeared to be in a state not only of excitement, but also of insubordination, as they refused to obey any orders issued by the Europeans, particularly the Mussulman portion of the establishment. After the above arrangements had been made, a train was laid by Conductors Buckley, Scully, and Sergeant Stewart, ready to be fired by a preconcerted signal, which was that of Conductor Buckley raising his hat from his head, on the order being given by Lieutenant Willoughby. The train was to be fired by Conductor Scully, but not until such time as the last round from the howitzers had been fired. So soon as the above arrangement had been made, guards from the palace came and demanded the possession of the magazine in the name of the king of Delhi, to which no reply was given. Immediately after this, the subahdar of the guard on duty at the magazine informed Lieutenant Willoughby and me, that the king of Delhi had sent down word to the mutineers that he would, without delay, send scaling-ladders from the palace, for the purpose of scaling the walls; and which shortly after arrived. On the ladders being erected against the wall, the whole of our native establishment deserted us, by climbing up the sloped sheds on the inside of the magazine, and descending the ladders on the outside, after which the enemy appeared in great number on the top of the walls, and on whom we kept up an incessant fire of grape, every round of which told well, as long as a single round remained. Previous to the natives deserting us, they hid the priming-pouches; and one man in particular, Kurreembuksh, a durwan, appeared to keep up a constant communication with the enemy on the outside, and keep them informed of our situation. Lieutenant Willoughby was so annoyed at this man's conduct, that he gave me an order to shoot him, should he again approach the gate. Lieutenant Raynor, with the other Europeans, did everything that possibly could be done for the defence of the magazine; and where all have behaved so bravely, it is almost impossible for me to point out any particular individual. However, I am in duty bound to bring to the notice of government the gallantry of Conductors Buckley and Scully on this trying occasion. The former, assisted only by myself, loaded and fired in rapid succession the several guns above detailed, firing at least four rounds from each gun, and with the same steadiness as if standing on parade, although the enemy were then some hundreds in number, and kept up a continual fire of musketry on us, within forty or fifty yards. After firing the last round, Conductor Buckley received a musket-ball in his arm, above the elbow, which has been extracted here. I, at the same time, was struck in the left hand by two musket-balls, which disabled me for a time. It was at this critical moment that Lieutenant Willoughby gave the order for firing the magazine, which was at once responded to by Conductor Scully firing the several trains. Indeed, from the very commencement, he evinced his gallantry by volunteering his services for blowing up the magazine, and remained true to his trust to the last moment. As soon as the explosion took place, such as escaped beneath the ruins—and none escaped unhurt—retreated through the sallyport on the river face. Lieutenant Willoughby and I succeeded in reaching the Cashmere gate. What became of the other parties it is impossible for me to say. Lieutenant Raynor and Conductor Buckley have escaped to this station. Severe indisposition prevented my sending in this report sooner.

"N.B.—After crossing the river, on the night of the 11th, I observed the whole of the magazine to be on fire, so that I am in hopes that little of the property fell into the hands of the enemy. Park-sergeant Hoyle was shot about 11 A.M. by the mutineers, in attempting to reach the magazine to aid in its defence."

Having thus detailed the heroic conduct

of the defenders of the magazine, we resume the narrative of events without the city.

The position of the European families and Christian natives resident in Delhi and its vicinity, was naturally, in an emergency like the present, one of painful interest and considerable difficulty. At an early hour of the morning, rumours were afloat of unprovoked cruelties, and acts of shameless atrocity, said to have been perpetrated at Meerut; and although the extent of those outrages upon humanity were as yet but imperfectly known to the authorities, sufficient had transpired to excite grave apprehensions, and to induce prompt efforts to prevent the possibility of any repetition of the evil. As soon, therefore, as the actual advance of the mutinous sepoys from Meerut was observed in the distance, it became necessary that some place of refuge should be appointed, where, upon a possible contingency, the families of the Europeans of both services at Delhi might rendezvous, and be sheltered from immediate danger. With this view it had been arranged by the brigadier, that in case of necessity, the ladies, and persons in civil employ, should repair to the Flagstaff tower, a circular building of some strength, situated on an eminence near the cantonment, and within a short distance of the Moree and Cashmere gates, where, from its proximity to the lines, they might find protection, until facilities could be found for their removal from the vicinity of the city. Many of the European residents who occupied bungalows between the latter and the cantonment, were fortunate enough to repair to the asylum on the first alarm without much difficulty, and were received on their arrival by the brigadier and his staff, who had early resorted to the tower, as from its position the former was enabled to trace the movements of the rebel force on the north and western faces of the city. Of the European residents within the walls of Delhi, few were able to avail themselves of this shelter; and they perished. There were, however, assembled a considerable portion of the females belonging to the European families. Of the remainder, some who were unable to escape through streets thronged by excited troopers and a tumultuous rabble, turned back, and in their desperation flew to the palace, and claimed protection of the king; it was promised them, and for a few hours they existed in fancied security. Besides these, no European survived within the walls of Delhi to speak of the horrors of that terrible day.

For several hours the detachment of the 38th, stationed at the Flagstaff tower, as well as the men of the 74th regiment on the artillery parade-ground at the cantonment, preserved an appearance of discipline; but as the day advanced, and it became known that a fierce tumult was raging in the city, and that the 54th had joined the Meerut fugitives, the other regiments began to exhibit signs of impatience, and no longer obeyed their officers.

To those assembled at the Flagstaff tower the explosion of the magazine was awfully significant; it declared that there was no longer a tenable point of occupation for Europeans within the city; and it had the instant effect of precipitating the resolves of the few soldiers at the tower, who had till this time preserved an appearance of subordination. They no sooner perceived the smoke and heard the concussion, than they seized their arms, and with their cry of "Deen! deen!" took possession of two guns that had been sent up to increase the defences of the position, and pointed them against the tower. Fortunately these men were not proof against remonstrance, and they desisted from their apparent purpose; they even gave up their bayonets to reassure the ladies of their fidelity, and offered to march as an escort with them to a place of safety.

About five o'clock in the afternoon, a cart, drawn by bullocks, was perceived ascending from the direction of the Cashmere gate towards the town. As it came near, a rumour went forth that it contained the mangled bodies of the officers of the 54th, who had been massacred in the morning, and which had been collected by some friendly inhabitant of the city, and thus transmitted to preserve them from further indignity. The cart was covered over with ladies' dresses to screen the dead from view; but occasionally a protruding limb told in terrible language the ghastly nature of the burden. Happily for some of the yet living among those at the Flagstaff tower, there was not then time to unveil the horrible mystery and identify the remains.

It had now become unmistakably apparent that every one must consult his own chance of safety, since nothing could be done for the retention of Delhi, or for the further protection of the yet surviving Europeans in its vicinity. The whole of the troops had

revolted; the gaols had been opened; the whole population, consisting principally of ignorant and bigoted Mohammedans, were in arms, and clamouring for the blood of the "Feringhees." The brigadier perceived this, and that he had no longer power to command. He had done all that his position enabled him to do, and the hour for departure had arrived. He therefore advised every one to escape as they best could; and he remained until the last of his unfortunate party had found a conveyance, or otherwise left the place.

Those who had conveyances cheerfully shared them with those who were less fortunate; but in several instances the native servants had gone off with the carriages and horses, and left the families of their masters to get away as best they could. When the last had departed, the brigadier ordered the bugler to sound the retreat; and the troops, freed from all restraint, at once dispersed, and made off to the city to join their comrades and share in their plunder. General Graves eventually succeeded in reaching Meerut. The following narrative, by an officer of the 38th regiment, describes the occurrences connected with the flight from the Flagstaff tower:—

"As I brought up the rear, our men fell in in column in order; but as we retired, they streamed off right and left by hundreds into the bazaar, till at last the colonel and I found ourselves with the colours and a handful of men. We intended to make for a ford by the powder-magazine, but our men showed that they were no longer under control, took the colours, and made for their lines. The colonel and I followed. We sounded the assembly, and there was a great hubbub. We implored the men to fall in, but they stood still and declined. The colonel went among them, and begged they would shoot him if they wished it. They vowed they had no ill-feeling against us. It was here I saw the last of poor Holland (since safe.) His horse had not been ridden all day; it came from his bungalow. I heard Holland exclaim, 'Which way did the ladies and carriages go?' Some one replied, 'The Kurnaul road;' and I watched him canter across the parade-ground to the bridge by the Company's garden. If I had had a wife or child, or any one belonging to me in the carriages, I might have done the same; but, as it was, I dismounted, patted Gibraltar with a kind of presentiment of evil, and sent him to my bungalow, and walked disconsolately into our quarter-guard. The colonel did the same; somehow the idea of flight did not occur to us. I got my bed down from the bungalow and my kit, and went for some dinner. Then our men commenced urging us to escape; but we refused, and I fell asleep. I awoke, and my bearer entreated me to go, and said that the ruffians were coming from the city. Peile was also in the quarter-guard. We each took one of the colours, and got as far as the door, but the men closed on us, and jerked them out of our hands. Firing commenced behind us, and the satisfaction of being shot by one's own troops is small. I met the colonel in the doorway, and, seizing him by the wrist, forced him along over the parade-ground to the bridge by our butts. It was quite dark. We reached it untouched, and scrambled on till we fell exhausted by a tree. Soon the moon rose, and cantonments in a blaze threw a glare on the colonel's scales; my scabbard flashed, and white clothing looked like snow. We crouched like hares; and thus passed all that fearful night, now running forward, now hiding in hollows and gaps, as voices seemed in our track. We kept parallel to the road which leads to the Shalima gardens. We crossed the Jumna canal by a ford, and drank as perhaps we never drank before. The poor colonel was terribly exhausted; we had had nothing all day.

"Day broke; we were under a tree; and the colonel tore the scales off his coat and hid them in the bushes. We perceived a broken-down mud-hut at a little distance. Into this we crept and lay down; while there, as the sun rose, we perceived a party of sepoys and others advancing towards us; they seemed to search the bushes, and the sun glittered on their arms. I cocked my pistol mechanically, but after two barrels I had no more ammunition. The colonel had not even his sword. I remember saying, 'Oh, colonel, death is better than this horrible suspense.' The sepoys turned towards the river, as if thinking that we had taken the ford, and disappeared. Some Brahmins discovered us as they came to work; one took us to the village and put us in a *tope* (clump of trees), while he got us *chupatties* (bread) and milk. On the way Mr. Marshall, the auctioneer and merchant, met us. After giving us food, our Brahmin friends took us over a ford of a branch of the Jumna, and concealed us in the long jungle-grass on the other side.

While there another came to me, and said a party of fugitives like ourselves were in the grass at a little distance. I followed, and he led me some two miles, when I found a party of ladies and others concealed —the party that had escaped from the Main-guard. They had passed much such a night as we did, with one narrower escape. As they lay concealed, some men passed and saw a riband or a bottle, and saying, 'Oh, they have been here, evidently,' went on. They came to the same ford, and while concealed, heard me described by my eye-glass—sent for me, and thus we happily met. We could not stay in the grass; so, that evening, started, the Brahmins conducting us to a ford over the Jumna. We travelled some two or three miles up stream before reaching it. Our hearts failed, and no wonder where ladies were concerned, as we looked at the broad swift river. It was getting dark, too. Two natives went across. We watched them anxiously wade a considerable portion of the river; then their heads alone appeared above water. It was our only chance of life, and our brave ladies never flinched. It was so deep, that where a tall man would wade a short man would be drowned. I thought it was all over when, on reaching the deep water with Mrs. Forrest on my left arm, a native supporting her on the other side, we were shot down the river; however, by desperate efforts and the assistance of another native, we reached the bank in safety. I swam back once more for another of our party, and so ultimately we all got safe over. It was a brave feat for our ladies to do. We passed another wretched night, suffering fearfully from cold, and crouching close to each other for warmth; there was no noise but the chattering of our teeth. Next morning we were discovered and led to a tope, where again the Brahmins temporarily proved our friends; but they turned us out shortly afterwards with news that there were sowars behind and sowars in front. We turned wearily to the left, to fall into the hands of the Goojurs. These ruffians gradually collected, and with a wild howl set upon us. Our arms had been under water and useless, and they were fifteen to one. They disarmed us, and proceeded brutally to rob and strip us. I think a fakir here saved our lives. On we toiled all day in a burning sun, with naked feet and skins peeling and blistering in the burning wind. How the ladies stood it is marvellous, yet they never murmured or flinched, or distressed us by a show of terror. We were taken to a large Brahmin village that night and concealed in a fakir's hut. We were there three days, and I trust hereafter handsomely to reward our benefactors. While here we sent in a letter in French to Meerut, asking for assistance. It seemed not to come; and from Bhekia we were taken to Hurchundpore at the request of an old zemindar, who had heard of our whereabouts, and treated us royally. He was a German by birth, an old man of eighty or ninety; and now native in dress, language, &c.—not in heart or religion. He sent us up clean stuff for clothes, and gave us something like civilised food again. That evening thirty *sowars* (troopers), under Lieutenants Gough and Mackenzie, who volunteered for the service in answer to our letter, rode in, and we enjoyed the luxurious sense of release from the almost hourly expectation of death. The old man provided carts for us, and at 10 P.M. the day week of our escape from Delhi we reached Meerut."

It was not alone in the immediate vicinity of the city that the unhappy fugitives had to encounter peril, and to bring into exercise the highest qualities of Christian fortitude and patient endurance;—ill-provided in most instances, and in many entirely without the means of conveyance, through the treachery of their native servants—with scanty clothing, and limited funds even to procure necessary sustenance, as they passed through inhospitable villages, on their route to some hoped-for place of shelter and safety. Of these, feeble and delicate women, with men exhausted by excitement and exertion—some bleeding from wounds, and all burdened with aching hearts, and weighed down with grief and anxiety for the friends and relations whose places were vacant among them, and for whose fate the most poignant apprehensions were naturally entertained;—it seems next to a miracle that even one of the little band assembled at the Flagstaff tower on the morning of the 11th of May, should have survived to relate the incidents of their escape; and in the history of their sufferings, their perils, and their rescue, to add pages of absorbing interest to the details of the sepoy war in India.

In selecting the correspondence that occasionally enriches this volume, and sheds light upon many points of individual as well as general interest, it has been de-

cided, in each case, to retain the exact language of the writer; thereby establishing the authenticity and continuity of the narrative. Some trifling discrepancies may possibly occur, from the different points of view taken by the various writers; but upon all material subjects the details will be found to agree with surprising exactness: and they will also collectively exhibit, upon a foundation that cannot be questioned, the indomitable spirit and enduring energies of the true British character, when called into action amidst scenes of unparalleled horror and acute personal suffering.

Throughout the whole of the flight of the 11th of May, bands of Goojurs were lying in wait, along the roads for many miles out of Delhi, with the intent to intercept and plunder the fugitives, most of whom would have been murdered as well as robbed, but for the determined resistance they were occasionally enabled to make.

One gentleman named Wagentreiber, connected with the *Delhi Gazette*, fled in an open carriage to Kurnaul—his wife driving, and his step-daughter handing him a loaded rifle after every shot, while his babe slept soundly in the bottom of the carriage, amidst the horrible din and excitement of the pursuers and the pursued. Five times, within a distance of twenty miles, was this heroic family attacked by the merciless Goojurs; but bold hearts and his steady hand enabled him to force his way through his murderous assailants, four of whom he shot dead, and wounded two others. The escape of Sir Theophilus Metcalfe was miraculous. After remaining in Delhi for three days after the outbreak, he escaped into the jungle, and, hiding as best he could, arrived, after a perilous journey of ten days, at Hansee in safety. The result of the whole affair was, the destruction of all the Europeans on whom hands could be laid; the pillage of the treasure, including some ten or twelve thousand pounds in the bank at Delhi; and the acquisition, by the insurgents, of magazines of provisions, ammunition, and guns, without which they could not have maintained any lengthened resistance to the government.

The following narrative of a sufferer, named James Morley, will give the reader some idea of the horrors that deluged with blood many of the homes at Delhi. He says—"I and my friend, Mr. William Clark, occupied a two-storied house in the Cashmere bazaar. We were both married. I had three children; Mr. Clark had only one, but Mrs. Clark was about to give birth to another. On the morning of the 11th of May, I was preparing, about 9 A.M., to go to my office. We heard a great uproar, and one of my servants came in and said that some regiments had come over from Meerut and entered the city, and that they had come away from Meerut after killing all the Europeans. We did not know what to do, and I sent away my buggy. We waited for two or three hours, and then another of my servants came in, and said that all the budmashes of the city had got together and were murdering all the Europeans. On this my wife and children all began crying. Some of the servants went and stood at the gate, and one man came and told us to come and hide in his house. However, I was determined to go out and see what was the matter. I took a stick in my hand, and walked into the street. It was altogether empty. I continued to walk down it without meeting any one. When I came to the end where it opened into another street running at right angles to it, I walked both ways along the latter, but it too was empty. There was only an old man sitting at a shop-door. I stood for some time; but at some distance along the right I could see what seemed to be a crowd of men. It was very far off, and I could only just hear the noise and shouting. As I thought they might come up to our house, I stood watching them for some time. At length I heard a great noise behind, and, looking round, I saw a large crowd rushing into my gateway. They had also seen me, and some men came running down the street towards me. I immediately ran down the other street to the left. I knew that there was a small lane that led to my house, and by going a long way round I ran into it. There were some women standing at doors, and one or two men, but they did not say anything to me. I was running along, when two men ran out of another lane, and calling out 'Mar Feringhee ko,' they rushed at me. One man had a sword in his hand, and the other a lattee. I stopped suddenly, and, turning quickly round, I gave the man with the sword a blow over the head which brought him to the ground. The other man aimed a blow at my head, but I had stooped forward, and the lattee only grazed my shoulder behind. I swung my stick round, and it caught him just on his knee, which made him sit down

howling with pain. I saw a great number of people collecting behind me; and, running on, I came to a place where there were old carts and hackeries lying in front of a carpenter's shop, and there was a roof of a shed which had fallen down and was on the ground. There was just room for me to creep under. I rolled myself up and lay there. I heard four or five men run by, saying, 'Idhuree to gya,' (he went this way.) I could hardly draw my breath. For some time after they had left, I could hear nothing more. Then I began to think of my poor wife and children, and of Clark and his family. What if they all had been murdered? As I thought of this, I determined to go home. It made me feel like mad. But now again I heard a loud noise, and a large crowd passed by shouting and yelling in a dreadful manner. They used the most horrible language, and it was all about the Europeans. Two or three women came out of the house and stood close to the shed, and a little child was leaning against the side. Some one, however, called out to them from above to come in and shut the doors. I lay still for a long time, for in that public street I did not know where I might not meet a man. But again I thought of my wife and children, and I determined to go to them at any cost. I crept out of the shed and stood up suddenly. I heard a woman call out 'Koun hy,' but I made no answer, and walked towards my house; this street was not in the centre of the city, but near the walls, and was not inhabited by Buneeas and such people, but by baboos and native writers. All the bud-mashes had gone to loot the station outside. I met one or two natives. I knew them, and they said, 'Save yourself.' At length I came to the wall of the garden behind our house. I entered through a small wicket. It was now nearly four o'clock, for I had been all day under the shed. I had heard firing; and once there was a terrible shock, which I afterwards found must have been the blowing-up of the magazine. As I said before, I got into our garden; everything was as still as death. When I got to the house, all round it were lying broken chairs, tumblers, plates, books, &c., that had been thrown out from the house. There were some bundles of clothes lying burning. I went round to the side where the servants' houses were. There did not seem to be any one in them. At length I heard a noise as if of some one crying near the cow-house. I went there, and found that it was our old dhoby, an old man who had been in my father's service for nearly twenty years. I called out his name, and when he saw me he burst out louder, saying, 'Oh, Sahib! they have killed them all—they have killed them all.' I felt very weak and faint, and I said, 'Give me some water.' He brought me some water from his own house. I sat down, and said, 'Now tell me how it all happened.' First he only cried, and then he said, 'Oh, Sahib! when you had gone away, the Mem Sahibs and the children all sat together very frightened, for we could hear a great noise and the firing of guns. And Clark Sahib got out his fowling-piece and loaded it. I asked him if I should shut the gate, but he said, 'No, we have nothing to fear.' But soon a large crowd with sticks, and swords, and spears, came into the compound. Clark Sahib stood on the steps, and said, 'What do you want?' They only abused him, and said they would kill every Feringhee. He came into the house, but did not shut the door. The people all rushed in. The servants all ran away, only I remained behind. Mr. Clark said, 'Take everything away, but do not kill us.' They then abused him, and looked at Mrs. Clark and said, 'Is this your wife?' and laughed at him. They began to break and loot everything. My Mem Sahib had taken the three babes into the gossul khana and shut the door. Mr. Clark had stood with his gun hidden behind him; but they saw it, and said, 'Give it to us;' and then one man went to Mrs. Clark and touched her face, and spoke bad words to her. Clark Sahib called out, in a terrible voice, 'You sowar!' and shot him dead. He then wounded another man with the other barrel, and commenced fighting with his gun like a lattee. I knew that now they would murder every one. I ran to get the Mem Sahib out of the gossul khana, but there were people all round the house. They hit me, and told me to go away, or they would murder me too. I went into the garden and sat behind a hedge. I heard a great crying, and then they threw things out of the house, and broke the panes of glass in the doors. They then said, 'Let us go and loot;' and they all went away.'—I felt as if I had been stunned for some time. I then got up, but I could hardly stand, and I said, 'Come into the house with me.' We went into the house. Everywhere things were

lying about that had been most wantonly destroyed. Tables had been split to pieces with hatchets, cupboards had been emptied out, and everything strewn on the floor; jams and jellies were lying in heaps; biscuits were strewn about, and there was an overpowering smell from the brandy and wine that had run out from the broken bottles.

"Every minute detail is distinctly imprinted upon my mind; for, with that cowardly shrinking from a knowledge of the worst which is common to us all, I lingered in this outer room and kept looking round it. At length I nerved myself and stepped into the next room, which was the hall. Oh! I had indeed need to nerve myself. Just before me, pinned to the wall, was poor Clark's little son with his head hanging down, and a dark stream of blood trickling down the wall into a large black pool which lay near his feet. And this cruel death they must have inflicted before the mother's eyes. I closed my eyes and shuddered; but I opened them upon even a yet more dreadful sight. Clark and his wife lay side by side. But I will not, I could not, describe that scene. I have said she was far advanced in her pregnancy. I heard an exclamation, and going into the bedroom near the hall, I saw the old dhoby wringing his hands and crying. He was standing at the door leading into the bath-room. I rushed to the door, but I could not enter. I could not bear to face that spectacle. I could not bear to think that I might see my poor wife as I had seen poor Mrs. Clark. I sat down and placed my hands on my knees. I did not cry; it seemed as if there was some terrible weight that had been placed on my brain, and the tears could not come out. I do not know how long it was I sat there; but at length the old dhoby said that he heard people passing, and that it was not safe for me to be there; so he took me into his house. It was now nearly dark. My servants would most likely be coming back to their houses, and I could not trust them. He told me he would take me that night to his brother's house, which was on the other side of the city, and then try and get me out into the open country, when we would make for Kurnaul. I lay down in his house, and he sat outside; not long after a large gang of people came into the compound. They laughed, and shouted, and yelled. They passed out by a small wicket which was quite close to the servants' houses, and I heard one man say, 'Kera iumasha hye,' (what fun tms is!) The servants, too, came back. They began to talk about what had happened, and I was glad to find that they were sure that I was dead. One man said that it was very wrong to kill the Mem Sahib and the children, and that now, where were they to get 'rozgar.' But another said that we were Kaffirs, and that now the king of Delhi would provide for every one. After midnight I crept into the garden, and there put on a petticoat and veil belonging to the dhoby's wife. I then went into the road, where I met him. He took me to his brother's house. Everywhere there was great excitement in the streets. There was a terrible blaze in the direction of the magazine, and outside of the walls there was a fire of musketry. When we came near his brother's house he told me to remain quiet at the corner, and he would go in and see who was there. And this was very lucky for me. I found afterwards that his brother was very happy at the thought that he could now keep all our clothes. He would not have tried to save me, but just the contrary. I sat there for a long time with people passing and repassing. If they had only known that a Feringhee was within a few feet of them! I have been all my lifetime in the country, but still I felt afraid lest any one should speak to me. I did not know but that they might remark that my chuddur was held awkwardly, and thus find me out. In this suspense I sat for some time. It was now the first dawn of the morning, and I supposed I had to remain the whole day in the city. This thought began to trouble me; but at last the old man came out driving before him a bullock on which was a load of clothes. He did not come towards me, but went down the street the opposite way. I again began to be afraid that he wanted to leave me to my fate, when I remembered what an old and trustworthy servant he had been, and it struck me that he did not want to draw observation to me. I therefore waited till he had gone some distance, and then followed him. We went on till we were out of the street in which his brother's house was. He then stopped and beckoned to me. I went and joined him, and he told me that his brother would not have assisted me, and that he himself had at once said that he would not stop in the city where there was all this disturbance, and that he had now come away on the pretence that he was going

home to his village. We were not stopped at the gate, which was wide open. We went on along the broad road for about three miles. The old dhoby then said that we must make for the Kurnaul road. In order to do this, we had to make a circuit almost round the whole of the city. People were hurrying along the roads towards Delhi, and did not molest us. We got on very slowly, but towards evening we got into the Kurnaul road. Here the case was different. People were to be seen going along it with plunder; one gang surrounded us and said that the old man was very cunning, and was taking away some rich goods. He, however, said at once, 'Search my bundle;' which they did, and, finding nothing, they let us go. I then told the old man, whenever a gang came near us, to call out to tell them to go and loot the Feringhees, and to make jokes about what had occurred. This he used to do, and it averted all suspicion from us. And after the first day we always started very early in the morning, indeed very shortly after midnight, and I could then go alone on the bullock. On the third day we halted near a small temple. We sat down under a peepul tree, and a Gopsaeen came and sat down by a pool of water near it. The old dhoby went to procure some food, and, sitting in the shade, with a cool breeze blowing, I fell asleep. When the dhoby came back he woke me up, and the old priest said that he knew I was a Feringhee. We then begged him to have pity on me, and he said, 'Go, go, I never hurt any one.' I got tired of this disguise, and was indeed ashamed of it; so as I thought no one would harm us so far from Delhi, I put on a suit of the dhoby's clothes. We were often insulted, hooted, and abused by the villagers, but they did not offer me any personal violence. I saw the body of a European woman lying shockingly mutilated by the roadside, and it made me sick to see a vulture come flying along with a shrill cry. I saw another body of one of our countrymen. It was that of a lad about sixteen. He had been evidently killed with the blow of a stick. I buried him, but it was but a shallow grave I could give him. I heard on the road of a party of Europeans being some distance ahead of me, and tried to overtake them, but could not. I had been suffering for some time before of a peculiar running in my leg. This had become very much worse from the severe exercise, from the heat, and from the dirt that got to it. Frequently I could just drag myself along. At any other time I could not have borne the agony. But the desire of life is a very powerful motive to exertion.

"I had very often thought before of that hour when death should stand by my side. I had not thought that I should ever be thus brought face to face with him. And though, after all I had lost, life seemed darkened for ever, yet the strong natural instinct urged me to make every endeavour to save my life. Still, strange as it may seem, it was not death that I feared. As I stood wrapped up in the chuddur, I would have welcomed a shot that would have at once destroyed me. It was the thought of the bitterness of that moment when I should have to gaze on death's naked face; it was the thought of the humiliation of the moment when I stood uncovered before those whom I had hitherto looked down on, and be at their mercy; but I think, above all, was the thought of the pain and agony of dying through the effects of ghastly wounds. But from all these things the goodness of the Almighty has delivered me. On the sixth day after leaving Delhi I arrived at Kurnaul. I was taken in by a good Samaritan. The excitement that had hitherto sustained me being now over, a reaction took place. A brain fever set in, and I became delirious. It is now that I am recovering from its effects. My poor friend Clark, my poor wife and children, never more shall I see them upon earth again.—JAMES MORLEY."

Of the incidents connected with the escape of the Europeans from the city, the following extract from a letter of an officer of the 74th native regiment, affords some interesting and authentic details. After recounting the horrors of the massacre in the streets, he says—"As I told you in my last, I had been ill in bed for a long time, and was to have left for England on the 15th; but God willed it otherwise. Seeing how things were turning, ill as I was, I could not remain quiet, and forthwith volunteered my services to the brigadier, which he accepted with thanks. I joined the troops; but after a long time it was agreed that we should retire, as all hope of holding Delhi was gone. Our regiment then refused to act, and most of the officers fled to Kurnaul, Meerut, &c.; but I, along with a few others, agreed to stay with the troops as long as possible. I placed my little boy in charge of some friends, who took him away in their carriage in safety to

Meerut. I then placed Fanny and our doctor's wife in a buggy, and directed them to go as quickly as possible to Kurnaul. Our doctor, who was severely wounded, accompanied them in the gharrie; but unfortunately they were all robbed on the road, and everything taken from them, their gharrie and buggy being broken to pieces, and the horses stolen. More about them after. After seeing them off, I hastened to our quarter-guard, where I rallied the men of my own companies (Nos. 3 and 5), and they promised to stand by me. I proposed to the commanding officer to call them together, but he would not permit me to do so. Of course, without this order I could do nothing. By degrees I and Ensign —— were left to ourselves in the quarter-guard, when we agreed together to ride away with our colours to a place of security. The sepoys, however, refused to allow us to take them. —— then left me alone, and has not since been heard of. Last of all, I persuaded the sepoys to let me take the regimental colour, and I took it outside; but on calling for my groom, I found he had bolted with my horse. You may imagine my horror at this. I went back into the quarter-guard and replaced the colour; but on again coming out, a trooper dismounted and took a deliberate shot at me, but, missing his aim, I walked up to him and blew his brains out. Another man was then taking aim at me, when he was bayoneted by a sepoy of my company. The firing then became general, and I was compelled to run the gauntlet across the parade-ground, and escaped unhurt miraculously—three bullets having passed through my hat, and one through the skirt of my coat. The whole of the houses in cantonments were burnt. Having gone as far as my weak state of health would permit, and being exhausted, I took refuge in a garden, under some bushes. About half-an-hour after, a band of robbers, looking out for plunder, detected me, robbed me of my rings, &c., and only left me my flannel waistcoat and socks. They then tore off the sleeve of my shirt, and with it attempted to strangle me. Imagine the intense agony I must have been in! They left me for dead, as I had become senseless. About one hour after I came to, and managed to stagger on about a mile without shoes, where I secreted myself in a hut until daybreak, when I resumed my dreary journey; and, after travelling about twelve miles—the latter part of which was in the broiling sun, without anything on my head—arrived at Aleepore. I managed to beg a little water, some bread, and a few old native clothes to cover my nakedness, but was refused shelter. Again I went on and on through the ploughed fields, barefooted, fearing to keep the road, on account of the robbers; and, after being turned from several villages, came to a village where the head man, much against the wishes of his labourers, offered to secrete me. This offer I accepted, and I remained with him for five days; although once the sirdars came there and wished to murder me, but seeing my helpless state, and how ill I was, they refrained from doing so, and went away: and a second time I was forced to flee to the fields and hide myself, as about fifty of the mutinous sepoys came and searched the village for Europeans; but after laying the whole day in the sun, my generous friend, the zemindar, came and fetched me. On the morning of the sixth day, a man came in and gave me such information, that I was confident that Fanny, the poor doctor, and his wife, were only six or seven miles off. I at once determined, at all hazards, to go in search of them, and immediately started off. I once more gained the high road; and after making inquiries, found that those I was seeking for had been travelling on foot at night, and were about ten miles ahead of me. With my feet swollen and in blisters I journeyed on, and at last, to my extreme joy, overtook them. After having been several times stripped and searched by the robbers, they had been taken care of by a ranee, Mungla Dabee, for two days. They, poor helpless creatures, like myself, had been robbed of all they possessed—the ladies with the exception of a petticoat and shift; and the poor wounded doctor had his clothes left him, as the blood had so saturated them that they were deemed useless to them. The ladies had also experienced the most distressing and horrible insults. At the same place we also met Major Paterson, who had had two very severe blows on the head with a bludgeon. On the evening of the same day we resumed our march; but as poor Wood was so weak, we only managed to accomplish about three miles, when we put up at a village for the night. The villagers treated us very kindly, gave us quantities of milk, bread, and dhâl, and charpas to lie on. As soon as the moon rose, and we had had

about four hours' sleep, we again went on our road; but this time we were more fortunate, as some men offered to carry the doctor in a bed. By this means we got on more quickly, and by the evening we had walked about twenty miles, and put up in a village, where the people were very kind indeed, and in the morning conducted us safely on horses, mules, and donkeys, to a place called Lursowlee, about thirty miles from Kurnaul. Here was a police-station, and we immediately sent on a man on horseback to Kurnaul, to send us a carriage and cavalry escort, which was immediately done; and I thank God we arrived here safe on the night of the 20th. A force is collecting to march against Delhi, and will start in three or four days, when I trust everything will still turn out well; but affairs look so threatening, and several regiments are mutinying and going over to the enemy, that it is very uncertain how it will all end. When I shall come to England now is uncertain, and my movements equally so; but I am not of a desponding disposition, and put my trust in my Creator that all may still be well. Everything I possessed in the world has, of course, either been burnt in my house or stolen; and I have nothing left to myself and wife and child but the clothes we stand in, which have been made up here."

The following letter appears to be from the eminently descriptive pen of the lady referred to in the preceding communication; and it embraces so much of real historical interest, that its extreme length will not diminish its value as a record of incidents connected with the perils of the outbreak:—

"Camden Villa, Simla, July 22nd.

"On the morning of the 11th of May, about 7 A.M., the insurgents from Meerut reached the bridge of boats at Delhi; but we heard nothing of it till about half-past 9 A.M. We heard the sad news in this way:—My husband, child, and myself, were spending our last week in India with Dr. Wood and his wife, as he had been very ill, and a change of climate was recommended by his medical attendants. We were to have proceeded to Calcutta on the 15th of that month, and every arrangement had been made for our journey, even to our dâk being paid; but, alas! we were astonished at hearing from the native doctor, who came to make his usual report regarding the sick to Dr. Wood, the sad tidings that the mutineers had actually been allowed to pass over the bridge of boats, and were then within the city walls. It was reported, that within the short space of one hour, the insurgents had killed the commissioner, Mr. Fraser; the fort-adjutant, Captain Douglas; the Rev. Mr. Jennings and his daughter, a young lady about nineteen years of age; together with many others, whose names I do not remember. The above was being related to us when we received a message from Mrs. Paterson, the wife of Major Paterson, of the 54th regiment of native infantry, to beg Westwood and myself to go over to her house quickly; and as she only lived across the road we went immediately. In the verandah we met Major Paterson, dressed in uniform, from whom we heard that his regiment (the 54th) had been ordered down to the city of Delhi to quell the disturbance, and that he was to take the command of the guns, four in number. The regiment was then on the parade-ground waiting for orders; and as we were living close to the 54th lines we saw them pass the house, and from their cheerful appearance, and yet determined look, we congratulated ourselves on having such a brave set of fellows, as we thought, to go forward and fight for us. Colonel Ripley, the commandant of the regiment, headed it, and lost no time in appearing before the wretches in the city, leaving Major Paterson to bring up the guns; and as it was, of course, a planned thing among the native gunners to delay with the guns, Major Paterson had to wait no less than four hours before he could take them to the city. When he reached that place he became, as he told me, sick at heart; for the first person whom he met was his colonel, supported by one of the buglers of the regiment through the Cashmere gate to a palkie-gharrie; for he had been so dreadfully cut about, that the poor man was unable of himself to move. After the bugler had placed Colonel Ripley in the carriage, the coachman drove to the bells of arms in the Delhi cantonments, at which place the colonel had his wounds looked to; and by this time, Dr. Dopping, of the 54th, Captain Smith, Captain Burrows, two lieutenants, and one ensign, all of the same regiment, had been killed, and were lying in a heap at the slope leading to the officers' quarters at the Cashmere gate. Mrs. Wood, Mrs. Paterson, and myself, began to consider that we were in rather a precarious position ourselves, and we were advised to

go forthwith to the 38th hospital, and there find protection through the guard stationed there. We all three ladies started in Mrs. Paterson's carriage, taking with us Mrs. Paterson's two little girls and my dear boy. On our reaching the hospital, we were told that all the ladies had taken refuge in the Flagstaff tower, and that we had better go likewise. We found the native gunners, who were standing about, most rude; but the sepoys in general were as respectful as usual. The native doctor of the 38th took me to his house, and told me that if I was frightened he could hide me in an underground room which he showed me; but I felt more secure by going to the Flagstaff tower. Here we were told that poor Colonel Ripley was lying at the bells of arms, dreadfully wounded. We proceeded immediately to the place where he lay, to see if we could render him any assistance. We found him lying on a bed of very rough manufacture. We found a sergeant's wife near the place where poor Colonel Ripley was lying, who brought us a nice soft rezie, which we folded once or twice double, and laid him upon it. This appeared to comfort his wounds; and after we applied some lavender-water to his temples he seemed much better, and talked to us. He was, of course, in great agony, and begged of the native doctor to give him a dose of opium to deaden his sufferings; and, after some persuasion, the doctor did so. The colonel was then so much better, that he pointed to one frightful wound in his left shoulder, and told us that the men of his own regiment had bayoneted him. We were afraid to remain longer with the colonel, having our own little ones to protect, and therefore bade him farewell, promising, as I did, to go home and persuade my husband, who was himself very ill, to go and see to his wants. On our way we met men and women-servants in every direction, looking dreadfully confused, and apparently greatly concerned for us. Before we reached home, another wounded man, a sergeant, I believe, of the 54th, was being carried to the hospital in a dhooly; he had been shot in the leg, which we were told afterwards was broken. On reaching home, our servants begged of us not to remain in the house; for it was fully understood that the bungalows were to be burnt at night. Thinking, however, we might save our clothes, and other little articles which for years past I had been gathering together, Mrs. Wood and I packed our boxes, and ordered our servants to hide them in the fowl-house, and we took our jewel-cases with us. When we left the bungalow it was about 2 o'clock P.M. We took the road to the Flagstaff tower; and my husband went to the bells of arms to see what he could do for Colonel Ripley, whom he soon removed from that place into a dhooly, and rode by his side to the Flagstaff. The colonel was quite sensible; for he asked my husband to secure all his papers from his house for him, which my husband did. By this time the people at the Flagstaff were in a great state of alarm, having heard that the king of Delhi, instead of aiding us, was sending scaling-ladders for the sepoys to scale the walls of the magazine, which they very successfully did. Lieutenant Willoughby, finding that he had but a few sergeants to hold the magazine with him, laid a train, and it is said that some 400 of the insurgents were fairly inside when the place was blown up. Certainly I felt much frightened when I found that the magazine had been blown up, to say nothing of the 38th regiment flying to their arms, and crying out 'Deen! deen!' (religion.) The magazine could not have been blown up entirely, for the report was so slight; the sight was very sad to look at, the heavens being perfectly blackened, as it were, from the black smoke. Seeing the sepoys fly to their arms, it was advised that their bayonets should be at once taken from them, and placed at the top of the Flagstaff, as it was then fully believed, that if we depended on our sepoys for assistance, we should be but poorly cared for. The men, astonishing to say, allowed themselves to be robbed of their arms; and I, for one, assisted in passing them to the top of the tower, while the gentlemen and merchants from the city brought in boxes upon boxes of powder, caps, and bullets, which were all lodged at the top of the tower. Every minute things bore a blacker look; and when the artillery commandant, Captain De Tessier, came in, with his trowsers covered with blood, he told his wife, who was close to me with a young babe in her arms, that she ought to be most thankful that his life had been spared, his horse having been shot from under him. The insurgents then took two of our light guns. Information then reached us that the sepoys were actually shooting down their own officers; and finding that it was not their in-

tention to fight for us, some advised a retreat to Kurnaul. The people were, however, a long time making up their minds as to what they had better do. At last, Captain Tyler, of the 38th, said his men would accompany us; and my husband being an officer of that regiment, did his best in assisting Captain Tyler to get the men together. Major Knyvett was in command of the regiment; but it remains to be proved why, at a dangerous moment like that, he did not take the command of his corps. Colonel Graves, the brigadier, had no one to advise him apparently; and I do not think any one present envied him his post. Had any one of sense and thought ordered the ladies and children away from Delhi in the early part of the day, I, for one, should not have had to undergo such a journey. About 5 P.M., a cart drawn by bullocks arrived at the Flagstaff tower, and I heard it whispered that it contained the unfortunate officers and eight sergeants who had been so brutally killed in the city. The cart was covered over with one or two ladies' dresses, to screen the dead from view; but one of their arms was distinctly noticed by myself, as it was hanging over the side of the cart. Captain Tyler now insisted on the people leaving for Kurnaul, a distance of about seventy miles from Delhi; but several ladies present declaimed against going, as their husbands had been absent since the morning. Alas! one or two of these ladies were then widows, although they knew it not. One young lady, whose poor brother was lying in the cart outside the Flagstaff, was inquiring of several of the officers if they had seen him, she little thinking that he was numbered among the dead. Night was fast closing in, and the bugle was at last sounded for the retreat to Kurnaul. Here a fearful scene presented itself; carriages of every description were in waiting, although many of the coachmen, whose masters had good carriages and horses, returned to cantonments, in order to secure them for themselves. I had no conveyance up at the Flagstaff, as I went with Mrs. Paterson, and my husband rode. Everybody, with the exception of one or two ladies and gentlemen, were by this time fairly off on their way to Kurnaul and Meerut. One gentleman, seeing me standing by, offered me a seat in his carriage; and, as I had my little boy, I placed him in with him, thinking to follow him with Mrs. Wood. Major Paterson's coachman made off with his carriage and horses immediately we quitted it; and she was left, like myself and Mrs. Wood, to depend on our friends. Fortunately two empty buggies were close by, and Mrs. Wood and I took one; but Mrs. Paterson and her children were in another. Mrs. Paterson, I am happy to say, got away with the others; and after Mrs. Wood and I had proceeded a short distance we met her husband, who was being carried on a bed, he unfortunately having been shot in the face by, it is supposed, his own regiment (the 38th.) The sepoys were surrounding our buggy, but they were quite civil to us; and when they saw the doctor wounded, they all stood still; and after asking them to help to assist him in his hospital dhooly, which we fortunately secured on the road, one or two of the sepoys ran to him. I shall not easily forget the manner in which the remnants of the different corps, viz., the 38th, 54th, and 74th, made their way to their lines as they were walking along like so many wandering sheep. I did not see any of their commanding officers heading them, as in my opinion they ought to have done. Colonel Ripley was among the poor wretches who were all but killed in the city, and was then in a hospital dooly likewise. The doctor's carriage was following him; and fortunate for him that it was, as the bearers refused to carry him further than the lines. My husband not knowing how he was to get on, inquired of the brigade-major (Captain Nicol) how it was to be managed; the answer he received was, 'The best way you can.' My husband then left us to go to the quarter guard of his regiment, to see if he could prevail on his company to accompany us to Kurnaul, and we went on towards Kurnaul, the doctor being inside his close carriage, and Mrs. Wood and myself following him up in a buggy. When we left the parade-ground it was about half-past 6 P.M., and we were the last ladies to leave the station. We had only proceeded a short distance on the Kurnaul road, when some men came to us and begged of us not to proceed any further on the road, as the whole of the officers and ladies who had gone before us had been murdered, and that we should meet the same fate if we persisted on our journey. We knew not what to think, and at first resolved to go on our journey, let what might follow, when a very neatly dressed native, a perfect boy, made his appearance; he made

us a most respectful salaam, and told us that he was in the employ of Lieutenant Holland, the quartermaster of the 38th, and advised our taking the road he pointed out, and very kindly took us off the Grand Trunk road into some fields. We could not drive quickly, as the land was perfectly rugged. We had only walked our horses a short distance when the thought struck me that the men who were surrounding us were nothing less than robbers themselves. This thought was very soon confirmed by the men coming up to us and asking for rupees. I had a few rupees in my jewel-box, but was afraid to open it lest they should see what it contained; and therefore told them to go to our house, and take anything they took a fancy to. They particularly inquired where our house was situated, and I explained it to them as well as I could. They, however, fancied we had money with us, and insisted on my showing them the seat of the buggy, and they searched every corner of it; but still I managed to keep my jewel-box. I was driving, with Mrs. Wood by my side, and the hood of the buggy being down, the vile wretches had a capital opportunity of standing up behind; and with the number of talwars and sticks which they had, could have killed us in a very short space of time. Mrs. Wood had a black velvet head-dress on, and as it had some bugles about it, it glittered a good deal in the moonlight; and when they saw this, they lost no time in tearing it from her head, and at the same time struck her rather heavily with one of their sticks. We had by this again reached the Grand Trunk road. Here we met the two guns which, by the way, accompanied those who started before ourselves out of the station. One of the cavalry men was riding by the side of the guns, and at first I was inclined to think that aid had reached us from Umballah or Meerut; instead of which, it was the guns returning to the city. I called out to the trooper, fearless at the time of being murdered, to assist us by directing us the safest road. The answer I received was—'Go that way' (pointing to Kurnaul), 'you will get murdered. Come this' (pointing to Delhi), 'and you will meet the same fate.' We were then quite close to the gunners and the dreaded trooper; but they offered us no insolence. One of the gunners, in fact, got off the gun-carriage, and walked the whole way by the side of the buggy to the Company's gardens at Delhi, to which place we at last determined to go. At the arched gate of the gardens we met two men, and from the implements which they held in their hands we took them for gardeners. They promised to shelter us in the huts in the garden, and we followed most readily to them. Here they brought a charpoy for the doctor to take rest on, and we sat by him. The gunner was still with us; and as we were close to the lines, we asked the gunner to go to the hospital for some lint, and to ask the native doctor to come to us, in order that the wound might be dressed. The man performed the errand most faithfully; for, about an hour after we had dispatched him, a coolie came with the lint and bandages, telling us that the native doctors were tied hand and foot, and were, by order of the king of Delhi, placed in dhoolies, and were starting for the city, to take charge of the king's troops; otherwise they would most readily have come to our assistance. This is the message they sent to us. By this time the villagers had found out that two ladies and a doctor were secreted in the gardens, and bands after bands made their appearance. The gardener advised our taking shelter inside the hut, as he said they would be sure to kill him if they found he was protecting us. Up to this time both charpoys were outside in the garden, for the night was very hot. Finding that the bungalows were all in a blaze, we at first feared lest the hut might be fired likewise; we, however, found that, instead of its being thatched like most of them usually are, it was tiled; and hesitated not in taking refuge. The gardeners then locked us inside; but we had scarcely been shut up when another band of robbers, about fifty in number, made a rush at the door. We kept quite still, thinking they might leave us; but we heard them determine on breaking the lock, which was soon effected, and into the hut they rushed. I went up to one of them and implored him to save us. He asked for what we had. I told him we had lost everything we possessed; but until he had searched us, he would not give credit to what we told him. Certain it was; for even to my bonnet and cloak had been taken, and the carriage horses and buggy horse ridden away, whither we knew not. They were not satisfied with taking our horses, but broke up the carriage and buggy in our presence. Mrs. Wood and I knew not what to do, or where to go to. Certainly we could not remain

in the gardens when daylight came; we therefore made up our minds to take the doctor as best we could, and go in search of a village. We had no one with us but the doctor's coachman, who remained with the doctor, whom we laid under a large mango-tree, till we returned to take him for the night to a village near the artillery lines. When we reached the village it must have been about 3 o'clock A.M. on the morning of the 12th. We had to plead very hard for shelter; but when we were admitted, we found the people very kind, and they gave us native bread, and the doctor some milk to drink. We tried to take rest; but sleep at a time like this was quite out of the question. We were in the open air till daybreak, when the head man of the village (a Hindoo) advised our going into a cow-shed, the cattle having been taken out for our reception. Fortunate, indeed, it was that the good old man took these precautions; for soon after daylight one of the women ran to the shed and begged of us to remain quite quiet, as some sepoys were just entering their village. I at first thought she wished to frighten us, and the first thing I did was to look over the mats which formed the door, and sure enough there stood a sepoy; and had he been standing with his face towards the shed in which we were secreted he must have seen me. He was, however, standing talking to the old man of the village, and was making a request for carts and bullocks to assist in taking away the officers' property. He was dressed in every way like a sepoy, with the exception of pantaloons; in place of the latter article of dress, he had on the dohtee, usually worn by the natives of India. The man appeared in a great hurry to get rid of the sepoy, for he gave him bullocks and carts in a very short space of time. We were anxious to set out that night on our wearisome journey, and begged some of the women of the village to give us water to wash the doctor's shirt. This they did most willingly; and glad, indeed, we were to have an opportunity of making him somewhat comfortable, for he was perfectly saturated with blood. The men of the village gave us some more bread; and after having filled our water-flask, which was an earthen one, we started about 6 P.M. on the 12th. As we knew not where to find the main road, one of the villagers, a tall fine young man, offered to accompany us a short distance. We availed ourselves of his kind offer, and he took us in safety to the Grand Trunk road. Here he parted from us, and five or six horrible-looking ruffians approached us. We told them that we had lost everything, and that we were then on our way to Kurnaul. They asked several questions, and each was replied to most civilly by me. When they found, from making a search on our persons themselves, that we had really nothing to be robbed of, one of the men inquired of one who had a *talwar* (or sword) when he would take our lives. This I heard most distinctly; and seeing him who had made the above-mentioned remark turn back with all but this one man (who, by the way, assured his friend that he would murder us—to use his own words—'a little way further on the road'), I went boldly up to the man and told him to spare me, as I had one little boy who had gone ahead, whither I knew not, and that I had left my husband on the parade-ground at Delhi the night before, and had not heard of him since; and as I wanted to hurry on in search of my child, I begged of him to spare my life. He appeared rather undecided, and I thought of my wedding-ring, which I still possessed, and at once took it off my finger and gave it to him. He took it, bade us good-night, and went on in the same direction as ourselves, in advance. I mentioned to Dr. and Mrs. Wood what I had heard these men talking about, and begged of them to go round the Ochterlony garden, so that in case he went on to bring out a few of his kin to meet us, we might deceive them, as this garden was some three miles in circumference, and the village to which we fancied he was proceeding was on the roadside, between this place and the cross-roads, where the city and cantonment roads meet. We managed to get round the garden without any one noticing us; but on again reaching the main road we were rather startled by, as it were, a cluster of men standing in the middle of the road. We, however, continued on our march; and the closer we approached it, the more it looked like an assemblage. We were, however, agreeably disappointed at finding it to be a dâk carriage, with its wheels taken away and partially broken up. The villagers were firing in every direction, at what I know not; and every now and then we heard heavy guns. We managed to get as far as the cross-roads at about four o'clock in the morning of the 13th. Here

we were met at a *serai*, or halting-place for native travellers. The men who here attacked us were very powerful-looking fellows. One of them I noticed as having an officer's sword, of which he appeared proud, for he drew it from its scabbard, and told us that the king of Delhi had ordered every European, either man, woman, or child, to be murdered. The doctor, who was very weak and exhausted, was then prostrate on the ground, and I fell on my knees, with the drawn sword over my head, and begged of him to save us. They insisted, before they allowed us to depart, on my giving up my dress. This I did; but after I had given it up to them, I begged they would again return it to me, and, most astonishing to say, they did so. We then started off again, and during the daytime we thought it would be wise to hide ourselves under bridges; but then, again, we could not possibly have kept the doctor alive in his weak state without a little milk; and, therefore, seeing a village close by, we made bold, and went to them to beg some milk for the doctor. The villagers were very kind, and not only gave us what we asked for the doctor, but gave us also some bread for ourselves; but, from fear of the sepoys and troopers, refused to give us shelter. We were therefore compelled to go in search of some place of concealment for that day, and hot indeed we found it; the sun was most powerful, and the wind was like fire itself, to say nothing of the sand like so much hot charcoal under our feet. We first found shelter under a tree; and being close to a well, we found it a most convenient place; for we never felt the want of food; but water was indispensable; and having been furnished with a long piece of string, we managed to draw the water from the wells ourselves. We were, however, shortly obliged to leave this place, as a great many native travellers were passing and repassing; and from the Mussulmans who took the trouble to come off the road to see who we were, we received the greatest insults, and were compelled to go a greater distance off the road, where we found a good large hole surrounded with high grass. We very soon all sat down, and were not observed again during that day. We set out again at night when dark, and travelled as far as we could, being, indeed, but a short distance, when we laid the doctor under a tree, close to the roadside, to take a little rest. Mrs. Wood, too, was very tired, and she lay down on the bare ground likewise, while I sat leaning against the trunk of a tree, half asleep and half awake. It was about one o'clock in the morning when I heard the distinct sound of horses' feet, and apparently a great number of people all talking at once. They were at so great a distance that I could not, on first hearing them, make out which way they were going. I, however, listened most attentively, and assured myself that they were on the road to Delhi. I then awoke Mrs. Wood, and told her to listen to the tramp and clatter of horses' feet; and as the horsemen were then very near to where we were lying, we drew an old dirty sheet over us, to prevent them from seeing our white, or rather black petticoats. I should say that there were at least a hundred horses and ponies, and as part of them had already passed us, I began to hope that the rest would pass on without observing us. Scarcely had I so hoped, when one of the men shouted out, 'Who are you lying down there?' I immediately went forward to him. By this time the horsemen were at a standstill. I approached the man, not uttering a word, when he exclaimed, 'Why, it's a *mem sahib!*' (or in English, 'a lady.') Finding that he spoke very kindly, I felt new life as it were in me, and told him that we were refugees from Delhi, and as we had a wounded man, we could only travel at the rate of about four, or at the most five, miles during the night, and that we were taking a little rest by the roadside. I then inquired of them who they were, and whence they had come. They said that they belonged to the 2nd irregulars, and that they were going to their homes on leave. I asked them where their homes were, and was told that they were on their way to Furruckabad—or better known as Agra. The man who first approached us now inquired of us if we would partake of some bread and sugar, which we most gladly accepted. The sepoy then asked me how we could get to Kurnaul with a man with his under jaw partially shot away, and in his weak state. Thinking myself that we should never reach that place without some conveyance for the doctor, I asked them to take us all to Agra with them; and, after some persuasions, the head man of the party consented to take us; and as there were but two spare animals, one horse and one pony, there was a cry out how they could manage

to convey a third person. I agreed to ride on one of the troopers' horses by their side, while the doctor was mounted on a beautiful white horse, and Mrs. Wood on a pony; and I can safely say I never mounted quicker in my life. We were now on our way back to Delhi again; but the sepoy was very uneasy regarding us, and said, after some little distance on our journey, that he was afraid we should be detected, and thought it best we should dismount and find our way as best we could to Kurnaul. We therefore dismounted, and led our sick man back to the place where the sepoys found us; here we rested for a little while, and we then went on our way again. We reached a village about 4 o'clock A.M. the next morning, and sat down under a tree close to the village. At daybreak we saw the men going to their work; and, as it was a Hindoo village, we were not afraid to venture to it. We were met by an old man, who took us into the village, and bade us rest quite quietly, as no harm would befall us there. During that day we met with the utmost kindness from this man, who gave us bread and milk for the doctor, and had water heated to wash the doctor's wound. A Brahmin who lived in an adjoining village, heard we were taking shelter in a village next to his own, and he came to see us, bringing hundreds of his villagers to see us likewise: he insisted on making the doctor a wooden pipe to drink his milk through, as no sooner than he took nourishment it ran outside his face; and most successfully did he make this pipe, for the doctor found it a great benefit. The Brahmin gave us the information that another doctor was in his village, and from his description of him we immediately concluded that it was Dr. Batson, of the 74th regiment. We sent him a message, asking him to come, if possible, and remove some portion of the jaw, which was causing great pain and annoyance to Dr. Wood. He sent word back, according to the Brahmin's account, that he had no clothes, and could not appear before ladies, but sent some Epsom salts and a wineglass to the doctor. We told the Brahmin that, as the old man of the village had promised us shelter for that night, one of us would go and see him in the morning. Mrs. Wood accordingly went, while I remained with the doctor; but when she reached the village, which was not more than a quarter of a mile distant, she was told by the villagers that he had left. The old man who had protected us the day before was fearful of allowing us to again enter his village, lest the Delhi sepoys should hear of his secreting us, in which case, in all probability, his village would have been put in flames by them; and therefore told us to go away as quickly as possible. It was a frightfully hot day, with a burning wind, and we felt quite unequal to proceed on our journey, and begged of another man of the same village to take care of us for that day. He promised he would, and bade us follow him, which we very quickly did: we soon found ourselves in a most dismal room, with one door and no windows; he brought us two beds, and told us to go to sleep. We had only been inside the room about half-an-hour, when about 150 Mussulmans came to the door with sticks, *talwars* (swords), and other rude weapons, and commenced fighting among themselves. Their evident wish was to murder us; for the Brahmin whom I before mentioned, begged of us to leave the village there and then; and in so great a hurry were they to get quit of us, that they would not allow us time to fill our water-vessel. Although we had been from Delhi some five days, yet we were not more than about ten miles on our journey. We left this place about ten o'clock in the morning; and, great as was the heat, we travelled some five miles that day. We arrived at another village about two o'clock the same afternoon, and received the greatest kindness from most of those belonging to the village. We were not permitted to enter the village, and therefore sat in the verandah of one of the huts built for the coolies of the engineer's department of public works. We found the women very civil and kind to us at this place, much more so than those whom we had just left. They brought us as much water as we required; and finding that they were most obliging and kind, we begged an old pan of some kind to wash the rags for the doctor's face. They did everything for us that lay in their power, bringing us a curry made of vegetables, which was the nicest and best meal we had since we left Delhi. We again set out that night after dark, and walked nearly to Balghur; but when we found ourselves within sight of the village, we resolved on lying under a bridge, and so hiding ourselves from view. We were, however, detected; and before we could scarcely sit down, hundreds of the natives came to look

at us, all being armed. They prevailed on us not to remain under the bridge, but to go with them to a road-sergeant's bungalow, which was empty and close by. We allowed ourselves to go with them; and here we were again made a perfect show of. We found the bungalow locked, and therefore took up our quarters in a stable belonging to the house. We remained in quiet, save that hundreds came and went away again, till one sly fellow, with a most horrible talwar, became most impertinent to us; and knowing that we could not harm him, he took advantage of us by drawing his talwar from its sheath, and running his finger along the edge of it. At last he became unbearable; and Dr. Wood, who is a Roman Catholic, took his gold cross from his breast. The brute seeing it, threatened our lives if we did not at once make it over to him. We lost no time in taking it from the doctor. He very soon cut the black riband to which it was attached, and came to us with the gold in his hand, and begged of us to tell him what its value in rupees was. The doctor replied, 'sixteen rupees.' He then went away; and the ranee of Balghur, hearing that two ladies had arrived at a place close to her village, sent us word to go to her house. We fancied we were now quite safe, and went to her immediately we could. When we arrived at her place of residence, she ordered her servants to cook us some rice and milk for our dinner, and told us we could remain as long as we liked. During the time we were in the stables belonging to the sergeant's bungalow, a native, who lived at no great distance, heard that two ladies and a wounded man were at Balghur; and thinking we would go to him, being, as he was, a road-contractor, he sent some native conveyances drawn by bullocks, with armed men, numbering in all about fifty, headed by the very man who not three hours previous had threatened our lives, and robbed the doctor of his cross. I was sitting outside the building when the conveyances came up; and on seeing this wretch my heart leapt within me. I told the men, after they had delivered their message from the contractor, which was to the effect, that we had better go to his village, that I could not trust myself to the man who had already threatened our lives: the reply I received was, 'Oh, but he is our captain;' and a greater rogue even than the man in question, was selected as their colonel. We found ourselves very well cared for, and therefore refused to accompany these gentlemen, and sent them back. We were now only twenty-two miles from Delhi, and it was the 17th of the month. I asked the ranee, with whom we had an interview, to oblige us with a pen and ink, as a young man had promised to take a letter for us to Kurnaul, at which place we were given to understand many of the military were. The bearer of this letter was to receive fifty rupees for his trouble. After having written it, we called the man to take charge of it, and there and then dispatched him. We wrote to the brigadier to send out a guard to take us safely to Kurnaul; but soon after the man had left, the ranee told us not to remain at her village the next night, as she was afraid of her own people rising against her. The real truth was, in my opinion, that the native who promised to befriend us by taking the letter to Kurnaul, turned into quite a different road, and thought to have had the pleasure of seeing us all taken prisoners to the king of Delhi. The ranee doubtless learnt the true story, and in order to save us, desired us to leave her village. She told us we had better take the road inland, and not travel, as before, along the Grand Trunk road. We had been sheltered by her for one night; but we had quantities of cows as companions, for we were shut up with about twenty of them. The next day, about 3 o'clock P.M., we heard from the natives at the ranee's, that a tall gentleman had just arrived at Balghur, and was taking shelter in the stable adjoining the road-sergeant's bungalow. We were sure, from the description given, that it was Major Paterson. He had, so the people told us, received a blow on his head, and was bleeding much. I, knowing that my husband was with Major Paterson when we left them at Delhi, immediately wrote and asked if Mr. Peile was with him. He had, of course, neither pens, ink, nor paper; but he procured an old piece of earthen pan, and a burnt stick, and wrote me that he had not seen my husband since the night of the 11th. We sent the major some rice, which the ranee had prepared for us, and begged of him to wait for us, as we were about to proceed to Kurnaul. Scarcely had half-an-hour elapsed, when I heard that another very thin gentleman had reached the village, and that he had heard that his wife

was marching along the road, and that he was in search of her. This gentleman proved to be my husband. When he came to us, he was greatly altered, having been blistered from head to foot by the heat of the sun. He had, of course, lost everything, like ourselves, and strange to say, in the same garden, and nearly at the same time. The robbers took everything off him with the exception of a banyan and a pair of socks. He walked along till some of the natives gave him a little covering. He then found a village not far from Delhi, the head man of which sheltered him for several days, and would have allowed him to remain longer had he wished; but hearing that two ladies with a wounded man were creeping along the road, he concluded that it must be our unfortunate selves. We then all met, and started from Balghur at about 6 P.M. on the 17th. We walked till about eleven o'clock that night, when we were received with great kindness by a jemadar, who put us into a kind of walled yard, and gave us beds, and some native bread for our suppers. We passed a most comfortable night at this place, and again set out on the morning of the 18th. We reached another village about six o'clock that morning; and the working men, seeing what difficulty we had in getting the doctor along, volunteered to carry him from village to village, where they could be relieved of their burden. This was a most kind offer, and was most gladly accepted by us. We then set out again, and reached a place called Nowsowlie at about three o'clock in the afternoon of the same day, completing a distance of twenty miles in those few hours. I know not how we managed it; for the road was a most rough one, and our feet were literally studded with thorns. We found a Company's servant at Ghursowlie, who provided us with food and beds. We set out next morning to Lursowlie, a distance of about twenty-two miles from Kurnaul. We were frightfully burnt from the scorching sun and fiery wind; and as I had had no covering for my head all these days, I at times fancied my brain was affected. I begged of the man in authority at Ghursowlie, before starting, to give me a piece of cloth of some kind, which he did. This I made dripping wet, and bound it round my temples. We then all started off to Lursowlie. Major Paterson and I were on horses, and Mrs. Wood and Mr. Peile were on mules. The doctor was provided with a bed; and so we made our appearance at the latter place. We here met with more Company's servants; these men were very kind; and seeing us so badly clad, gave us more clothes. We remained at Lursowlie the whole of that night and the next day; but we were in a sad state of mind from not receiving any answer to our request for assistance. Our minds were, however, greatly relieved by hearing the sound of the coachman's horse about 4 P.M. the next day. We had nothing to pack up; and no sooner had the 'shigeam' (for so it is called) arrived, than we had taken our seats. The Puttealah rajah had sent our cavalry to escort us into Kurnaul—about forty horsemen; and a pretty appearance they had. They were mounted on beautiful horses, and were dressed in the gayest of colours. We arrived at Kurnaul that night about 7 P.M., and were most kindly received by Mr. Rigby, of the engineers' department. We were informed, on our arrival at Kurnaul, that the force would all meet at this place, and would march on Delhi in about a fortnight. The roads being still most unsafe, we were advised to remain at Kurnaul till the regiments were moving downwards, when we could proceed to the hills. All this time I knew not where my dear child was, further than that the people with whom he went had reached Meerut in safety There was no way of sending a letter by dâk; and therefore I paid a Brahmin twenty rupees to go to Meerut with a letter from me to the lady and gentleman who took charge of my child. The Brahmin dressed himself as a native priest, and took my letter quite safely, and brought me back an answer, saying that my little boy was quite safe, and that he reached Meerut on the evening of the 12th at sunset; the roads were too dangerous to admit of his being brought to me, and therefore, for safety's sake, I was compelled to let him remain there, at which place he still is; and from what I hear from the chaplain at Meerut, he is very well and happy, which is a great comfort to me. We had only been at Kurnaul a few days, when the commander-in-chief, the Hon. George Anson, died from the effects of cholera; he was taken ill, I believe, at about ten o'clock on the night of the 26th of May, and was a corpse by four o'clock on the morning of the 28th; he was buried that same evening at sunset. I do not

know why it was, but he was laid in his grave without a military honour. We started in two dâk carriages on the 28th, at about 5 o'clock P.M., and arrived at a place called Peeplee. Here the roads are rather bad, and travellers are obliged, at this place, either to travel in a very strong cart, drawn by bullocks, or to take 'polkees.' As we had a party of five, we took the cart, and the roads being so sandy, we were a long time getting to Umballah. Between Peeplee and the latter station we met the greater part of the Delhi force; many of the officers came up to us and congratulated us on our escape; we met the force at about 3 o'clock P.M. on the morning of the 29th; the greater part of them were in high spirits, singing and talking most cheerfully. We were a long time reaching Umballah, owing to the bad state of the roads: when, however, we had so far completed our journey, we took shelter in the dâk bungalow during the remainder of that day. We were anxious to get to Simla as quickly as possible, and therefore ordered a kind of light cart to convey Major Paterson, Mrs. Wood, Mr. Peile, and myself, to Kalka, while the doctor travelled in a dhooly. We started from Umballah that night, and reached Kalka, just at the foot of the hills, at about 10 A.M. on the 30th. Here we remained during the day, and again set off in 'janpans' carried by hill men, to a small hill station called Kussowlee; we reached the latter place about twelve o'clock the same night; here Major Paterson left us and proceeded to Simla. We were in want of medical aid, and therefore remained at the dâk bungalow that night and the following day and night, and we started for Simla on the evening of the 1st of June. We halted at one or two places on our way, and therefore did not reach Simla till the evening of the 2nd. Mrs. Paterson, who fortunately escaped with the first party, had reached Simla some days previous to our arriving at Kurnaul, and was quite well, with her two children, with whom she fled. She very kindly gave us up her house, as she had herself taken up her quarters with her mother till we could suit ourselves. This was soon accomplished; and we are now residing at Camden villa, together with Dr. Wood and his wife. We have been very fortunate in meeting with many kind friends, who have sent us old clothes to wear till we could supply ourselves with some, and for which we are most grateful; for we arrived here without a thing to put on."

Among the few successful attempts to escape from the hands of the insurgents at Delhi, that of Surgeon Batson, of the late 7th native infantry, is remarkable as well for the difficulties surmounted, as for the ingenuity and perseverance by which the struggle for existence was brought to a fortunate issue. This gentleman having, after his perilous adventures, joined the force before Delhi, thus describes the events of the 11th of May:—"On Monday, the 11th of May, the sowars came from Meerut into Delhi, and wreaked their vengeance by murdering the greater portion of the Europeans. The 38th native infantry, 54th, and 74th, were ordered out with the artillery; but being of the same mind as the sowars of the 3rd cavalry, they offered no resistance, but told their officers that they had better fly with as little delay as possible. The ladies had been collected in the tower on the hill at Delhi; and when the danger became apparent, I went to Brigadier Graves, then commanding at Delhi, and volunteered to take a letter to Meerut, to obtain the assistance of the European troops. Brigadier Graves gave me the letter; and after taking leave of my wife and three daughters in the tower, with the rest of the ladies, I went to my house and assumed the garb of a fakir, colouring my face, hands, and feet. I made for the bridge of boats across the Jumna, through the city; but on reaching it I found the bridge broken. I returned towards the cantonment, and tried to get across the river at a ferry near the powder-magazine; but by this time the sowars of the 3rd cavalry had reached the cantonment, and all the neighbouring villagers, Goojurs, and Jauts, were rushing to plunder the cantonment; the houses were fired, and I despaired of being able to get to Meerut. I rushed across the parade-ground, and was fired at twice by the sepoys. I got as far as the garden near the canal, when I was seized by some villagers, and deprived of every particle of clothes. I proceeded, naked as I was born, towards Kurnaul, in the hope that I might overtake the officers and ladies who had fled in that direction; but before I had proceeded a mile I saw two sowars, who had evidently failed in overtaking their officers They rode up to me with drawn swords, and exclaimed, 'Feringhee! hy! maro, maro!' I threw myself in a supplicating

position, and being intimate with the Mohammedan religion, and speaking the Hindostani, I commenced uttering the most profound praises in behalf of their prophet Mahomet, and begged they would spare my life if they believed that Imam Mendhee would come to judge the world. I made every moral appeal to them (after escaping the first cut they made at my throat, which I did by falling down; they, being mounted, could not well reach me); my entreaties were listened to, and they let me go, saying, 'Had you not asked for mercy in the name of the prophet, you should have died like the rest of the Kaffirs.' I was dreadfully excited, and could scarcely stand; but as I felt that I must proceed, I continued my journey. About a mile further I again met a lot of Mohammedans, who rushed up to me and said, 'Here is a Feringhee; kill the Kaffir.' They then said to me, 'You Feringhees want to make us all Christians.' They then dragged me away to a village about a mile or more from the road, and tied my arms behind me; after which, one of them said, 'Kurreem Bux, go and fetch your sword, and we will cut off the Kaffir's head.' While Kurreem Bux was gone to fetch his sword that was to launch me into eternity, a cry of 'Dhar! dhar!' was made by the villagers, and the Mohammedans who were keeping me ran off to look after their own interests. I rushed off, and ran with all my strength to the road again, and escaped from these unmerciful beings. I continued to run along the road towards Kurnaul; I was again stopped by some ironsmiths who were employed in the Delhi magazine, when one of them said, 'Sahib, don't fear, come with me to my village, and I will find you food; if you go on you will surely be murdered by the Mohammedans, who have turned out from the villages to rob and kill the Feringhees.' I went with the ironsmiths to their house, and was most humanely and kindly treated; one giving me a dohtee, another a cap, another some milk and native bread: I felt my life was safe. I was much excited, and could scarcely speak; they gave me a cot, on which I lay down, but could not sleep. I told these people I was a doctor, and, in consequence, met with much greater attention. On the following morning, the chowdrie of the village sent for me, when the whole village assembled to see the 'Feringhee doctor.' Exhausted as I was, I had to answer a multitude of questions put by the people; but finding that I was perfectly acquainted with their religion, language, and manners, they began to take infinite interest in my life, and said they would protect me. While I was staying at this village, I heard Dr. Wood, of the 38th native infantry, was in a village some five or six miles off, at Summeypore: a man from this village came to me and said, 'A Dr. Wood Sahib is in my village. He requires medicines; as you know all the native medicines, pray tell me what should be given.' I prescribed, but I know not whether the medicines reached him. I also heard, while at this village, that Colonel Ripley was lying wounded at the Ice-pits, near the parade-ground. I persuaded the villagers that he was a very great personage, and that if they would take him food and water they would be handsomely rewarded by the government for their humanity. They took him food and water for several days; but after I had left this village some ten days, I heard that one of the sepoys had killed him on finding him at the Ice-pits. A few days after I was in the village of Badree, it was rumoured that all the Feringhees at Meerut, Umballah, and Calcutta, had been murdered, and that the king of Delhi had taken the government; and that if any village concealed a Feringhee, it would be death to the owners, and general ruin. The proprietors of Badree village got alarmed at this proclamation, and I was removed at night from the village to a small mango tope, where I was left night and day alone. I was visited at night by some one or other of the villagers, who brought me bread and water in a ghurrah. I am unable to describe my feelings during this trying time; I was all day in the sun, in the extreme heat, and alone at night, when the jackals, &c., came prowling about and crying. It is only God and myself know what I have endured. After five days and nights in this tope of trees I was again taken back to the village and concealed in a bhoosa house; I was here shut in for twenty-four hours; the heat and suffocation I cannot find language to describe. I did not know which was the greatest misery, the tope of trees in solitude or the bhoosa kotree. A rumour now was set on foot that several sowars had been deputed to hunt for the Feringhees in the different villages, and it was considered prudent that I should quit Badree under the escort of a Fakir Jogee; this man came and offered to convey me anywhere

that I might please, but stated that it was not safe a moment for me to remain where I was. I then started for Bursooah, where I remained the night. This fakir, at his friend's, dyed all my clothes and gave me necklaces of beads (oodrach), &c., to assume the garb of a fakir myself. After making all preparations to pass as a fakir, I commenced my pilgrimage with him. He took me to several villages, and passed me off as a Cashmeree, 'Dadoo Puntee, Fakir Jogee.' In all the villages that I passed I was cross-questioned, but, understanding their 'Jotish' religion and oaths, I met with every kindness, some giving me pice, others food. The Hindoos all expressed the most merciful feelings towards the Feringhees, while the Mohammedans could not disguise their murderous feelings. I was taken to a village to the house of Sewak Doss, Sunt Fakir Kubbeeree: understanding his code of religion, and being able to recite several Kubbeeree Kubbits, he received me in every kindness. I told him I was a Cashmeree, but the sage could not reconcile his mind that I was a Cashmeree with blue eyes. He said, 'Your language, gesture, clothes, &c., are all complete, but your blue eyes betray you—you are surely a Feringhee.' I disclosed to him that I was. Nevertheless, as I had acquired the Kubbeeree oaths, he continued to behave the same. While I was sitting at this fakir's place a sepoy came, saying he had letters which he was taking to the Umballah force that was at Raee. He did not discover that I was a Feringhee, but I disclosed to him that I was a Doctor Sahib—would he take my letter to the officer commanding the force? I gave him a letter soliciting assistance, which he most faithfully conveyed; but, after waiting a day in hopes of getting assistance, and none coming, I thought it prudent to proceed towards Meerut. The beggar who had conducted me thus far volunteered to take me on. Several people of this village accompanied me till we got to Hurchundpore, where a Mr. Francis Cohen, a zemindar (originally a tussildar, in the government employment), resides. This old gentleman received me in all kindness, and showed me certificates under the signatures of Colonel Knyvett, Captain Salkeld, Lieutenant Holland, Mr. Marshall, merchant of Delhi, and others, setting forth that they had received every kindness from Mr. Cohen, who had kindly sent them on to Meerut. I then made arrangements to proceed to Meerut, when a letter was brought from Kaykrah village to my address, telling me that a hundred men of the Jhind rajah's force, commanded by Captain M'Andrews, was waiting at Kaykrah to take me on to Raec, where the head-quarters were. Mr. Cohen sent me back in his cart, and I again had the gratification of seeing Captain M'Andrews and Lieutenant Mew of my own regiment. I had been twenty-five days wandering about in villages, topes, &c.; and were it not that I speak the Hindostani language as fluently as I can English, I must have been murdered. I look upon my escape as the most miraculous and providential possible. I am unable to describe what I have endured. I am living, and at Delhi with the force, and am truly thankful to the Almighty for the mercy that has been shown me. My wife and children, I hear, are at Russowlee."

An officer of one of the mutinous regiments, who also had fortunately succeeded in effecting his escape with bare life from his own men, wrote as follows, after joining the advancing column under General Barnard:—"Were I to write you an account of the awful deeds the mutineers have perpetrated, you would not, could not, believe it. Such horrible, indescribable barbarities were surely never perpetrated before. You in England will not hear the worst, for the truth is so awful that the newspapers dare not publish it. The soldiers are furious, and whenever they get at the mutineers depend upon it the revenge will be commensurate with the outrages that caused it. Very little is said among the men or officers; the subject is too maddening; but there is a curious expression discernible in every face when it is mentioned—a stern compression of the lips and a fierce glance of the eye, which show that when the time comes no mercy will be shown to those who have shown none. I will only disgust you with two instances; but, alas! there are only too many similar ones:—An officer and his wife were tied to trees, their children were tortured to death before them, and portions of their flesh crammed down the parents' throats; the wife then ravished before her husband—he mutilated in a manner too horrible to relate; then both were burnt to death.—Two young ladies named ——— (very pretty), were seized at Delhi, stripped naked, tied on a cart, taken to the bazaar, and there violated. Luckily for them, they

soon died from the effects of the brutal treatment they received. Can you wonder that, with stories like the foregoing (and there are plenty such), we feel more like fiends than men? Our fellows have crossed their bayonets, and sworn to give no quarter, and I pray that God may give me health and strength until we settle with these scoundrels. I will write no more on this subject, for 'tis too maddening."

A youth of nineteen, who held a commission in one of the native regiments in Delhi at the time of the outbreak, writes as follows from Meerut. The letter was addressed to a sister, and is dated June 1st:—"Besides myself there is only one other officer of my unfortunate regiment, out of those who were with it at the time of the mutiny, who has escaped to this place; and he, poor fellow, is in hospital with a musket-ball through his thigh—Osborn, our adjutant; but I am glad to say there were three others on leave for a month's shooting in the jungles at the time of the outbreak, and who have consequently escaped. * * * There were three native corps at Delhi, besides a battery of six guns, and not a single European soldier. It was about ten o'clock on the morning of the 11th that we first heard of some mutineers having come over from Meerut, and that our regiment was ordered down to the city, where they were, to cut them up. Of course, this time we had not a doubt as to their loyalty. Well, the whole regiment, except my company (No. 1) and our major's (the grenadiers)—who were ordered to wait for two guns, and escort them down—at once went off to the city, distant about two miles. On arriving at the Cashmere gate, which leads into a small fortified bastion, called the Mainguard, from which there is another egress to the city, they were met by some troopers of the 3rd cavalry from Meerut, who immediately charged down upon them. Not the slightest effort was made by our men to defend their officers, and they were nearly all shot down at the head of their companies by these troopers. In fact, our poor colonel was seen to be bayoneted by one of the sepoys after he had been cut down by a trooper; and then the fact of neither a sepoy nor a trooper having been killed, is enough to convince one of their treachery. Well, soon after our two companies, with the two guns (for whom we had had to wait half-an-hour), also arrived; and on going through the Cashmere gate into the Mainguard, and thence into the city, where all this had taken place, the sepoys and mutineers all bolted, being frightened at the sight of the guns; and before there was time to open upon them they had all disappeared into the streets. We then went back to the Mainguard, determined to hold that against them till more reinforcements arrived from cantonments, for which we immediately sent. In the meantime we sent out parties to bring in our poor fellows, who were all seen lying about in front of the Mainguard. I myself went out and brought in poor Burrowes. It was a most heartrending sight, I assure you, to see all our poor chaps, whom we had seen and been with that very morning, talking and laughing together at our coffee-shop, lying dead side by side, and some of them dreadfully mutilated. I had never before seen a dead body, so you may imagine what an awful sight it was to me. The poor colonel was the only one not killed outright; but he, poor man, was hacked to pieces. We sent him back to cantonments, where he died in the course of the day. At last, some companies of the other regiments came up, and we remained here the whole day, expecting to be attacked every minute. Lots of women and people who had managed to escape from the city, came to us for shelter, little thinking of the scene that was shortly to be enacted among us. By-and-by three of our officers, who had escaped being killed by the troopers, also came in, and from them we learnt what I have told you above. All this while we saw fires blazing in the town, and heard guns firing, which we afterwards found out were the guns of the magazine, which a few Europeans had been defending against the whole host of the insurgents, and which had at last blown up.

"Well, it must have been about five o'clock in the afternoon, when, all of a sudden, the sepoys who were with us in the Mainguard, and on whom we had been depending to defend us in case of attack, began firing upon us in every direction; a most awful scene, as you may imagine, then ensued; people running in every possible way to try and escape. I, as luck would have it, with a few other fellows, ran up a kind of slope that leads to the officers' quarters, and thence amid a storm of bullets, to one of the embrasures of the bastion. It is perfectly miraculous how I

escaped being hit; no end of poor fellows were knocked down all about, and all too by their own men; it is really awful to think of it. However, on arriving at the embrasure, all at once the idea occurred to me of jumping down into the ditch from the rampart (one would have thought it madness at any other time), and so try and get out by scaling the opposite side; but just as I was in the act of doing so, I heard screams from a lot of unfortunate women who were in the officers' quarters, imploring for help. I immediately, with a few other fellows, who, like me, were going to escape the same way, ran back to them; and though the attempt appeared hopeless, we determined to see if we could not take them with us. Some of them, poor creatures, were wounded with bullets; however, we made a rope with handkerchiefs, and some of us jumping down first into the ditch, caught them as they dropped, to break the fall. Then came the difficulty of dragging them up the opposite bank; however, by God's will we succeeded, after nearly half-an-hour's labour, in getting them up; and why no sepoys came and shot every one of us while getting across all this time, is a perfect mystery. The murdering was going on below all this time, and nothing could have been easier than for two or three of them to come to the rampart and shoot down every one of us. However, we somehow got over; and, expecting to be pursued every minute, we bent our steps to a house that was on the banks of the river. This we reached in safety; and getting something to eat and drink from the servants (their master, young Metcalfe, had fled in the morning), stopped there till dark, and then, seeing the whole of three cantonments on fire, and as it was a regular battle raging in that direction, we ran down to the river side, and made the best of our way along its banks in an opposite direction. It would be too long, my very dearest sister, to tell you of now, for three days and nights, we wandered in the jungles, sometimes fed and sometimes robbed by the villagers, till at length, wearied and footsore, with shreds of clothes on our backs, we arrived at a village where they put us in a hut and fed us for four days, and, moreover, took a note from us into Meerut, whence an escort of cavalry was sent out, and we were brought safely in here. We started from Delhi with five ladies and four officers besides myself; but afterwards, in our wanderings, fell in with two sergeants' wives and two little children, with two more officers and a merchant; so altogether, on coming into Meerut, we were a body of seventeen souls. Oh, great Heaven, to think of the privations we endured, and the narrow escapes we had! We used to ford streams at night, and then walk on slowly in our dripping clothes, lying down to rest every half-hour; for you must remember that some of the ladies were wounded, and all so fatigued and worn out that they could scarcely move. Of course, had we been by ourselves, we would have made a dash for Meerut at once, which is about forty miles from Delhi; but having these unfortunate women with us, what could we do? * * * At one time, when we were attacked by the villagers, and robbed of everything we possessed, had we not had them with us, we would have fought for it, and sold our lives dearly, instead of quietly giving up our arms as we did; for, you must know, we had a few blunt swords among us, with one double-barrelled gun."

A lady, who formed one of a party that managed to escape the massacre on the 11th, and reach a place of safety, writes from Umballah, May 18th, some interesting details of the incidents connected with the flight of herself and companions. Among other trials, she says—"When we arrived at Thwanessur (a dâk station on the Umballah road) we halted for a couple of hours' sleep, and to get change of conveyance. We stopped with the assistant-commissioner; but before we had rested two hours we were alarmed by being told that a regiment of sepoys was come to attack us. We had to fly from the house and hide as best we could, under the bushes, &c., in the garden; and I kept dear baby in my own arms the whole time until morning, when Europeans were seen. Our party consisted of ten persons, and we met with great difficulties on the road, for the natives were unwilling to assist us; but we arrived at Umballah on the morning of the 14th, quite worn out. * * * There are four European regiments here with the commander-in-chief; but everything seems very confused and uncertain, and orders seem to be given and countermanded directly. Many have left Delhi, not knowing what has become of their relations. Some have heard of their husbands since; but others are still in a state of agonising suspense. The amount of bloodshed was enormous; not a soul

wearing a European garb, who lived in the city, was saved. Altogether, about a hundred were massacred; but the exact number is not known. The news of the Delhi affair has been known here for several days; and though there are four strong European regiments here, they have yet sent none to Delhi."

The Rev. Mr. Smythe, of whose communication respecting the outbreak at Meerut we have already availed ourselves, subsequently gave the following details connected with the arrival of fugitives at that place from Delhi. He says—"On Tuesday evening Captain De Teissier, of the artillery, and Captain Wallace, of the 74th native infantry, with their families, Major Abbott, Captain Hankey, Mr. Elton, &c., with some ladies, women, and several children, came in from Delhi with fearful accounts of the revolt in that city, and massacre of the English. The Rev. Mr. Jennings, chaplain of Delhi, and his grown-up daughter (an amiable and much-respected young lady),* were murdered in the palace, where they were living with Captain Douglas, commandant of the guards, who also was killed. The Delhi bank was plundered and burnt, as also all the cantonments, together with the premises of the *Delhi Gazette*;† the treasury sacked, and the church burnt; numbers have lost all that they possessed, except the clothes on their backs: among the rest, the Rev. Alfred and Mrs. Medland, of the Church Missionary Society. That gentleman was performing divine service in the mission church at the time of the mutiny, and escaped to the European lines. The rioters broke into his house in the city, and, after searching in vain for him, burnt down the premises. None of us, I believe, are destitute of profound and heartfelt gratitude to Almighty God for our great deliverance; but our hearts are bleeding for the loss (under circumstances of frightful and unparalleled atrocity) of so many of our dear and unfortunate countrymen. The soldiers, especially, are burning to inflict summary punishment on these brutal murderers of unarmed men, defenceless women, and innocent children. Martial law has been proclaimed in the district by the major-general. Not a single European or native Christian is left alive in Delhi or the neighbourhood. The officers and overseers of the Haupper Stud, with their wives and families, escaped in the evening of the 13th, and reached Meerut on the following morning, without molestation. Their names are as follow:—Captain and Mrs. D'Oyly, and Captain and Mrs. Parrott, with their respective families; Mr. R. B. Parry, veterinary surgeon; Mr. R. W. Macauley, assistant surgeon, with all the European residents and their families. Lieutenant J. J. Eckford, of the 6th native infantry, holding an engineer appointment at Meerut, defended his treasury against the mob for a considerable time, his wife and family hiding in the garden. The house at last was set on fire, and Mr. Eckford severely wounded on the left temple. He remained insensible for a considerable time (after destroying several of his assailants), while the premises were in flames; but miraculously escaped, after some hours, with his wife, child, and sister-in-law. He is now out of danger on account of his wound."

The escape of a lady, on the morning of the 19th, is thus narrated:—"Mrs. Leeson, the wife of Mr. Leeson, deputy-collector, made her escape from Delhi on the morning of the 19th. Poor creature, she was almost reduced to a skeleton, as she was kept in a sort of dungeon while in Delhi. Two chuprassies, who, it appears, have all

* The Rev. William Dewe, vicar of Weybread, Suffolk, in a letter to the *Times*, dated August 10th, renders the following tribute to the worth of this unfortunate young lady:—"The late Miss Jennings, who was murdered with her father at Delhi, was for years a parishioner and friend of mine, living with her mother next door to the vicarage. Never was there a more truly amiable and interesting young lady, or one more universally respected and loved. I never knew a word or act of her's that could incur the censure of the strictest moralist, nor could I have more feelingly lamented her fate if she had been my own daughter. She had been long enough in Delhi to be known and appreciated, yet no hand was held forth to save her from the bloodthirsty sepoy. She was engaged to marry Mr. Thomason, an officer in the engineers: and in a letter which Mrs. Jennings put into my hands, he states, that when the dear girl was brought out in the palace to be murdered, she had no fear of death, but only entreated the ruffians to spare her father's life; instead of which they brutally shot her dear father first before her eyes, and then herself."

† The destruction of this establishment has already been noticed. The massacre of the persons connected with it was effected thus:—Messrs. Boezalt and Pereira, the printers, contrived to get out of Delhi in disguise, but they were unfortunately recognised as Christians near Putoured, and were hacked to pieces. Mr. Helquat and Mrs. Boezalt, with five children, were shot. One man, named Brown, after five days' concealment, without food, contrived to escape in the character of a Mussulman, and afterwards joined the *Secundra Press*.

along been faithful to her, aided her in making her attempt to escape. They passed through the Ajmeer gate, but not wholly unobserved by the mutineers' sentries, as one of the chuprassies was shot by them. It being dark at the time, she laid hidden among the long web-grass until the dawn of day, when she sent the chuprassy to reconnoitre, and, as luck would have it, he came across the European picket stationed at Subzie Mundie. So soon as he could discover who they were, he went and brought the lady into the picket-house amongst the soldiers, who did all they could to procure her safety. As soon as she arrived inside the square, she fell down upon her knees and offered up a prayer to Heaven for her safe deliverance. All she had round her body was a dirty piece of cloth, and another piece folded round her head. She was in a terrible condition; but I feel assured that there was not a single European but felt greatly concerned in her behalf; and some even shed tears of pity when they heard the tale of woe that she related. After being interrogated by the officers for a short time, Captain Bailey provided a dhooly for her, and sent her under escort safe to camp, where she has been provided with a staff tent, and everything that she requires."

The following is the substance of a letter from a native eye-witness of the events at Delhi on the 11th and 12th of May, addressed to, and communicated by, a vakeel of one of the Rajpootana chiefs. The writer says—"For the past two days there has been a commotion in the city, and events have transpired disastrous to the British rule, such as never before occurred. The city has been pillaged, and every one is in danger of his life. Thousands of people with drawn swords are going about the city. In the general pillage, the bankers, and other wealthy merchants' houses, especially, have been entirely sacked. Yesterday morning, about seven o'clock, some regular cavalry arriving from Meerut, seized the bridge on the Jumna, killed the toll-keeper, and robbed the till. Leaving a guard at the bridge, they proceeded to the Salempore Chowkee, where there was an English gentleman, killed him, and set fire to his house. Then going under the Delhi king's palace, outside the city wall, they made proposals to the king. The king told them that that was no place for them, but to go into the city. Having entered the Calcutta gate, it was closed. At this time Mr. Simon Fraser (the commissioner) and the magistrate were in office. Hearing the tumult, they ascended to the top of the river gate of the city, and perceived that troops were coming up along the Meerut road; mounting a buggy, they drove to the city gate, leading to the palace. Finding it closed, they dismounted, and getting the wicket of the gate opened to them, they proceeded on foot into the citadel. The native governor of the citadel (*killedar*) entered after them, and killed them while ascending the steps of the officers' quarters (probably of Captain Douglas, commanding palace guards.) Thus much the crowd witnessed.

"The mutineers were preceded on their first arrival by ten or twelve troopers, who, on entering the Rajghat gate of the city, assured everybody that they had come not to trouble or injure the city people in any way, but only to kill the European gentlemen, of whom they had resolved to leave none alive. On this news reaching the ears of the gentlemen, they left their respective offices and fled. The mutineers killed all they could catch. Some got hidden among the houses. The greater part rushed to the magazine and closed the gate. About three in the afternoon, the gentlemen fired a shell from the magazine, which killed and wounded a vast number of the crowd. The report shook the houses as if a magazine had exploded.

"About ten at night, two *pultuns* (troops of artillery) arrived from Meerut and entered the city, and fired a royal salute of twenty-one guns. Afterwards the troopers, proceeding to the military cantonment (about a mile and a-half outside the city), killed a great number of the officers, and their wives and children, and set fire to the houses. All the vagabonds of the city have joined the mutineers, and are ravaging the city. The next day, about three in the afternoon, the empire was proclaimed under the king of Delhi, and the imperial flag hoisted at the *kotwallee* (chief police-station.) The king's chief police-officer arrived; with him all the mutineers, horse and foot, and killed all the rest of the Europeans they met or found. Then guns were fired as a salute. The old chief of police fled. The mace-bearers stood aloof. Thousands of rupees' worth of things were pillaged till twelve o'clock in the night.

"There is now no ruler in the city, and no order. Every one has to defend his house. An attack was made on the house of the

great banker, Mungnee Ram; but he had assembled so many defenders, that, after much fighting, the attack was unsuccessful. Other bankers' establishments were pillaged. The Delhi bank was entirely pillaged. In short, within these two days, hundreds of thousands of rupees' worth of property has been destroyed and stolen. No one can venture out of his house. The king's officers have the control. The mutineers roam about the city, sacking it on every side. The post is stopped. The electric telegraph wires have been cut. News is closed on all sides. There is not a European face to be seen. Where have they gone, or how many have been killed? Hundreds of corpses are lying under the magazine. The burners of the dead wander about to recognise the looked-for faces and give them funeral rites. I don't know whether I shall live to see the end of all this. Hundreds of wealthy men have become beggars; hundreds of vagabonds have become men of wealth. When an heir to the city arises, then the public market will be reopened, and order be restored. For these two days thousands have remained fasting; such of the shops as are left unpillaged being closed. When anything further occurs I will write again."

The following, also, is a statement by a native writer, of the condition of the interior of Delhi in May and June. The narrator arrived at Delhi on the 31st of May, and remained there until the 23rd of June. As he possessed great facilities for observation, the details may be considered accurate as well as interesting. He says—

"On my arrival here, I saw five infantry regiments, and the sowars of the 3rd cavalry, who were stationed in Mohtabbagh and Salimgurh. The sepoys were so much afraid of the English forces that they looked quite pale. The cavalry mutineers had a little spirit, and were wishing to go to Meerut for a fight; but the foot men did not agree with them; saying, we are hardly sufficient to guard Delhi; how can we go to Meerut? I will give you a small description of the oppression committed by sepoys in Delhi. They plundered every rich house and shop in the city. They took every horse they found in the stables of the citizens. They killed a number of poor shopkeepers for asking the proper prices for their things; they abuse the respectable men of Delhi in their presence. The guard at Jumna-bridge looted the passengers crossing it. On the 11th of May the magazine was blown up; it did great damage to the adjacent houses, and killed about 500 passengers walking in different streets. The bullets fell in the houses of people to such a degree, that some children picked up two pounds, and some four pounds of it from the yards of their houses; afterwards, the mutineers, together with the low people of the city, entered the magazine compound, and began to plunder weapons, accoutrements, gun-caps, &c. The 'loot' continued for three days; each sepoy took three or four muskets, and as many swords and bayonets as he could. The Classies filled their houses with fine blacksmiths' tools, weapons, and gun-caps, which they sell by degrees, at the rate of two seers per rupee. The copper sheets were sold at three seers per rupee. In these successful days, the highest price of a musket was eight annas; however, the people feared to buy it; a fine English sword was dear for four annas, and one anna was too much for a good bayonet. Pouches and belts were so common, that the owners could not get anything for this booty of theirs. The gunpowder which was kept at Mujnoos Tila, more than half of it was plundered by Goojurs and countrymen, and the rest was brought to the city. Since the day of my arrival, till the day of my departure, I never found the bazaar opened, except a few poor shops. The shopkeepers and the citizens are extremely sorry for losing their safety, and curse the mutineers from morning to evening. Poor people and workmen starve, and widows cry in their huts. Respectable natives have confined themselves to their houses.

"A kotwal is changed every second day. The sepoys plundered every treasury in the city, and put the money in their own pockets; they did not give a farthing out of this to the king; so the sepoys of four or five regiments possessed thousands of rupees each, and under the weight of silver they could hardly walk, consequently they were obliged to change their silver for gold. The Mahajuns charge them twenty-four or twenty-five rupees for a gold mohur, which is not worth more than sixteen rupees. Since the bankers were plundered by the sepoys, they also cheated them by giving them brass coins instead of gold ones. The poor regiments are very jealous of those who are rich, as the rich sepoys don't wish to go to fight, or to the field of battle

simply; they are very often insulted by their poor friends. I am of opinion their private feelings will compel them to fight with each other, some day or other, as, many times during my stay at Delhi, I heard there was very likely to be a quarrel between the rich and poor regiments. One regiment from Allygurh and Mynpoorie, 150 sowars, and some unarmed sepoys from Agra; one regiment and 200 sowars from Hansi and Hissar, some unarmed sepoys from Umballah, 200 sowars and two companies of Nizamut from Muttra, 6th light cavalry; two regiments from Jullundur, two regiments and artillery from Nusseerabad, reached Delhi before me, and joined the mutineers.

"I will acquaint you with the names of the stations from whence the rebels brought treasure for the king. Moradnuggur Tehseel (toll-gate, near Hindun-bridge), Rohtuck, Allygurh, Hansi, Muttra, Hursaroogurhie, and Tirsaili: out of which his majesty pays four annas to each foot man, and one rupee to each trooper per diem. I am quite ignorant of the amount of the money; but I know as far as this, that on the 17th of June there was left one lac and nineteen thousand rupees in the king's treasury. The princes are made officers to the royal army—thousands of pities for the poor luxurious princes. They are sometimes compelled to go out of the door of the city, in the heat of the sun; their hearts palpitate from the firing of muskets and guns. Unfortunately they do not know how to command an army; their forces laugh at their imperfections, and abuse them for their bad arrangements. The king sends sweetmeats for the forces in the field, and the guard at the door of the city plunder it like the property of an enemy. The bravery of the royal troops deserves every praise; they are very clever indeed; when they wish to leave the field of battle, they tie a piece of rag on their leg, and pretend to have been wounded, and come into the city lame and groaning, accompanied by their friends. On the night of the 30th of June, at the Hindun bridge, the mutineers were quite out of their senses; a good many of them threw their muskets and swords in the wells, and scattering on the road, ran towards villages and jungles, as they thought themselves to have been pursued by English soldiers. Had the English forces taken them, they could have taken Delhi the same night, because the sepoys did not return to the city till next morning, and many of them disappeared for ever; they were plundered and beaten by Goojurs, and did not bring a farthing back with them. The old king is very seldom obeyed; but the princes are never. The soldiers never mind their regimental bugle; disobey their officers, and neglect their duty; they are never mustered, and never dressed in uniform. The noblemen and begums, together with the princes, regret for the loss of their joyful days. They consider the arrival of mutineers at Delhi a sudden misfortune for them. The princes cannot understand the sepoys without an interpreter. The shells have destroyed lots of houses in the city; and in the fort the marble of the king's private hall is broken to pieces. His majesty is very much alarmed when a shell bursts in the castle, and the princes show his majesty the pieces of it. Many of the royal family have left the palace through fear. The Delhi college was destroyed the first day. English books are lying in the streets still. The sepoys beat and imprison people for speaking English."

The following detail of events connected with the massacres at Delhi, was obtained by A. Farrington, Esq. (deputy-commissioner at Jullundur), from three servants of the rajah of Kaporthella, who had been sent to accompany a professor of music in the service of the rajah, to Delhi, where they arrived a month before the outbreak took place, and remained until the 26th of May. The men had been in the service of the rajah from childhood, and their statements were considered entitled to credit. The one selected as spokesman for the party says in his deposition—"First only five troopers came to Delhi from Meerut. They went first to the house of an agent of the king of Delhi, near the gate inside the town. He came out and said he was in the service of the king. They would not listen to him, but cut him down, and then murdered his wife and family, and told the people to plunder the house. They then went to the houses in Durya Gunj. Peer Buksh, one of the deponents, saw the troopers go to a pink-coloured house; the owner was a European; they killed him, and plundered and burnt the house. They plundered and burnt all the houses in the suburb, which is chiefly inhabited by clerks, and murdered all who could not escape. By this time other troopers and infantry and towns-

people joined in the work of destruction. A number of the fugitives took refuge in a building near the mosque of Aurungzebe's daughter, and began to defend it against the insurgents. These were held at bay. They left people all round, and the main body went off to the bank. There they were joined by more mutineers. They plundered and murdered wherever they found Europeans. The townspeople assisted warmly in the plunder, and the mutineers of the infantry were particularly active. The commissioner, Mr. Fraser, on hearing of the advent of the mutineers, had gone down to cut away the bridge, but was too late. On returning he met the mutineers at this place. The mutineers said to the commissioner's escort, 'Are you on the side of the Europeans, or on that of religion?' They said the latter. The commissioner, on hearing this, drove off in his buggy. His escort remained passive. The mutineers followed and cut down the gentleman. He fired one pistol. The mutineers killed people on the road, but being more intent on the magazine, they went to it. After arranging matters for surrounding the place, the insurgents and mutineers proceeded to the gaol. One of the sentries shot a man; but when they said they were fighting for religion, the guard joined them, and 500 convicts were released. They then closed all the gates and went into the fort. They paid their respects to the king: he made objections, and said he had no army; he at last consented. On the second day they went to the magazine, where many Europeans had taken refuge. After some firing on both sides, the natives, such as lascars, would do nothing; they hid themselves: the Europeans alone carried on the defence; but, seeing they could do nothing against so many, they blew up the wall towards the river; some 200 of the rebels or more were destroyed by this. They, however, got in and destroyed as many Europeans as they could, and plundered weapons, &c., leaving only the guns and powder. Two native infantry regiments were present. They searched, and wherever they could find Europeans they slew them. On the third day they went back to the house near the mosque where some Europeans had taken refuge. As they were without water, &c., for several days, they called for a subahdar (deponent was present) and five others, and asked them to take their oaths that they would give them water, and take them alive to the king; he might kill them if he liked. On this oath the Europeans came out; the mutineers placed water before them, and said, 'Lay down your arms, and then you get water.' They gave over two guns—all they had. The mutineers gave no water. They seized eleven children (among them infants), eight ladies, and eight gentlemen. They took them to the cattle-sheds. One lady, who seemed more self-possessed than the rest, observed that they were not taking them to the palace; they replied, that they were taking them *viâ* Durya Gunj. Deponent says that he saw all this, and saw them placed in a row, and shot. One woman entreated them to give her child water, though they might kill her. A sepoy took the child and dashed it on the ground; the people looked on in dismay, and feared for Delhi. The king's people took some thirty-five Europeans to the palace; on the fifth day they tied them to a tree and shot them. They burnt their bodies. On the fifth day notice was given, that if any one concealed a European, he would be destroyed. People disguised many, and sent them off, but many were killed that day, mostly by people of the city. Matters remained pretty quiet for two days. The Durya Gunj bazaar was turned into an encampment for the mutineers. Shops were plundered in the Chaudnee Chouk and Diereeba bazaar. The shops were shut for five days. The king went through the city, and told the people to open their shops. At each gate there is a company of native infantry. About 9,000 mutineers are assembled. No cavalry have joined, excepting from Meerut. Some 4,000 or 5,000 new men have been raised, but they are rabble. During the festival of Eed, while at prayers, there was the dust of a kafila of laden animals. An alarm arose—it was the English army; the people all rushed helter-skelter into the city. The king refused to go on the throne. The mutineers assured him that a similar massacre had taken place up to Peshawur and down to Calcutta. He agreed, and commenced to give orders, and appointed the following officers:—Hukeem, Nussuroola, Mahboob, Allie, and one other belonging to the mutineers, but deponent knows not his name. His new levies receive four annas a-day. Guns are placed on the ramparts of the town. These are pronounced strong. The sappers and miners are mounting guns in Selim-

ghur. The mutineers say, when the army approaches they will fight; and that the native troops, with the army, are sure to join them. Many mutineers who tried to get away with plunder, were robbed; this has prevented many others from leaving. A tailor concealed no less than five Europeans; the deponent thinks many more are concealed."

On the 26th of May these men left Delhi on their return to Kaporthella, and state in their deposition, that "from Delhi to Raee they met with no troops; but that the police station-houses on the road were burnt, as also a *tahseel*, or collecting-house; and that the villages were being plundered. At Raee they met an advanced guard of the Jhind rajah's men. At Russowlee there was a similar party. They then went on to Paniput, but met with no annoyance. A number of horse artillery were there, but very few native troops. In the evening four Europeans came to search all travellers in the caravansary, and a man who had a quarrel on the road with them told them to search two Sikhs with a laden cart. On searching it they found 4,000 rupees, a number of weapons, and silver dishes of European gentlemen, evidently plundered from Delhi The deponents then came to Kurnaul. It was all quiet. The Putteeala rajah's people were in charge of the road. A European regiment was encamped there. They heard in Kurnaul that the commander-in-chief had died there. In the caravansary there were some fifty Europeans, male and female, and about forty children, who had escaped from Delhi. They then came to Peeplee. There they met the siege-train from Phillour. A gun was in difficulty, and people were employed in extricating it. They met some of the European lancers about sixteen miles on this side. They then reached Shahabad. On arriving at Umballah, arrangements were going on for disarming a corps, and at Dourahah Serie they met the guides corps. At Lushkuree Khan Ke Serie they met a detachment of Sikh and Punjabee horse-men."

The civil officer by whom the above deposition was taken, says in conclusion—"The relater of these details has been with me. He speaks frankly and without fear, and is able to narrate, evidently, many a harrowing tale connected with the transactions in the city; but I did not wish to hear any. He seemed really to recall with dismay what he had witnessed." And this may well be imagined to be the case when such atrocities were perpetrated as are described by a clergyman, who, writing from Bangalore, some time after, says—"No words can express the feeling of horror which pervades society in India; we hear many private accounts of the tragedy, which are too sickening to repeat. The cruelties committed by the wretches exceed all belief. They took forty-eight females, most of them girls of from ten to fourteen, many delicately-nurtured ladies—violated them, and kept them for the base purposes of the heads of the insurrection for a whole week. At the end of that time they made them strip themselves, and gave them up to the lowest of the people, to be abused in broad daylight in the streets of Delhi. They then commenced the work of torturing them to death, cutting off their breasts, fingers, and noses, and leaving them to die. One lady was three days dying. They flayed the face of another lady, and made her walk naked through the street. Poor Mrs. ——, the wife of an officer of the —— regiment, at Meerut, was soon expecting her confinement. They violated her, then ripped her up, and, taking from her the unborn child, cast it and her into the flames. No European man, woman, or child has had the slightest mercy shown them. I do not believe that the world ever witnessed more hellish torments than have been inflicted on our poor fellow-countrywomen. At Allahabad they have rivalled the atrocities of Delhi. I really cannot tell you the fearful cruelties these demons have been guilty of—cutting off the fingers and toes of little children, joint by joint, in sight of their parents, who were reserved for similar treatment afterwards."

A letter from Ullehpore, of the 6th of June, after describing several of the atrocities already mentioned, and the rapid advance of the avenging army towards Delhi, proceeds thus:—"The whole force is in excellent health, glorious spirits, and mad to be at the mutineers, who will get no mercy. We are all so exasperated at what we have heard and discovered within the last week, that the men are half inclined to kill every native they come across. Give full stretch to your imagination—think of everything that is cruel, inhuman, infernal, and you cannot then conceive anything so diabolical as what these demons in human form have perpetrated. On the 2nd we marched from Paniput to Raee. At this

place some of the poor fugitives from Delhi met with the most barbarous treatment. We burnt four villages on the road, and hung seven Lumberdars. One of these wretches had part of a lady's dress for his kummerbund; he had seized a lady from Delhi, stripped her, violated, and then murdered her in the most cruel manner, first cutting off her breasts. He said he was sorry he had not an opportunity of doing more than he had done. Another lady, who had hid herself under a bridge, was treated in the same manner, then hacked to pieces, and her mangled remains thrown out on the plain. We found a pair of boots, evidently those of a girl six or seven years of age, with the feet in them. They had been cut off just above the ankle. We hung many other villains, and burnt the villages as we came along. A man who witnessed the last massacre in Delhi, where he had gone as a spy, gives a horrid account of it, stating that little children were thrown up into the air, and caught on the points of bayonets, or cut at, as they were falling, with tulwars."

The following is the report of Major Abbott to the assistant adjutant-general, Meerut division, giving details of the occurrences of the 11th:—

"Meerut, May 13th, 1857.

"Sir,—As the senior surviving officer of the Delhi brigade, I have the honour to report, for the information of the major-general commanding the Meerut division, the following circumstances connected with the massacre at Delhi. On Monday morning, the 11th instant, the city of Delhi was entered by a party of the 3rd light cavalry, who possessed themselves of the bridge of boats. This party proceeded towards cantonments, but were met by a wing of the 54th native infantry, under the command of Colonel Ripley, but neither this detachment nor the guard of the 38th light infantry, on duty at the Cashmere gate, fired on the attacking party. The 54th excused themselves on the score of not being loaded. During the hesitation, or, more properly speaking, the direct refusal, of the 38th men to open fire, and the interval taken up by the 54th men in loading, five officers of the 54th native infantry fell, viz., Lieutenant-colonel Ripley mortally wounded, Captain Smith killed, Captain Burrowes killed, Lieutenant Edwards killed, Lieutenant Waterfield killed, Lieutenant Butler wounded.

To explain the nature of the 38th men refusing to fire, I beg to state that Captain Wallace, 74th native infantry, the field officer of the week, took command of the main-guard, and distinctly ordered the men of the guard to wheel up and fire. They would neither wheel up nor fire, but met the orders of Captain Wallace with insulting sneers. He urged them by every means in his power, but to no purpose: it was during this time the officers were shot down by the insurgents. These people, seeing the state of affairs, were entering the Cashmere gate of the city, when providentially the guns under the command of Lieutenant Wilson arrived, which had the effect of causing them to retreat into the city. About this time, Major Paterson having taken command of the detachment on the spot, directed Captain Wallace to proceed to cantonments to bring down the 74th native infantry, with two more guns.

"About eleven o'clock, I heard that the men of the 54th native infantry had refused to act, and that their officers were being murdered. I instantly rode off to the lines of my regiment, and got as many as there were in the lines together. I fully explained to them that it was a time to show themselves honest, and that as I intended to go down to the Cashmere gate of the city, I required good honest men to follow me, and called for volunteers. Every man present stepped to the front; and being ordered to load, they obeyed promptly, and marched down in a spirited manner. On arriving at the Cashmere gate, we took possession of the post, drawn up in readiness to receive any attack that might be made. Up to 3 P.M. no enemy appeared, nor could we during that period get any information of the insurgents. Suddenly we heard the report of heavy guns; and shortly afterwards a violent explosion announced the blowing-up of the magazine in the city. This was done by Lieutenant Willoughby, who, seeing all hopes of keeping the magazine gone, adopted this last resource, by which gallant act an immense number of the insurgents, who had effected an entrance into the magazine by scaling-ladders brought from the palace, were killed. Lieutenant Willoughby estimated the number killed to be little short of 1,000 men. I immediately sent round a company under Captain Gordon; but nothing could be done.

"Captain Gordon told me he thought

the men hesitated; but I could not see this. About this time I received an order to send back two guns to cantonments. This order I was on the point of carrying out, when Major Paterson told me if I did he would abandon the post, and entreated me not to go. He was supported by the civil officer, a deputy-collector who had charge of the treasury, who said he had no confidence in the 54th men who were on guard at the treasury. Although I strongly objected to this act of, as it were, disobeying orders, yet as the deputy-collector begged for a delay of only a quarter of an hour, I acceded to his request. When the quarter of an hour was up I made preparations for leaving the main-guard, and was about to march out, when the two guns I had sent back to cantonments under Second Lieutenant Aislabie, returned to the main-guard, with some men of the 38th light infantry. I inquired why they had come back, and was told in reply by the drivers, that the gunners had deserted the guns, therefore they could not go on. I inquired if any firing had taken place in cantonments. My orderly replied, he had heard several shots; and said, 'Sir, let us go up to cantonments immediately!' I then ordered the men to form sections. A jemadar said, 'Never mind sections, pray go on, sir.' My orderly havildar then called out, and said, 'Pray, sir, for God's sake leave this place—pray be quick.' I thought this referred to going up to the relief of cantonments, and accordingly gave the order to march. I had scarcely got a hundred paces beyond the gate, when I heard a brisk firing in the main-guard. I said, 'What is that?' Some of the men replied, 'The 38th men are shooting the European officers.' I then ordered the men with me (about a hundred) to return to their assistance. The men said, 'Sir, it is useless; they are all killed by this time, and we shall not save any one. We have saved you, and we are happy; we will not allow you to go back and be murdered.' The men formed round me, and hurried me along the road on foot, back to cantonments to our quarter-guard. I waited here for some time, and sent up to the saluting-tower to make inquiries as to what was going on, and where the brigadier was, but got no reply. The sun was setting, and the evening advancing, when my attention was directed to some carriages going up the Kurnaul road, and I recognised two or three carriages belonging to the officers of my regiment, including my own. I asked what could be the meaning of the carriages going that way. The men of my regiment at the quarter-guard replied, 'Sir, they are leaving the cantonment; pray follow their example. We have protected you so far; it will be impossible for us to do so much longer; pray fly for your life.' I yielded to their wishes; and told them, 'Very well, I am off to Meerut. Bring the colours, and let me see as many of you at Meerut as are not inclined to become traitors.' I then got up behind Captain Hawkey on his horse, and rode to the guns, which were also proceeding in the direction the carriages had taken, and so rode on one of the waggons for about four miles, when the drivers refused to go any further, because, they said, we have left our families behind, and there are no artillerymen to serve the guns. All I could do I could not persuade them to come on. They then turned their horses, and went back towards cantonments. I was picked up by Captain Wallace, who also took Ensign Elton with him in the buggy.

"Ensign Elton informed me that he and the rest of the officers of the 74th native infantry were on the point of going to march out with a detachment, when he heard a shot, and on looking round saw Captain Gordon lying down dead; a second shot almost simultaneously laid Lieutenant Reveley low; he then resolved to do something to save himself, and making for the bastion of the fort jumped over the parapet down into the ditch, ran up the counterscarp, and made across the country to our lines, where he was received by our men, and there took the direction the rest had, mounted on a gun. Up to this time, the sole survivors of the Delhi force, known to be such, and at Meerut, are Major Abbott, 74th native infantry; Captain Hawkey, 74th native infantry; Captain Wallace, 74th native infantry; Ensign Elton, 74th native infantry; Captain De Teissier, artillery; Second Lieutenant Aislabie, artillery; Farrrier-sergeant Law, artillery. I saw some other officers going up the Kurnaul road, and recognised Captain Tytler, 38th light infantry, and Captain Nicoll, the brigade-major. The party with me went up the Kurnaul road until we came to the cross-road leading to Meerut, *viâ* Bhagpatta Ghaut, which we took, and arrived at Meerut about eight o'clock last night.

"With the exception of about five individuals, the whole of the European inhabitants of Delhi have been murdered. I understood from a native, who declared that he had seen the dead bodies, that the king ordered the slaughter of all the Europeans in the palace, including Mr. Simon Fraser, Captain Douglas, Rev. Mr. Jennings, his daughter, and some others. From all I could glean, there is not the slightest doubt that this insurrection has been originated and matured in the palace of the king of Delhi, and that with his full knowledge and sanction, in the mad attempt to establish himself in the sovereignty of this country. It is well known that he has called on the neighbouring states to co-operate with him in thus trying to subvert the existing government. The method he adopted appears to have been, to gain the sympathy of the 38th light infantry, by spreading the lying reports now going through the country, of the government having it in contemplation to upset their religion, and have them all forcibly inducted to Christianity.

"The 38th light infantry, by insidious and false arguments, quietly gained over the 54th and 74th native infantry, each being unacquainted with the other's real sentiments. I am perfectly persuaded that the 54th and 74th native infantry were forced to join the combination by threats that, on the one hand, the 38th and 54th would annihilate the 74th native infantry if they refused, and *vice versâ*, the 38th taking the lead. I am almost convinced that had the 38th native infantry men not been on guard at the Cashmere gate, the results would have been different. The men of the 74th native infantry would have shot every man who had the temerity to assail the post. The post-office, electric telegraph, Delhi bank, the *Delhi Gazette* press, every house in cantonments and the lines, have been destroyed. Those who escaped the massacre fled with only what they had on their backs, unprovided with any provisions for the road, or money to purchase food. Every officer has lost all he possessed; and not one of us has even a change of clothes. Captain De Teissier, commanding the artillery at Delhi, will make a separate report, detailing the facts connected with the loss of his guns, No. 5 light field battery, 3rd company, 7th battalion artillery."

The following list of persons killed and missing, and, as far as could be ascertained at the time, of persons who escaped from the massacre of the 11th of May, was issued, by authority, for the satisfaction of their relatives and friends:—

Killed, certain.—Mr. S. Fraser, C.S., resident and governor-general's agent; Captain Douglas, 32nd native infantry, assistant and commandant of palace guards; the Rev. M. A. Jennings, chaplain; Miss Jennings; Miss Clifford; Mr. Berresford, secretary, Delhi bank, Mrs. Berresford, and five children; Mr. R. Nixon, assistant to resident; Mr. Collins, Mrs. Collins, and six children; Mrs. Fuller, Mr. George Skinner, Mrs. George Skinner, and child; Colonel Ripley, 54th native infantry; Captains Burrowes and Smith, 54th native infantry; Dr. Dopping, Lieutenant Edwardes, Captain Gordon, 74th; Lieutenant Hyslop, 74th; Lieutenant Reveley, 74th; Mrs. Staines and family, and a large number of government and bank clerks, press *employés*, sergeants, conductors, &c., with their wives and families. *Missing and beyond hope.*—Mr. J. P. Macwhirter, C.S., magistrate and collector of Kurnaul (on a visit); Mr. Hutchinson, C.S., magistrate and collector; Mr. A. Galloway, C.S., assistant to ditto; Mrs. Colonel Forster, since dead; Mr. F. Taylor, principal, Delhi college; Mr. S. G. T. Heatly, editor of the *Delhi Gazette;* Mrs. Heatly, mother and child; the Rev. Mr. Hubbard, missionary; the Rev. Mr. Sandes, ditto; Lieutenant Raynor, commissary of ordnance, and family. *Escaped.*—Brigadier H. M. Graves, Captain Nicoll (major of brigade), Mr. C. T. Le Bas, C.S., C. and S. Judge; Sir T. J. Metcalfe, joint magistrate and deputy collector; Mrs. Fraser, Mrs. Tronson, Dr. Balfour, Miss Smith, Mr. Wagentreiber, Mrs. Wagentreiber, and infant, Miss Haldane, Lieutenant Forrest, Mrs. Forrest (wounded), and two Misses Forrest, Dr. Stewart, garrison surgeon; Dr. Batson, 74th native infantry; Mrs. Batson and daughter, Mrs. Major Abbott (74th) and family, Major Abbott, Major Paterson, 54th; Colonel Knyvett, 38th; Captain Tytler, 38th; Lieutenants Holland and Gambier, 38th; Dr. Wood (38th), severely wounded; Mrs. Wood, Lieutenant Peile, 38th; Mrs. Peile, Lieutenants Taylor, Grant, Mew, and Drummond, 74th; Mr. L. Berkeley, principal Sudder Ameen; Mrs. Berkeley and infant; Captain De Tessier, artillery; Mrs. De Tessier, Lieutenant Willoughby (since killed by villagers).

Measures were at length taken by the commander-in-chief for the suppression of the revolt. The forces from Umballah were put in motion, and a strong cordon of troops, from various contingents, was reported to be drawing round Delhi, to prevent the escape of the mutineers, who availed themselves of the opportunity afforded by the non-appearance of an attacking force, to throw up intrenchments and erect batteries for the defence of the approaches to the city.

In the case of Delhi, as in that of Meerut, it is impossible to ignore the fact of a gross miscalculation of the extent of danger that had, for months previous, been evident to the most superficial observer; and the no less gross neglect of the means at hand for successfully grappling with the difficulty as soon as it became tangible. At Meerut, with a European force upon the spot more than sufficient to have crushed, at one blow, the then infant hydra of sepoy revolt, the mutinous troops were permitted to wreak their mad vengeance unchecked, until their purposes were consummated by the murder of their European officers, the reckless destruction of valuable property, and the slaughter of unoffending women and children. At Delhi, no such means for arresting the progress of rebellion, should it break out, existed; for by a most extraordinary and overweaning confidence in the repressive influence of the European *name*, every precaution that might have promoted, if not ensured, the safety of the city and its Christian inhabitants, had been deemed altogether unnecessary. At the time of the outbreak at Meerut, and for months before the first notes of sepoy discontent had sounded over the plains of Hindostan, Delhi had been the focus of communication between the native troops and the immediate adherents of the last descendant of the Monghol emperors. It was the great depository for military stores, treasure, and ammunition, to be distributed over an important division of the presidency. It was the residence of a large European population; and the native Christians in dependence on them amounted to a very considerable number of persons. The whole of India had for several months been agitated by visions of impending danger—undefined, yet palpable in its obscurity; and in the face of all these strong reasons for timely caution and unremitting vigilance, this important station was left without the protection of a single company of European soldiers!

Thus, with the living representative of a once mighty race enthroned amongst them—with the means of defence or aggression, in almost exhaustless abundance, placed in their hands—with their passions excited by suspicion of intended wrong—the flames of revolt glaring in the distant horizon, and the traditions of bygone empire newly awakened in their memories—it seems to have been expected that the sepoy garrison of Delhi would have been loyally deaf to the appeal of their countrymen, when the latter should have turned their arms against the alien and aggressive government that had, within less than a century, placed its foot upon the necks of their prostrated native kings.

But there is yet further ground for astonishment in connection with the seizure of Delhi on the morning of the 11th of May. It was known to the officer in command, at a very early hour, that a mutiny had broken out the previous night among the native troops in cantonment at Meerut, and that in all probability some, if not all, the surviving mutineers would find their way to the capital. Yet, up to the last moment it was possible for delay to be endured, no steps were taken by Brigadier-general Graves to prevent the access of the rebels to the troops under his command, who were yet apparently free from the taint of insubordination. The approaches to the city were left unobstructed; the gates as usual unclosed; and nothing whatever was done with a view to check the advance of the Meerut rabble, until it was actually under the wall of the city and its onward progress could no longer be effectually resisted; and thus, as if by a sudden fatality, the temporary loss of Delhi was accelerated by the joint acts of those by whom especially its safety should have been provided for. The native regiments in cantonment or within the city, instead of being kept isolated from the contaminating influence of the rebel forces, were actually, at the last moment, marched out to meet, and, as a matter of course, to parley with them: the next step was to fraternise, and to join hand and heart in any project that might ensure the destruction of the hated "Feringhee!" and restore to empire their native monarch. Of the valour and endurance of the gallant men who had officered the native regiments at Delhi until the morning of

the 11th of May, 1857, the military records of their country bear imperishable and grateful evidence. Of the want of foresight, and even of ordinary prudence, of their commander, who acted as if unconscious of the danger that menaced his charge, until opportunity for useful resistance to it had passed by, the same records will only immortalise sentiments of astonishment and unnavailing regret.

The importance of the charge intrusted to General Graves, with the inadequate means afforded him for its security, should have impressed him at all times with an earnest sense of his great responsibility; but this, it may charitably be supposed, he was unconscious of. That the military department at Calcutta should have inconsiderately left the ancient capital of Hindostan, with its military stores, its treasure, its European population, and its titular native king, to the sole protection of three sepoy regiments, for months after the sullen murmurings of disaffection had broken the repose of the metropolis of British India, was an unpardonable error. That under such circumstances, the officer intrusted with a charge so important and so hazardous, should have contented himself with doing nothing to provide for an emergency, or to arrest a positive danger as it approached his position, was more than an error—if it was not actually a crime that no subsequent triumphs can expiate or atone for.

CHAPTER VI.

APPEARANCE OF DISSATISFACTION AT UMBALLAH; MUTINOUS DEMONSTRATIONS AT FEROZEPORE AND LAHORE; MOVEMENTS OF THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF; COUNCIL OF WAR AT PESHAWUR.

TURNING for a moment from the headquarters of rebellion, as established at Delhi, we now proceed to trace the progress of the outbreak in other districts of British India, and to describe the steps taken to arrest the further spread of the disorder that ravaged the country.

From the beginning of January it had gradually become manifest that an unquiet and discontented feeling was gaining strength among the troops in several stations of the Bengal presidency, and the attention of government was repeatedly invited to the subject; but the measures adopted at Barrackpore and other places, were thought to have effectually checked the mischievous impulse; and so little was its revival anticipated, that the commander-in-chief sought a temporary relaxation from the duties of his onerous position in a sporting tour, that occasionally took him to a distance from any telegraphic communication. Upon his return in March, his excellency visited the school of musketry at Umballah,* and from thence proceeded to Simla,† where he purposed to remain during the season. The

* Umballah has long been an important station of British subsidiary troops, and was the capital of a small province in the Sikh territory; it stands about 120 miles N.N.W. of Delhi, on the route to Lahore, and is 1,076 miles from Calcutta.

† Simla is a station much resorted to by European invalids, on account of its salubrious and bracing atmosphere. It stands at an elevation of 7,300 feet above the sea, and is distant from Delhi about 200 miles, and from Calcutta little more than 1,150. The town has an English appearance; many of the houses corresponding, in architectural features, to buildings in this country. It possesses a very fine magnetic observatory, and generally has a large and fashionable population. Simla is regarded as the Cheltenham of the East, and, like its prototype, its society is ever changing. Its permanent residents are comparatively few, but each successive season adds to their number. From its first establishment, it has been a favourite retreat with every governor-general and commander-in-chief; and the bishop has repeatedly visited it for several months at a time. To the latter it is indebted for the formation of a dispensary, the enlargement and improvement of its church, and many other benefits. Simla is in two divisions, major and minor; the bridge, erected in 1828 by Lord Combermere, the then commander-in-chief in India, forming the line of demarcation. That bridge was the first step towards the improvement of the station, where there were then only two or three houses, and no roads. It connects Simla and Chota Simla, or Simla Minor, the south-east portion; between which there is a deep ravine, down the sides of which, in the rainy season, flows an impassable



cartridge difficulty had by this time become a subject of frequent discussion among the men attached to the school at Umballah; but the facts had been quietly explained to them, and their objections appeared to be removed, as they had ceased to express any disinclination to use the missile when offered to them for practice. To prevent, however, even the appearance of an intention to offend their religious prejudices in this matter, the cartridges were delivered to them in an unfinished state, and they were permitted to complete them with an unobjectionable material in lieu of the offensive grease. Still, notwithstanding this concession to their feelings, wild and vague reports were continually floating about the station; and frequent and secret meetings were held without the lines, at which some of the native officers assisted. At length, it happened that a man of the 9th lancers, quartered in the cantonment, was stabbed while sleeping in his bed, on the night of the 18th of April. Upon investigating the circumstances, it appeared that the same evening the man, while strolling about the vicinity of the lines, by mere chance came suddenly upon a group of native soldiers, who were earnestly discussing some topic upon which they exhibited considerable warmth. The unintentional intruder upon their privacy was no sooner observed than the discussion ceased, and the man was surrounded, and hustled by an angry crowd. He, however, effected a retreat, and got safely to his quarters. During the night an attempt was made upon his life by an unknown assassin; but fortunately the wound inflicted was not mortal; and, on the following day, the man appeared before a committee of inquiry, and made a statement to the foregoing effect. As no clue could be obtained to the perpetrator of the intended assassination, and the man was not seriously hurt by the attempt upon his life, the matter was suffered to drop without further effort to unravel the mystery attending it.

The dissatisfaction of the native troops continued occasionally to exhibit symptoms of its increasing strength and extension; and, at length, the European officers at Umballah ventured to suggest the expediency of discontinuing for the present a further issue of the objectionable cartridge. The facts were duly submitted to the consideration of the commander-in-chief at Simla; and, ultimately, his excellency coincided with the opinions of the officers; and with a view to allay the excitement that by this time had become apparent throughout the North-West Provinces, the following circular and general order were issued:—

"Adjutant-general's office, head-quarters, Simla, May 14.—The commander-in-chief desires, that all firing for drill or target practice purposes shall be suspended until further orders. It is to be thoroughly explained to the men, that the sole object of this order is to sooth their minds, now so excited, and also to remove the possibility of their being supposed by their comrades at other stations, or by the people at their homes, to be using any objectionable cartridge."

The general order, dated "Head-quarters, Umballah, May 19," ran as follows:—

"The commander-in-chief, on May 14, issued a general order, informing the native army, that it had never been the intention of the government to force them to use any cartridges which could be objected to, and that they never would be required to do so either now or hereafter. His object in publishing that order, was to allay the excitement which had been raised in their minds, although he felt that there was no cause for it. He hopes that this may have been the case; but he still perceives, that the very name of new cartridges causes agitation; and he has been informed, that some of those sepoys who entertain the strongest attachment and loyalty to the government, and are ready at any moment to obey its order, would still be under the impression that their families would not believe that they were not in some way or other contaminated by its use. The rifle introduced into the British army is an improvement upon the old musket, and much more effective; but it would not be of the same advantage in the hands of the native army, if it were to be used with reluctance.

"Notwithstanding, therefore, that the government have affirmed that the cartridge is perfectly harmless, the commander-in-chief is satisfied that they would not desire to persist in its adoption, if the feelings of the sepoys can be thoroughly calmed

torrent. Each division has a bazaar corresponding with its population; that of Simla Major is large, well supplied, and has many native dealers residing in it, whose stores consist entirely of European goods. This town is one of the Indian stations for carrying on the important magnetical observations which are taking place nearly all over the civilised world.

by its abolition. His excellency, therefore, has determined that the new rifle cartridge, and every new cartridge, shall be discontinued; and that in future, balled ammunition shall be made up by each regiment for its own use, by a proper establishment entertained for this purpose. The commander-in-chief solemnly assures the army, that no interference with their *castes* or religion was ever contemplated, and as solemnly he pledges his word and honour, that none shall ever be exercised. He announces this to the native army in the full confidence that all will now perform their duty free from anxiety or care, and be prepared to stand and shed the last drop of their blood, as they have formerly done, by the side of the British troops, and in defence of their country."

On the promulgation of the above order, the men employed at the school professed to be perfectly satisfied, and relieved from much anxiety. They, however, constituted but a small portion of the native troops in cantonment; and it was among the main body that the latent fires of disaffection and revolt were nursed and encouraged, until circumstances became favourable for their bursting forth with terrible and devastating energy.

The resentful feeling that existed in this quarter was developed in March by the commencement of a series of incendiary fires, which continued at intervals through the month of April, under the circumstances described in an official communication from the chief commissioner of the North-West Provinces, to the government, enclosing a statement from a magistrate of the Umballah cantonment, respecting the conflagrations that had occurred at the station; in which he says—"It will be perceived that the first attempt at arson occurred with a view to burn the property and hut of Subahdar Hurbunsee Sing, 36th regiment native infantry, attached to the musketry depôt lately formed at this station. This happened on the 26th of March last, and at that period just when reports among the native population of this station began to spread relative to the new cartridge introduced at the musketry depôt, the using of which it was said the sepoys considered an innovation derogatory to their *caste* and religion. This native officer had previously come forward, and publicly stated his willingness to fire with such cartridges, and say no objection to them. I am induced particularly to remark on this, as it will be seen that with this first fire was disclosed the *animus* existing against government and the men comprising the rifle depôt, more particularly on those who did not object to cut or break the newly-introduced cartridge. Although even then it was supposed this might be the act of an incendiary, still there was no proof whatever to say it was such. All remained quiet up to the eighteenth day, when a second small fire broke out in the same lines (this was on the 13th of April); it was followed by another fire on the 15th—viz., an attempt on some outhouses in a compound in the 60th native infantry lines (which lines adjoin those of the musketry depôt.) This was attended on the 16th by two fires in one night, with great loss of government property, estimated at about 30,000 rupees. There remained no doubt now but that such arson was committed at the hands of an incendiary; for it was utterly impossible, and not to be conceived, that the burning of two government buildings, such as the hospital in the musketry depôt, and No. 9 barrack in the European infantry lines, at a considerable distance from each other, on the same night, could have been caused by accident. This was followed up the following night by an empty bungalow in the 5th regiment native infantry lines being entirely consumed by fire, and an attempt to fire the stables of Lieutenant Walker, 60th regiment native infantry, on the 19th of April. It was strange that the stables of a house in the 60th regiment native infantry lines should be set on fire and burnt; strange, because the house was then occupied by three officers, Lieutenants Craigie, 36th regiment, Ross, 9th regiment, and Corfield, 9th regiment, attatched to the musketry depôt. The same night a second fire burst out, and a civil chowkee, in which there were rajah of Jhind's sowars, was consumed; and a third attempt was made on the hut of Nownurain Sing, subahdar 3rd company, in the 5th regiment native infantry lines. On the 20th of April attempts were made on the houses of the jemadar and havildar of the 5th regiment, both these men being attached to the depôt; and under the bed of the jemadar powder and brimstone had been placed, showing that this had been done with a malicious view to injure the person as well as the property of the jemadar. From this date I am inclined to be of opinion that the sepoys, whom I

suspect, without doubt, deemed it advisable that the conflagrations should not be confined any longer only to the houses and property of those attached to the rifle depôt; consequently, to lull suspicion, they commenced firing not only the huts in their own lines, but also extended the arson to other parts of cantonments; for, on the 21st of April, several huts, which contained property of men of the 60th regiment native infantry, who had proceeded on furlough leave, were fired in the 60th native infantry lines. On the 22nd the sheep-house in the mess compound of the 5th regiment native infantry was ignited, as also Major Laughton's (engineers) stables, in the European infantry lines. Some suppose this latter fire to have been caused by accident; but from the report of the sentry on guard over the bungalow, I am confidently of opinion that it was the act of an incendiary; for the sentry distinctly described the 'dripping of fire,' which leads me to believe that brimstone was employed, and that as it ignited (being placed standing on the roof) it naturally fell burning, and thereby caused the 'dripping of fire' so minutely and exactly described by the sentry. On the 23rd of April an attempt was made to fire a house in her majesty's 9th lancers lines, occupied by Captain Sanders, 41st regiment native infantry, attached to the musketry depôt. The combustible here used was powder and brimstone, wrapped in fine 'dohtee.' Some burnt cartridge paper of a bluish-greyish colour was also picked up; this also had been used. On the 25th of April the band-master's house of her majesty's 9th lancers (regimental property of that corps) was completely burnt down. On the following day it was reported that about mid-day an attempt was made to fire another bungalow in her majesty's 9th lancers lines, the property of Lieutenant and Riding-master Shaw, her majesty's 9th lancers. Since then, with the exception of an attempt to burn a house in the lines of the 5th regiment of native infantry, on the night of the 1st of May, belonging to a sepoy named Bojeenath, attached to the musketry depôt, all has remained quiet up to this date.

"The emanating cause of the arson at this cantonment, I conceive, originated with regard to the newly-introduced cartridges, to which the native sepoy shows his decided objection, it being obnoxious to him from a false idea (which, now that it has entered the mind of the sepoy, is difficult to eradicate) that the innovation of this cartridge is derogatory both to his *caste* and religion; and that such is actually the cause is apparent from the evident dissatisfaction amongst the sepoys generally on this point throughout the whole native army, similar burnings and conflagrations having, it appears, occurred at Barrackpore, Oude, Meerut, and Lahore, all owing to the supposed impure and tainted cartridge.

"That this has led to the fires at this cantonment, in my own private mind, I am perfectly convinced; and were it the act of only one or two, or even a few persons, the well-disposed sepoys would at once have come forward and forthwith informed; but that there is an organised leagued conspiracy existing, I feel confident; and though all and every individual composing a regiment may not form part of the combination, still I am of opinion that such a league in each corps is known to exist; and such being upheld by the majority, or rather connived at, therefore it is that no single man dared to come forward and expose it. Proof (as matters at present stand) is wanting to convict any particular sepoy; but from the combustible materials which have been picked up and brought before me, these alone are sufficient presumptive and circumstantial evidence to prove that this arson is the act of sepoys, and not, as some supposed, of *ghurramees* (thatchers.) Was it one of the latter class, the reward offered of 1,000 rupees would have been too tempting for one of these men (when he could have obtained such a prize) not to have informed ere this, even if the incendiary had been one of his own brethren. Moreover, the whole cantonment would have been fired, and the burning would not have been alone confined to the south half of the station; for in the staff artillery and native cavalry lines, nor yet in the Suddur Bazaar, up to this date, has a single fire taken place.

"That it is urged how can it be the sepoys, when they have roll-calls, patrols, pickets, &c., and are not permitted to quit their own lines, and with all this, fires, nevertheless, have occurred in other parts of the station, is easily answered by other similar questions—namely, how is it, then, that with all this precaution and preservatives, fires have actually occurred in the sepoys' own regimental lines? for similarly

as no person could leave his own lines, so, in the same manner, how could any outside person enter those lines, and yet fires have thus happened in those very guarded lines. And again, are there not detached guards told off for duties out of the sepoys' lines, such as for the brigade-major, pay-office, &c., &c., and could not an evil-disposed man quit such guard on any trifling excuse, and the whole cantonment be roused, some ten or twenty minutes after, by the alarm of fire, naturally the incendiary taking good care to be far away when the flame first shot up?

"Every possible precaution that could be has been attended to by Brigadier R. D. Halifax, commanding the station, with a view to put a stop to and check this arson. Both mounted and dismounted patrols and pickets have been established, and by his orders all fakirs, travellers, and idle persons not belonging to the station have been expelled. All leave sepoys, and also all discharged sepoys, passing through cantonments have been directed to quit and pass on through the station, without halting or resting in it. All sepoys whose regiments are located at this station, and who had taken their furlough leave but had not proceeded to their homes, have been directed to be seized and made over to their commanding officers. This has all tended much to put a stop to the fires, and I sincerely trust now that arson is eventually checked at this station.

"I shall not fail in continuing to exert my utmost endeavours to trace out the incendiaries; and although at present no further clue has been obtained than what I have mentioned, I hope time will discover the combination which, in my opinion, exists amongst the sepoys at this cantonment, and which has been led to by the reports that have reached them, of the disaffection and discontent prevailing in the native army at large; through this the sepoy has been deluded and led astray. This, together with the formation of the rifle depôt, in cantonments, has brought matters to the present pass, and the sepoy vainly imagines, that by his present deeds, he is showing to government his firm resolve and determination not to have forced on him an injury by being made to use the new cartridges, and by doing which he considers his honour, credit, reputation, and *caste*, will and must be lessened and disparaged, as also his religion lost."

"*Statement of Fires at Umballah.*

March 26.—Depôt musketry (late 28th regiment native infantry lines), attempt to fire the house of Subahdar Hurbuns Sing, 36th regiment native infantry, attached to musketry depôt.

April 13.—Depôt musketry Europeans, necessary chuppur burnt.

" 15.—60th regiment native infantry lines, Riding-master Boucher's out-houses set on fire.

" 16.—Hospital (late 28th regiment native infantry) in which the European musketry depôt were located, but empty when fired.

" 16.—No. 9 European infantry barrack, in which were 442 casks of beer for European soldiers.

" 17.—50th regiment native infantry lines, Lieutenant Whiting's bungalow fired; attempt to fire Lieutenant Walker's stables, 60th regiment native infantry.

" 19.—60th regiment native infantry lines, house occupied by Lieutenant Craigie.

" 19.—36th regiment, Ross; 9th regiment, Corfield; 3rd regiment, officers attached to the musketry depôt, stables burnt; fired also the house of Seu Marain Sing, Subahdar 3rd company 5th regiment native infantry lines, and a civil police chowkee, on the Grand Trunk road.

" 20.—Attempt to fire the houses of the jemadar and havildar 5th regiment native infantry lines, both attached to musketry depôt.

" 21.—Six or seven houses 6th company 60th regiment native infantry fired, in which was the property of sepoys proceeded on furlough.

" 22.—5th regiment native infantry mess-compound sheep-house set on fire; European infantry lines, Major Laughton's stable attempted to be fired.

" 23.—9th lancers lines, attempt to fire Captain Sander's house, 41st regiment native infantry, attached to the musketry depôt.

" 25.—9th lancers lines, band-master's house, her majesty's 9th lancers, regimental property burnt.

" 26.—Attempt (during the day) to fire Lieutenant and Riding-master Shaw's house, 9th lancers lines.

May 1.—Bojeenath sepoy's hut (5th regiment native infantry lines), burnt.

"E. W. E. HOWARD,
"Cantonment Joint Magistrate.
"Umballah, May 4th, 1857."

This statement was accompanied by a letter from G. C. Barnes, Esq., commissioner and superintendent of the Cis-Sutlej states, in which he states, that although in consequence, as he infers, of the moonlight nights, the fires had not been of late so frequent, he did not attribute the falling off to the prevalence of any better feeling on the part of the sepoys.



On the 10th of May (the fatal Sunday of Meerut) there appeared to be considerable excitement among the men in cantonment, some of whom seized their arms as if expecting a simultaneous movement on the part of their comrades. At one period of the day an outbreak of the whole native garrison seemed imminent; but, by the judicious interference and counsel of some of the native officers, backed by the influence of the Europeans present, the men gradually calmed down, and ultimately expressed their willingness to adhere to their duty. They then continued quiet for the remainder of the day; but their conduct was far from being satisfactory to the Europeans in their vicinity.

The following letter from Umballah, of the 14th of May, refers to the attempted outbreak at that place on the Sunday previous:—"The native troops for some time have been showing a discontented spirit, without breaking out into open mutiny. There are here two native infantry regiments, the 5th and 60th, and one regiment of native cavalry—viz., the 4th light, besides some irregulars; and we have only one regiment of Europeans—viz., the 9th royal lancers, and two troops of horse artillery. Last Sunday, after we had returned from church and had just finished our breakfast, at about 10 A.M. the alarm sounded for the regiment to turn out. The men were lying in the barracks undressed, and many of them asleep; but in an almost incredibly short time they were all on parade mounted and fully equipped; the artillery were ready nearly as soon. When on the parade-ground we found that the 60th native infantry had mutinied and turned out with their arms; but we could not go down, because they had their officers prisoners and threatened to shoot them if we came down; but that if we did not they would return quietly. If our men had had the chance to go in at them, they would have made short work of them, they are so enraged at having had so much nightwork lately in consequence of the fires, which are all attributed to the sepoys. They (*i.e.*, our men) only get about two nights a-week in bed. At twelve o'clock, noon, we were turned out again in consequence of the 5th native infantry having turned out; but we were again disappointed. They appeared to think us too attentive, and returned to their barracks. For the last two nights the wives of married officers are sent down to the canteen for better security. An officer remains at the main-guard all night, and an artillery officer with the guns, which are loaded, and ammunition is served out to the men. Two patrols go out every hour, and all is alert. Yesterday (May 13th) three companies of the 75th (her majesty's) marched in from Kussowlee. They started at noon on Tuesday, and arrived at about 2 P.M. on Wednesday. The distance is forty-eight miles—a wonderful march under an Indian sun, when the thermometer was 92 to 94 degrees in the shade. They had not a single straggler."—The arrival of this reinforcement restored to the station an appearance of comparative tranquillity; it was, however, but an appearance, and it was of short duration.

Leaving Umballah for a short time, we shall now refer to the official reports connected with the events already described, and the progressive steps resorted to for the purpose of arresting the growing evil. The first communication upon the subject, from an authentic source, reached the commander-in-chief late in the evening of the 12th of May, when a *peon* (messenger) arrived at Simla in breathless haste, bearing intelligence of the revolt and massacre at Meerut; and on the following morning the telegraph at Umballah announced the occupation of Delhi by the following communication from Brigadier Graves, commanding at that station:—

"May 11, 1857.—4 P.M.—Cantonment in a state of siege. Mutineers from Meerut. 3rd light cavalry, numbers not known (said to be 150 men), cut off communication with Meerut; taken possession of the bridge of boats: 54th native infantry sent against them, but would not act. Several officers killed and wounded. City in a state of considerable excitement. Troops sent down, but nothing certain yet. Information will be forwarded."

The same day a note was received by the adjutant-general at Simla, from Major-general Sir H. Barnard, K.C.B., commanding the Sirhind division at Deyrah, a station near Umballah, in which the general reported that a message had just been received by the officers at the electric telegraph from Delhi, to the following effect:—"We must leave office. All the bungalows are burning down by the sepoys from Meerut. They came in this morning. We are off——don't ——. To-day—— Mr. C. Todd is dead, I think. He went out this morning, and has not returned yet. We heard that nine Europeans were killed. Good-bye."

General Barnard then writes in continuation:—"As Delhi has a large magazine, and only native troops in cantonments there, the intelligence may be of importance. Philloor, also, with a large magazine, has only native troops, who have been in a state of disorganisation. As it is possible this may be a combined movement, I have sent private despatches to the officers in command in the hills, to hold their men ready (quickly) to move at the shortest notice. * * * * It may be possible that this message is greatly exaggerated; but coming at the present crisis, and from the authority of Europeans attached to the telegraph, I have deemed precaution desirable, and that his excellency should be made acquainted with the circumstances without delay."

The foregoing intelligence was immediately transmitted to government by the adjutant-general, who, at the same time, announced the stoppage of all communication by telegraph or otherwise below Meerut. He also notified, that the head-quarters of the army had been removed from Simla to Umballah, where the commander-in-chief, General the Hon. G. Anson, had arrived on the 13th. At this time, the force under the command of General Anson consisted of two troops of European horse artillery, the 9th lancers, the 4th light cavalry lancers, the 75th foot, the 1st and 2nd regiments of European fusiliers, and the 5th and 60th regiments of native infantry. The European regiments were unusually weak in regard to numbers, the three corps mustering only 1,800 effective rank and file among them.

On the 14th of May, the lieutenant-governor of the North-Western Provinces transmitted to the governor-general the following telegram from Agra:—"We have authentic intelligence in a letter from the king, that the town and fort of Delhi, and his own person, are in the hands of the insurgent regiments of the place, which joined about a hundred of the troops from Meerut, and opened the gates. The commissioner (Mr. Fraser) and his assistant, Captain Douglas, are mentioned in the letter to be killed, and also Miss Jennings. We have made all our plans here, and shall act vigorously and look confidently for success, should the insurgents, as is likely, march down on this. I have communicated with the native corps, and their tone appears satisfactory to me."

Later on the same day, the lieutenant-governor announced, that by a letter from Meerut on the 12th, it appeared the fort and treasury at that place were safe, and the troops ready to repel any attack upon them: the tradespeople and servants were returning, and parties on horseback preparing to scour the neighbourhood for fugitive rebels. The only name given in this communication of the officials killed in the outbreak is that of Mr. Tregear of the educational department. The lieutenant-governor strongly urged that martial law should be at once proclaimed in the Meerut district, and a general order was immediately issued by the governor-general in council, authorising the appointment of general or other courts-martial, whenever found necessary for the repression of disorder.

On the 15th of May, Mr. Colvin further communicated by telegraph, as follows:—"I have had a very satisfactory review of the troops this morning. I had previously ascertained, from undoubted authority of natives of confidence of all classes, that a deep and genuine conviction, however absurd, has seized the minds of the sepoys of the army generally, that the government is steadily bent on making them lose *caste* by handling impure things. Men of their own creed, trusted by them, were sent by me into their lines, and the most distinct assurances given to them on the subject. I spoke to the same effect at the parade, and the men said this was all they wanted to be certain of. I believe that, under the present circumstances, the men are now stanch. If mutineers approach in any force it is our determination to move out the brigade and fight them. We shall go with the brigade: a reinforcement of a battery of guns, and some of the contingent cavalry will be here from Gwalior the morning after to-morrow. It is most urgently recommended, from the result of present experience, that a proclamation to the army be at once issued by the supreme government, saying, if it be so thought fit, that the lieutenant-governor, North-West Provinces, has informed them, that he has found a gross misconception to be prevalent; that, being so informed, it is at once declared to its faithful troops, that it would in every manner respect and protect their feelings and usages of religion and *caste* as it has always scrupulously protected them; that it declares the notions which have got abroad on the point to be an utter delusion, propagated by some designing persons to mislead good soldiers; and the army may remain thoroughly satis-

fied that no attempt whatever will be made in any way to injure in the least their religious rites and practices. Armed with a simple and direct assurance of this kind, it would rapidly, I think, quiet the minds of the troops. An inducement, too, is wanted for not joining the mutineers and for leaving them. I am in the thick of it, and know what is wanted. I earnestly beg this, to strengthen me."

According to a subsequent telegram of the 15th, the lieutenant-governor reported as follows:—"Further information received of the events at Delhi this morning. The massacre of thirty Europeans in the city and civil station is dreadful; but this must be passed over. All the native corps, with the battery of artillery in the cantonment, are stated to have joined; but there may possibly be a mistake in this. The rebels have declared the heir-apparent king. The following message gives the pith of the report of their plans. The rebels are apparently organising a plan of a regular government; they still remain in the place. Their policy is supposed to be to annex the adjoining districts to their newly-founded kingdom. They are not likely, therefore, to abandon the country or leave Delhi; they have, probably, strengthened themselves there. They may have secured fifty lacs of rupees. If this account be all true, the regiments that have joined are the 11th, 20th, 38th, 54th, 74th. Many of these cannot be stanch in their hearts to this new kingdom. We are strengthening ourselves in every way here. Gwalior and Bhurtpore are aiding us heartily. The native regiments here are weak, and whatever their feelings may be, they are not likely to rise of themselves without other support; we do not, therefore, show distrust of them. None of the native chiefs will have any sympathy with this new Delhi monarchy."

Notwithstanding the difficulty that attended every attempt at open communication, the telegraph at Agra continued actively employed; and on the 16th, the lieutenant-governor of the North-Western Provinces transmitted the following message to the seat of government:—"This message just received from the magistrate of Allygurh. A letter giving a full detail of events has just arrived from Greathed. It is brought by one of my messengers. Events at Delhi are far more disastrous than was supposed. The commissioner writes as follows:—The mutineers reached Delhi on Monday night (11th) or Tuesday morning (12th.) The Delhi troops fraternised with them, the 38th taking the lead, and shooting their officers; all the Europeans put to death with the exception of a few, who avoided them by crossing the Jumna. Major Abbott, Captain Wallace and his wife, Mrs. Murphy, Captain De Teissier and his wife, Mrs. Hutchinson and her children, are here. It is quite certain there is no European at Delhi now. The mutineers took the guns they had taken to the palace, and were received by the king. Lieutenant Willoughby blew up the magazine at Delhi. The powder-magazine alone fell into the hands of the insurgents. The commissioner's letter, which is a very long one, will be sent by this afternoon's mail to Agra. Well done Willoughby!"

The same day, the governor-general informs Mr. Colvin, that "every exertion must be made to regain Delhi; that every hour is of importance; and that General Hewitt has been ordered to press this upon the commander-in-chief." His excellency further says—"I will send you a proclamation to-morrow morning by telegraph. I thank you sincerely for all you have so admirably done, and for your stout heart." To this communication the following reply was telegraphed from the lieutenant-governor at Agra:—"Many thanks for your full confidence; I shall endeavour to deserve it. The worst of the storm is past, and the aspect of affairs is fast brightening. Martial law has been proceeding at Meerut, as was authorised by you. A proclamation has been issued by me, to explain generally our arrangements for surrounding and crushing the mutineers; a copy of this will go by post to-night; I trust it will do good all over the country. The following is the intelligence of the morning from General Hewitt. The commander-in-chief has sent her majesty's 75th regiment and fusiliers down there. The Sirmoor battalion is expected here to-night. Some of the Puttialla and Jhind rajah's people, with a police battalion, and some cavalry, are to assemble at Kurnaul on the 20th, to be supported by her majesty's 75th regiment, 9th lancers, and four guns. Puttialla rajah reported as having been invited to join the rebels. Martial law proclaimed in Meerut; no communication by telegraph about this; the rebels were to settle their plans yesterday evening after prayers; I have sent for

a wing of the 4th irregulars, and asked for another. The Bhurtpore force of horse, and six guns, with three British officers, reached Muttra last night, and quite re-established confidence there. It shall soon be vigorously patrolling the country round Delhi, until the mutineers can be attacked or dispersed. Be sure that confidence and forwardness now mark every step."

On the 17th of May, the following proclamation was forwarded from Calcutta, and immediately distributed over the disturbed districts, with results far less satisfactory than had been anticipated :—

"*Fort William, Home Department, May* 16.

"PROCLAMATION.—The governor-general of India in council has warned the army of Bengal that the tales by which the men of certain regiments have been led to suspect that offence to their religion or injury to their *caste* is meditated by the government of India, are malicious falsehoods. The governor-general in council has learnt that this suspicion continues to be propagated by designing and evil-minded men, not only in the army, but among other classes of the people. He knows that endeavours are made to persuade Hindoos and Mussulmans, soldiers and civil subjects, that their religion is threatened secretly as well as openly by the acts of the government, and that the government is seeking in various ways to entrap them into a loss of *caste* for purposes of its own. Some have been already deceived and led astray by these tales. Once more, then, the governor-general in council warns all classes against the deceptions that are practised on them. The government of India has invariably treated the religious feelings of all its subjects with careful respect. The governor-general in council has declared that it will never cease to do so. He now repeats that declaration, and he emphatically proclaims that the government of India entertains no desire to interfere with their religion or *caste*, and that nothing has been or will be done by the government to affect the free exercise of the observances of religion or *caste* by every class of the people. The government of India has never deceived its subjects, therefore the governor-general in council now calls upon them to refuse their belief to seditious lies. This notice is addressed to those who hitherto, by habitual loyalty and orderly conduct, have shown their attachment to the government and a well-founded faith in its protection and justice. The governor-general in council enjoins all such persons to pause before they listen to false guides and traitors who would lead them into danger and disgrace.—By order of the governor-general of India in council.

"CECIL BEADON,

"Secretary to the government of India."

At length, on the 18th of May, General Hewitt, commanding the Meerut district, found opportunity to communicate the events of the 10th instant to the governor-general in council by the following telegraphic message :—"On the evening of the 10th, the 20th and 11th native infantry, with 3rd light cavalry, broke into open mutiny; shot down the officers who were on parade; liberated all the prisoners, 1,200 in number; fired cantonments south of the Nullah, as well as part of the civil lines, and joined by the inhabitants of the city and cantonments, bazaars and neighbouring villages, pillaged houses, murdered every European man, woman, and child who fell into their hands. The mutineers were driven out of the station, and the European artillery, dragoons, and infantry defended the barracks. On the 12th, the garrison of Delhi joined with the mutineers, burning that station, and murdering all the officers who were in their power. There are about fifty of the 3rd light cavalry who remained with their officers, and about 130 of the 11th. Every night all the European troops are under arms, who prevent the barracks being attacked and burnt by the populace. The loss of life at Meerut amounts to about forty. The casualties at Delhi are not yet known. The women and stores at Meerut are safe in the artillery school of instruction, which is being fortified, to enable part of the garrison to join in the combined movements on Delhi, when the commander-in-chief's arrangements are completed. Telegraph having been closed, reports were sent by dâk."

Comment upon this tardy announcement is not necessary in this place, since the incidents of the outbreak referred to have been already fully described. The official character of the communication alone warrants its introduction at a period so remote from the date of the occurrences it records.

It had by this time become evident, that independent of the mutinous demonstrations at Meerut and Delhi, the seeds of disaffection and revolt were germinating, and rapidly attaining maturity, in other districts of the presidency; and a succession of disturbances in places far distant from each other, but evidently moved by the same impulsive cause, afforded ample proof that the most energetic measures would be required to preserve the integrity of British power in India. It was in vain that the suspicions and fears of the credulous and excitable sepoys had been alternately met with explanation and concession, by positive indulgence, or by rigorous punishment: the evil yet existed in its full strength; and the efforts as yet made to eradicate it, only served to lessen the *prestige* of a government that could tamely concede the high principle of absolute command,

and accept from its troops a conditional service, in lieu of unhesitating and implicit obedience. Circumstances had enabled the Mohammedan and Hindoo elements embodied in the mass of the native armies of British India, to put the screw of their prejudices and assumed privileges upon the impressible nature of the government; and the ravages at Meerut and Delhi were but the early results of an influence that, by timely caution, might have been altogether prevented.

FEROZEPORE.—At this important station—situate also in the North-West Province, on the left bank of the Sutlej, distant about 175 miles from Lahore, and 1,181 from Calcutta—a new source of disquietude had now arisen to embarrass the authorities. In the early part of May the garrison at this place consisted of the 45th and 57th regiments of native infantry, the 10th native light cavalry, and her majesty's 61st foot. On the night of the 12th a detachment of the 57th regiment was on guard duty at the magazine, which was situated within the lines of a fortification near the town, and at a short distance from the cantonment. In consequence of some suspicion as to the loyalty of the native troops at the station, a company of her majesty's 61st regiment was told off for the relief on the following morning. No opportunity was afforded for discussion or inquiry among the troops, respecting the sudden alteration of the *roster* for the day; and the new guard, in due course, was marched to the post assigned to it. Upon the arrival of the relief, the two guards remained together, while orders were carried into effect for the immediate removal of the women and children, and of the unarmed Christian population, to the magazine fort for safety. During this operation the 10th light cavalry and the two native regiments of infantry were paraded at the cantonment, and the 45th was ordered to march to the Suddur Bazaar, situated at some distance, and in an opposite direction from the fortifications. The regiment marched out in obedience to orders; but as soon as it had reached the entrance to the bazaar, the men halted of their own accord, and, facing about, immediately proceeded at quick-step towards the magazine. Having reached the north-west bastion of the fortifications, they managed to communicate with some men of the 57th regiment, yet within the walls; and the latter proceeded to throw out ropes, and put over ladders to assist them in scaling the fortifications. By these aids the moat was crossed, and the outer defences carried by the mutineers, who numbered about 3,000. Having succeeded thus far without difficulty, they next attempted to force the inner gate leading to the depôt for ordnance stores; but here they were met by Colonel Redmond, and five men of the 61st regiment, who fired a volley, and killed six of the assailants—the colonel being in return shot in the thigh and disabled. Repulsed at this point, the mutineers endeavoured to obtain access to the interior of the fort by another gate; but again they were driven back with loss, and being dispirited by their failures, they commenced a precipitate retreat over the walls they had just scaled, many of them falling in the attempt by the butt-ends of the muskets of the 61st. In the midst of this affair a reinforcement of two companies of the Queen's regiment, with two guns, under the command of Lieutenant Angelo, arrived at the magazine; and the guard of the 57th, which had been standing quietly in front of the European relief, while the struggle with their mutinous comrades was proceeding in another part of the fortification, now began to exhibit symptoms of defiance by loading their muskets. Lieutenant Angelo had his two guns charged with grape, and turned their muzzles upon the company, which was then immediately disarmed by her majesty's 61st, and turned out of the intrenchment. The 45th native infantry retreated towards the Ice-pits, and carrying their dead with them, left the bodies at the Mussulman graveyard, adjoining that of the Europeans. The remainder of the day was passed in comparative quiet; but as soon as night had thrown her veil of darkness over the scene of the morning's struggle, about 200 of the mutineers returned to the cantonment, and in gangs took lighted torches and set fire to the church, chapel, two vacant hospitals, her majesty's 61st mess-house, Captains Salmon, Harvey, Woodcock, Cotton, and Bloomfield's bungalows, and several others. They were not even molested in committing this incendiarism except at the chapel, where a young lad, the son of Mr. Hughes, a merchant, shot one of them: every one seemed panic-stricken. The next day, the 14th, the mutineers began to plunder some of the officers' houses, when a party of her majesty's 61st and 10th light cavalry drove them out, and shot some of them; Lieutenant Prendergast and the sergeant-major of the cavalry were both fired upon, and as the

magazines of the 45th and 57th native infantry were in danger of falling into the hands of the mutineers, the artillery brought their guns to bear upon the buildings, which were blown up by a couple of shots fired into them. On the same day the 57th native infantry were disarmed, and the mutineers of the 45th, to the number of two hundred, sent in the colours of their regiment, and surrendered their arms and themselves. That night a false alarm at 11 P. M., caused a short fusilade from the intrenched magazine at the imaginary foe. The guns, too, of the fortification sent forth showers of grapeshot. The alarm was taken up by the men of the 61st at their lines, and by the detachment of the same corps and artillery posted at the south-west flank of cantonment. In the confusion, a man of her majesty's 61st was shot, through being mistaken for one of the mutineers in the dark.

It is stated that the men of the 57th regiment did not follow the example of those of the 45th, by indulging in acts of violence; but that, on the contrary, for some time after their disarmment, they performed their duties of guard-mounting, &c., with *lattees*, instead of muskets or other weapons.

The official report of the circumstances connected with this outbreak is contained in the subjoined communication of the 16th of May, from Brigadier James, the officer commanding at Ferozepore, to the adjutant-general of the army. The brigadier says—"I assumed command on the 11th. On the 12th I heard of the events at Meerut, and paraded the troops on the morning of the 13th, that I might judge for myself of the apparent disposition of the native soldiery. It appeared to me to be haughty. I addressed the 45th and 57th before dismissing them, and sent the native officers of each corps to the mess-houses. At this time, Lieutenants-colonel Liptrap and Darvall reported the state of their corps to be satisfactory, and I believed the 45th to be so.

"At noon (13th) I received information of the massacre at Delhi. I immediately determined on the occupation of the intrenchment by a detachment of her majesty's 61st and European artillery company, and to move the native troops out of cantonments. I made arrangements for their march accordingly, and moved the European artillery, with twelve guns, in progress to the intrenchment, so as to overawe or destroy the two native corps. A detachment of the 61st, under Major Redmond, moved into the intrenchment, and the 61st, under Colonel Jones, was held in readiness to move on any point. The 10th cavalry, whom I believed loyal, and who have since proved so, I encamped in the neighbourhood of the new arsenal, and entrusted to them the magazine and its contents. All these arrangements were made to take place simultaneously by five o'clock, and the native troops were not aware of any of these arrangements, more than that they had to march. I proceeded to the parade-ground of the 45th, assembled them in quarter-distance column, addressed them, and was glad to see them move off without hesitation. The 57th followed their example, and I believed that everything was satisfactory.

"The 45th, on passing the Suddur Bazaar and neighbourhood of the intrenchment, broke into open mutiny, and made a rush at the intrenchment with scaling-ladders, which must have been previously prepared. They were gallantly beaten off by the detachment of her majesty's 61st, under Major Redmond, who was wounded, and, on making a second attempt, were beaten off by Captain Deacon. Colonel Liptrap and his officers used their utmost endeavours to control their men, and did succeed in leading a party of about 150 men to the place where I desired them to encamp; the remainder broke off through the bazaars and cantonments. As I had every reason to believe that the 57th would follow the example of the 45th, I, with Colonel Jones, determined to maintain the barrack and intrenchment, and called in the 10th light cavalry to our support. Colonel Rainey was entrusted with the command of the 61st. I am glad to be able to report that the 57th did move, and remained stanch with Colonel Darvall. The 45th, moving in bodies through the cantonments, burned the church, Roman Catholic chapel, 61st mess-house, and sixteen other houses. During the night they made several attempts on the intrenchment, and were beaten off, with the assistance of reinforcements from her majesty's 61st. When I found that we could maintain the barracks and intrenchment, I sent parties of cavalry to clear the cantonments. During this period I had several communications with Colonels Liptrap and Darvall regarding the state their men were in. On hearing from Colonel Liptrap that the 45th intended to seize their magazine on the morning of the 14th,

I determined to blow up the magazines both of the 45th and 57th. Moving, I found it impossible to procure carriage for the ammunition. This was done by a detachment of artillery and cavalry under Major Harvey and Lieutenant Franks. The blowing-up of the magazine so enraged the 45th that they immediately seized their colours and marched off towards Furreed Kote. On Colonel Liptrap reporting this, I desired him to march in with those that stood faithful, and lay down their arms to the 61st; 133 of all ranks did so. Three troops of the 10th light cavalry, under Majors Beatson and Harvey, and two guns, I sent in pursuit of the mutineers. Major Marsden, deputy-commissioner, having volunteered his services, and from his knowledge of the country, I intrusted to him the command of the whole. He followed them for about twelve miles. They dispersed in all directions, throwing away their arms and colours into wells and other places. A few were made prisoners, and the country-people have since brought in several. The above occurrences took place on the 14th. In the early part of the day, I acquainted Colonel Darvall that I would receive such men of his regiment as would come in and lay down their arms. The light company, under Captain Salmon, were the first to obey, and owing to his exertions, almost to a man did so. On laying down their arms, I permitted them to return to their lines. It was immediately reported that stragglers from the 45th had entered their lines and threatened them, on which a company of the 61st cleared their lines. Unfortunately, the 57th, seeing European troops in their lines, believed that their light company were being made prisoners, which caused a panic in the 57th, and prevented their coming in to lay down their arms, which Colonel Darvall reported they intended to have done. On regaining confidence, several parties came in under their officers, and in the evening Colonel Darvall brought in men of all ranks, with his colours, and I required them to lay down their arms, which they did without hesitation, but with a haughty air. I am unable to furnish present states, but I believe that of the 57th about 520 men are present, and about half that number of the 45th.

"It is gratifying to state, that the 10th light cavalry have remained stanch, and have done good service. The greatest credit is due to Major M'Donell and his officers for keeping his regiment together, for this corps must have the same ideas as the other portions of the native army. On the 15th, I had great anxiety on account of the reported approach of the disarmed 8th light cavalry, 16th, 26th, and 49th native infantry from Lahore, who determined to move on this place and arm themselves. The civil authorities have aided me by breaking the bridge and seizing the ferries. If they do come in any numbers, the position is strong enough to hold our own, and should they make any attempt, I will use my utmost endeavours to destroy them. Every preparation has been made to do so. I cannot conclude this part of the report without stating the gallant and enduring conduct of the 61st, artillery, and 10th cavalry, who have been under arms day and night; and the excessive heat is very trying to the Europeans, who cheerfully stand sentry on the scorched walls of this intrenchment. The 10th cavalry are constantly in the saddle. * * * * In conclusion, I must state for his excellency's information, that the chief danger of the position is the enormous powder-magazine and the thatched barracks, which incendiaries might fire, although I have taken every precaution to prevent such a distressing event.

"P.S.—Had I not, on the 13th, required the families of officers and Europeans to leave the cantonment and take refuge in a portion of the barracks given up to them by Colonel Jones, they might have shared the fate of those at Meerut and Delhi. The only accidents that have taken place are Major Redmond, severely wounded in the leg, but doing well, and one private of the 61st, killed on picket."

A second report, of the same date, announced, that on the 13th the 61st regiment took charge of the magazine, and that a portion of the ammunition in the new arsenal, in front of the light cavalry lines, had been removed to the intrenched fort, where as much as possible of it was buried, in order to lessen the peril of the accumulation.

LAHORE.—By this time a suspicion existed among the Europeans at this station, that the fidelity of the troops in the cantonment at Mean-mere, consisting of the 16th, 26th, and 40th regiments of native infantry, and the 8th light cavalry, could no longer be relied on; and, as a matter of prudent caution, Brigadier Corbett, the officer in command, with the concurrence of Sir John

Lawrence, determined upon disarming them. It fortunately happened at the time that her majesty's 81st regiment, and two battalions of English artillery, were also in cantonment, and afforded the means for carrying such determination into effect without difficulty. These regiments, it was known, were merely awaiting a favourable opportunity to break out into open revolt; but they lost the chance by delay, and the cool but decisive arrangements of Sir John Lawrence. A ball had been announced at the station for some weeks, and the patrons of it were now desirous that the *élite* of the European residents should attend as if nothing had occurred at Delhi, or other places, to occasion alarm. This appearance of ignorance deceived the ringleaders of the intended revolt, and induced them to make their final arrangements with more leisure than was compatible with success. Dancing was kept up with great zest and spirit, until an early hour of Thursday, the 14th of May; but when the native regiments marched at daybreak to the parade-ground, intending to commence the insurrectionary movement, they were panic-stricken by the preparations made to receive them. The European artillery had taken a position immediately in front, and the 81st regiment was formed in line in rear of the guns; the latter were charged with grape before they were brought on the ground; and the 81st received the order to load. The order for disarming the native troops was then read by Brigadier Corbett; and, at its conclusion, he commanded the sepoys to pile their arms, and the cavalry to throw their swords on the ground, and retire to the rear of the infantry. To the great astonishment of the Europeans, the order was obeyed without hesitation or remonstrance; and the arms being collected were placed in waggons, and escorted by a detachment of the 81st regiment to the fort at Lahore. The men of the native corps were then dismissed from parade, and almost immediately left the station, without committing any outrage, but dispersing in various directions about the country.

The ancient importance of Lahore, as a favourite residence of the early Monghol princes, entitles it to more than a mere passing notice. Erected upon the foundations of a city whose name has been buried under the accumulated dust of centuries, it has always been esteemed the capital of the Punjab, and of the important province after which it is designated. The city is situated in lat. 31° 36′ N., long. 74° 18′ E., on a branch of the Ravee, (*Hydraotes*, of the Greeks), which in this place is about 300 yards broad. The distance of Lahore from Calcutta is 1,356 miles, and from Delhi, 380. Its population is estimated at about 150,000 souls. The city is protected by a double wall; the exterior one embracing a circuit of about seven miles. Under its independent rulers Lahore formed the great intermediate station between Affghanistan and the interior states of Hindostan; but in 1520 the emperor Baber, in a successful effort to recover the dominions of his ancestors, from which he had been driven by Tartar invaders, obtained possession of Lahore, and reduced it to ashes. The city, however, gradually rose from its ruins; and, shortly after the accession of Akbar Khan, in 1556, to the throne of the Moguls, it became the seat of government, and a magnificent palace was erected, which was subsequently beautified by the emperors Jehangeer and Ferokshere. In the zenith of its prosperity, Lahore was deemed one of the most beautiful of the cities of Hindostan; and enough is still seen to entitle it to the admiration of European travellers. The modern city of Lahore occupies the western angle of the ancient capital, and is enclosed by a strong embattled wall, which is, however, useless for its protection. The houses are for the most part very lofty; and the streets being very narrow, are rendered offensively filthy by open gutters, that pass along the centre of each. The royal mosque, of which there are still extensive remains, was a fine building of red sandstone, brought from the neighbourhood of Delhi by the emperor Aurungzebe. There are also large portions of the ruined palace, founded by Akbar, and afterwards, in its decay, the abode of Runjeet Sing. The terraced roof of the inhabitable portion of the magnificent structure is covered with *parterres* of rich and variegated flowers, whose fragrance perfumes the air, while they suggest to the charmed beholder an idea of the hanging gardens of Babylon.

The noblest monument of Lahore's ancient greatness is the *Shah Dura*, or tomb of the emperor Jehangeer, on the north side of the Ravee. This is a quadrangular building, with a minaret at each corner, rising to the height of seventy feet. It is composed principally of a red stone and marble, which is laid on in alternate courses throughout the structure. The sepulchre of the em-



peror is of most beautiful and chaste workmanship, covered with inscriptions and ornaments in mosaic, in the execution of which the natural tints of roses and other flowers are exquisitely imitated by the arrangement of different-coloured stones. Two lines of black letters, on a band of white marble, announce the name and title of Jehangeer, "The Conqueror of the World;" and more than a hundred different epithets, in the Arabic and Persian character, signifying the names of God, are scattered over all parts of the sepulchre. The floor of this portion of the edifice is of Mosaic workmanship; and the tomb itself was originally surmounted by a dome, which was thrown down by Bahadur Shah, that the dew and rain of heaven might fall on the tomb of his grandfather. Another object of great interest at Lahore, is the garden of Shah Jehan, called the "Shalima," or "house of joy:" this magnificent relic of Monghol grandeur extends for about half a mile in length, having three terraces ascending from each other: a canal, brought from a great distance, intersects the garden, and supplies water for 450 fountains, that cool and refresh the atmosphere.

Lieutenant Burnes, in a volume of *Travels through India*, has described a private audience with which he was honoured by the Maharajah Runjeet Sing, in the ancient palace of the Monghol emperors. He says —"On our arrival at the palace, we found the maharajah seated on a chair, with a party of from thirty to forty dancing girls, attired uniformly in boys' clothing. They were principally from the valleys of Cashmere, or the adjacent districts, and grace and beauty had been lavishly bestowed on all. Their figures were of the most perfect symmetry, and their features exquisitely lovely; while the Don Giovanni style of costume in which they were attired, and the jewelled bow and quiver in the hands of each, rendered the *tout ensemble* of the old chieftain's body-guard perfectly enchanting."

Resuming the thread of a narrative devoted to far less agreeable recollections, it may be stated, that the telegraph from Lahore to Peshawur, acquainted General Reid, in command there, of the disarming of the troops at Lahore on the day of its occurrence; and that the ferry at Attock, by which the communication with Lahore is effected, was placed under a guard of natives on whom it was believed dependence could be placed. The event also speedily became known at Amritsir, a station about forty-six miles from Lahore, and measures were immediately taken to put the fortress of Govind Garrah* in a state of security, as it was thought probable the disarmed men from the cantonment at Mean-mere would endeavour to gain possession of it. The 59th native regiment, then in cantonment, was called out, and divided into pickets, with European officers in charge, for the prevention of any disturbances on the part of the fugitives, if they came in that direction: and, for the satisfaction of the native troops, a commission of native officers and sepoys was appointed, which met on the 15th of May, when the cartridge question was fully discussed; and no effort was spared to allay the disquietude of the sepoys, who appeared wavering in their fidelity, and were becoming a source of great anxiety to their officers. The alarm was, however, put an end to for a time, by the arrival of her majesty's 81st regiment, with a company of artillery *en route* for Jullundur, where the 61st native infantry had exhibited symptoms of a mutinous spirit, and it had been considered prudent to deprive them of their arms—a step that, fortunately, was accomplished without difficulty.

It was at length felt to be necessary that some plan should be adopted to check the spirit of insubordination that had become apparent in many districts of the Punjab; and for this purpose a council of war, composed of Major-general Reid, Brigadiers Chamberlayne and Cotton, and Colonels Edwards and Nicholson, was held at Peshawur† on the 13th of May. After due con-

* This fortress, in the vicinity of Amritsir, is of great strength, and was the stronghold of Runjeet Sing, in which, for many years, he kept his arsenal and treasure.

† The city was built by the emperor Akbar, who called it "Peshawur, or Peshawer" (the advanced post), in consequence of its being a frontier town of Hindostan, towards Affghanistan. It is situate in a fertile plain, about eighteen miles east of the Khyber Pass, and forty-four miles west from Attock. In the early part of the present century it was a flourishing town, about five miles in circuit, and was said to contain a population of 100,000 individuals. In 1818, the place was devastated by Runjeet Sing, the "Lion of Lahore," who demolished the Bala Hissar (the state residence), and laid waste the surrounding country. The fortress, erected by the Sikhs on the ruins of the Bala Hissar, is a square of about 220 yards, with a round tower at each angle, surrounded by a mud wall sixty feet high, and a wide moat.

sideration of the state of the country, it was arranged, that the troops scattered about the hills should be concentrated in Jhelum, the central point of the Punjab. In accordance with this resolution, her majesty's 27th foot from the hills at Nowshera, her majesty's 24th foot from Rawul Pindee, one European troop of horse artillery from Peshawur, the guide corps from Murdan, 16th irregular cavalry from Rawul Pindee, the native Kumaon battalion from the same place, the 1st Punjab infantry from Bunnoo, a wing of the 2nd Punjab cavalry from Kohat, and half a company of sappers from Attock, were ordered to concentrate at Jhelum, from whence the Punjab could be secured. These measures were taken just in time; for the 24th, 27th, and 51st native infantry, and 5th light cavalry, were all disaffected, and gradually showed a spirit so dangerous, that on the 29th of May the four regiments were disarmed without offering resistance. A party was at the same time sent, under Lieutenant-colonel Nicholson, to disarm the 55th native infantry, in garrison at Murdan, a fort in the centre of the Peshawur valley. The corps resisted; a fight ensued; and the sepoys lost about 200 men, killed and prisoners, the remnant making good a retreat to the hills, where they were pursued and scattered by Major Vaughan with his mountain train.

CHAPTER VII.

DISTURBANCES IN BOMBAY; THE PARSEES, OR FIRE-WORSHIPPERS, AT BAROACH AND SURAT; THE RAJAHS OF GWALIOR, PUTTEEALA, JHIND, AND BHURTPORE; THE CITY OF AGRA; PROCLAMATION AND ENERGETIC CONDUCT OF THE LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR OF THE NORTH-WESTERN PROVINCES; MEERUT DESERTERS AT ETAWAH; EXECUTION AND MUTINY AT ALLYGURH; OUTRAGES AT MYNPOORIE; HEROISM OF LIEUTENANT DE KANTZOW.

WHILE the fires of rebellion were thus spreading over the presidency of Bengal, that of Bombay was not at this period entirely free from disquietude, although the cause of it did not appear to be connected with any of the grievances that convulsed the sister presidency. In Bombay and several of the principal towns bordering upon the Gulf of Cambay, large numbers of a singular people, called Parsees (descended from the Guebres, or Fire-worshippers of Persia), had located themselves after their expulsion from that country by the Mohammedans. They are described, at the present time, as an active, intelligent, and loyal body of men, contributing greatly to the commercial prosperity of the settlement in which they are resident. The mercantile property and wealth of Bombay are principally in their hands, as it is usual for every European house to have one or more Parsee partners, who supply a large portion of the capital. In personal appearance they are taller, better formed, more athletic, and, as a race, have handsomer features than the Hindoos generally. In early youth their females are delicate and handsome; but with the advance of age, which is apparent in them sooner than in Indian women in general, they grow coarse in their persons. The higher classes wear an upper garment of white cambric muslin fitted tight to the waist, where it is bound round with a sash or cummerbund of white muslin; it then descends in an exceedingly full skirt to the feet, covering a pair of handsome silk trowsers. A Parsee group, thus attired, in despite of their mean and unbecoming head-dress (a peculiarly ugly turban), make a good appearance. Nearly all of them speak English; their children are invariably taught that language, and many converse in it fluently: they, however, adhere scrupulously to their ancient religious customs and observances. Morning and evening they crowd together to the esplanade or the seashore, to prostrate themselves in adoration before the sun. It is observable that, although the men are found in service in every European family, they do not allow their wives and daughters to become domestics to foreigners; they are permitted only to become servants to their own people.

The funerals of the Parsees are of a remarkable character. The repository for the dead is a large cylindrical structure, twenty-five feet in height, fifty-five feet in diameter, and open at the top. It is built up with



solid masonry to within five feet of the summit, with the exception of a sort of well, fifteen feet in diameter, in the centre. Two circular grooves, three inches deep, are formed around the well; the first at the distance of four, and the second at the distance of ten, feet from the well. Similar grooves, four feet distant from each other at the outer part of the outer circle, are carried straight from the wall to the well, communicating with the circular grooves to take off the water. Thus the sepulchre, or tomb, has three circles of partitions; the outer for men, the middle for women, and the inner for children. Agreeable to this arrangement, the bodies of the deceased are deposited between the well and the wall, each being wrapped loosely in a piece of cloth, and left to be devoured by vultures, numbers of which are always to be seen hovering over these spots. The work of destruction having been speedily performed, the bones are from time to time cast into the well in the centre, from the bottom of which, as they accumulate, they are removed through subterraneous passages. Thus the well never becomes full. There are five or six of these public receptacles—expressively called "Towers of Silence"—in the island of Bombay, all of which are from two to three miles distant north-westwardly from the fort. Some of the more wealthy Parsees have similar depositaries for their dead constructed in their own grounds.—The outbreak we are about to describe occurred at Vaejulpore, the Parsee suburb of Baroach,* on the morning of the 12th of May, when, without any previous indication of bad feeling, about half the Mussulman population of the place, and as many more of the same faith as could be gathered from the neighbouring villages, assembled with arms at a shrine called Bawa Rahan, about a mile from the city; and, after a brief consultation, marched into the Parsee quarters, and immediately commenced a ferocious and indiscriminate attack upon the defenceless inhabitants. They struck down and mutilated every Parsee that came in their way, pulled down and plundered the dwellings and warehouses belonging to them, and perpetrated the most outrageously indecent attacks upon women. During the tumult, one unfortunate individual in particular became an object of their vengeance; they chased him from house to house as he sought refuge, and at length dragged him from his last place of shelter, strangled, and then inflicted innumerable wounds on him with all sorts of weapons, even after he had expired. They also murdered the high-priest of the Parsees in the fire-temple, which, together with the Tower of Silence (adjacent), the fanatical Mohammedans desecrated in a manner most offensive to the feelings of the Parsees. The deputy-magistrate being one of that people, very narrowly escaped being stoned and stabbed. As soon as the chief magistrate and superintendent were informed of the tumult at Vaejulpore, they repaired to the scene of disturbance, but were insulted, and even roughly handled. At length it was found necessary to send for a detachment of sepoys, for the purpose of re-

* This place was formerly considered of some importance as a commercial depôt. The town is situated on the north bank of the Nerbudda river, about 177 miles from Bombay, and 86 miles north of Surat. Bishop Heber describes it, at the time of his visit, as poor and dilapidated, though placed in the midst of a delightful country, and still carrying on some trade in cotton manufactures. Previously to the famine that ravaged India in 1791, by which the town and immediate neighbourhood were nearly depopulated, the number of inhabitants was estimated at 81,000; from that period, they have decreased, and do not now probably exceed 23,000. In 1772, Baroach was besieged by an army from Bombay, commanded by General Wedderburne, who was killed under the walls. A few days after his death the town was carried by storm, though at that period a place of considerable strength. By the treaty concluded with the Peishwa and the combined Mahratta powers in June, 1782, the city and pergunnah of Baroach were ceded to the East India Company; but, in the month following, they were privately made over to Madhajee Scindia; ostensibly as a recompense for his humane treatment of the English prisoners and hostages taken at Nargaum, but, in reality, for his assistance in bringing about the pacification, which, at that crisis, was urgently required, on account of Hyder Ali's invasion of the Carnatic. However, from Madhajee Scindia's successor, Dowlut Rao, it was captured by the army under Colonel Woodington in August, 1803, and it has ever since remained in our possession. There is, or was recently, at Baroach, a *pinjrapole*, or hospital for brute animals, supported by taxes and donations from the Hindoo inhabitants. A similar establishment at Surat we have seen thus described:—"A large space enclosed by high walls, and divided into numerous courts or wards for the reception of sick and lame animals of all kinds, which are tended with the greatest care by persons appointed for that purpose. A peaceful asylum is also afforded to such as are old. When an animal breaks a limb, or meets with any other accident, the owner brings it to this hospital, and it is received without any regard to the *caste* or country of its owner. Not only quadrupeds, but birds, insects, and even various reptiles, are admitted, and carefully fed during the remainder of their existence; and in 1772 an aged tortoise was known to have been there seventy-five years." The hospital nurses form a peculiar class of society.

storing order; but these also were rudely assailed, on their arrival, by the infuriated populace; and as they were not allowed to fire in their own defence, the ravages of the mob continued until a large amount of property had been destroyed, and several valuable lives were sacrificed. An eye-witness of the occurrence says in his narrative—"What a contrast do the native states present to the British government in the way of quelling such disturbances! The former, instead of showing the leniency which the British government invariably evince to the rioters, would have ordered the troops to fire upon them without feeling the slightest compunction. But for the stringent and peremptory injunctions of the government against such proceedings on the part of the ruling authorities, they argue, the magistrate and the commanding officer would have dispersed the crowd in an instant. The Parsees all agree in the belief, that none of the influential Mussulmans (among whom they number three government servants, the Foujdar, the Cazee, and the Moulvee) could possibly have been uncognisant of such a deep-laid and deliberate scheme, the eventuation of which must have and did actually last several days. The only respectable Mohammedan gentleman whom they honourably acquit of any participation in the plot, and whom they believe to have actually expressed his abhorrence of the same, is the old Hukimji, the joint moonsiff of Baroach, who, indignant at the nefarious scheme, and yet incapable of preventing or counteracting the machinations of his brethren, had left the town in disgust some days before the catastrophe occurred. Some of their own relations are reported to have given warning to their Parsee friends, several days before the storm burst upon their heads, to keep aloof. This shows that these officers had some knowledge of the preconceived plan, and could have averted the catastrophe if they would." The narrator then proceeds to say, that "the exertions made by the magistrate, in concert with Lieutenant Bell and Captain Bates, to preserve order, and to prevent a recurrence of a similar attack threatened to take place in the Parsee quarters in the town, and not the suburbs, were above all praise. These officers guarded the different avenues and gates all night, with the aid of a detachment of foot and the irregular horse. None of these officials have known rest since this unhappy occurrence. There are several rumours still afloat, that the gaol, where the prisoners apprehended in the act of making assaults were incarcerated, will be stormed; that a renewal of the onslaught will take place on the 'Ead,' and that loot will be in future the real object, and the rescue of the assailants the ostensible one. Several delinquents remain still unapprehended, and judicial investigation is still in abeyance."

At Surat,* also, about the same time, there were indications of a gathering storm. In a letter from that city, dated May 20th, 1857, the writer says—"I regret to inform you that affairs here are by no means settled; apprehensions are entertained that the Mussulmans of this city are intending to follow the example of their brethren at Baroach. From two to three thousand men assemble every morning in the 'Andrew' Musjeed, for the purpose of taking into consideration the best means to be adopted for rendering a revolt successful. Great numbers of Mussulmans are coming in daily from the surrounding villages; and it is openly talked of, that an attack upon the Parsees is meditated. The kotwal of Surat has ordered the doors of the fire-temple to be closed, with the exception of one small side, by which ingress and egress can be obtained for the purposes of prayer. The consequence is, that much consternation prevails amongst the Parsee community generally. The civil authorities do not permit the military officers and soldiers to move about anywhere. The judge of Surat has gone to Baroach with 200 sepoys, to bring the rioters at that place to Surat for trial. As, however, it seems that so many men cannot be spared from Surat, an order has been sent for their recall. The military force at Surat is not sufficient to preserve order in the event of anything serious occurring. Orders have, in consequence, been sent to Bombay for more European troops. There is a place called Ranee Tullao, where both Mohammedans and Parsees are located; but as the latter are the fewest in number, they are obliged to keep their doors closely bar-

* This city, in which the first mercantile establishment of the East India Company was formed in 1615, is situated on the south bank of the Taptee, twenty miles from its mouth in the Gulf of Cambay. The place is still of great importance, possessing a strong fort garrisoned by European troops, and is the seat of a high court for the presidency of Bombay. Here, as at Bombay, a great number of wealthy Parsees are found among the native inhabitants.

ricaded—a fact which is anything but creditable to the English government. I have also to inform you, that a dispute has occurred between the kotwal and the buxshee, which has ended in the transfer of the first officer from Surat to Baroach."

When these serious causes for apprehension arose so near the capital of the presidency, there was not, it is stated, a single field-piece of artillery in Bombay available in case of disturbance; and it was further affirmed, that "with the exception of the park guns of the mountain train just returned into arsenal upon their arrival from Bushire, there is not a gun fit for service in the place." The writer then very reasonably asks—"Where is the commander-in-chief? Is it the business of the governor, or of his excellency Sir Henry Somerset, to see after such matters? Where is the adjutant-general, at the moment when troops are being ordered hither and thither at an hour's notice? At Mahableshwur!* Where is Willoughby, the inspector-general of ordnance and magazines? At Mahableshwur! The quartermaster-general? At Mahableshwur! The matter is really unpardonable, and is a scandal to the head-quarters of the army."

Returning to the progress of the sepoy mutiny, we may observe, that the recently-annexed kingdom of Oude (which, under the administration of Lord Dalhousie, had been reduced to a political grade subordinate to the presidency of Bengal) was at this time considered perfectly safe under the vigorous supervision of Sir Henry Lawrence, notwithstanding an abortive mutinous attempt of the 7th Oude irregular infantry on the 3rd of May,† which had been promptly met and effectually crushed. The principal native chiefs were yet faithful; and no occasion had been given to doubt the sincerity of their allegiance. Scindia, the rajah of Gwalior, was the first to tender assistance to the government after the affair at Meerut, by offering to the lieutenant-governor at Agra, through the political agent, the services of the whole or any part of his troops. This offer was partly accepted; and the maharajah's body-guard, composed of horse artillery and cavalry, together with a detail of picked infantry, was immediately detached to await the disposal of the lieutenant-governor; and but for a serious indisposition at the time, the rajah would himself have headed his troops on the service. The rajahs of Bhurtpore, Jhind, and Putteeala, also promptly dispatched their contingents to the aid of the English authorities: and of the devotion of the last-mentioned chief to the obligations imposed upon him by his allegiance, the following honourable testimony is furnished by a letter from Mr. Douglas Forsyth, deputy-commissioner of the Umballah and adjacent districts. This gentleman says—"The rajah has shown himself such a stanch and valuable ally, that I am only doing him justice in endeavouring to bring him before the British public. It is a well-acknowledged fact, that if it had not been for the rajah of Putteeala, none of us in these Cis-Sutlej states would now be alive. On the first news of the Delhi and Meerut massacres, I sent for him, and called for his aid, which he furnished in the most prompt manner. The presence of 1,000 or 1,800 men was essential to our safety here, and he gave the men at once. Since then he has been foremost in taking all the onerous duty of guarding the out-stations, furnishing escorts for convoys of stores, protecting the country, cutting off stragglers, and even in recovering districts which had fallen into the hands of the rebels. Moreover, he has lent us £40,000, and will give more as we require it. His princely generosity to the survivors of the Hansi and Hissar massacres deserves to be publicly known. He not only sent out men to hunt for fugitives, and cover their retreat, but on their arrival in his territory he furnished them with everything—money, food, clothing, &c.; and gave a general order, that whatever they should call for, was to be at once supplied gratis. Common gratitude would make us anxious to do everything to serve our ally, and I very willingly now take up his cause. He has no grievance to be redressed; but as in these days people are too apt to suspect every native of hostility to us, it is not surprising that disparaging remarks should now and then be made; and one or two, suspicious of his fidelity, have found their way into print, and greatly disquieted the rajah. He is most anxious

* This is a convalescent station in the Ghauts of the Concan, about eighty miles south-east of Bombay, having an elevation of 4,500 feet above the sea. The place was founded by Sir J. Malcolm in 1828: it is accessible by good roads; and from the number of Europeans who avail themselves of its sanitary influence, it has quite a European aspect.

† See *ante*, p. 52.

to show his friendliness, and to have it believed. He has been conferring with me, and expressed great fear lest, through the representations of his enemies, he should suffer. * * * I have done my utmost to reassure him, and have promised to do my utmost to place before the British public a statement of his services. He has proved himself a warm and steady friend, when our empire around him seemed to be crumbling into dust; and we ought, by every means in our power, to show that we are not unmindful of his services. This will not only reassure him, but encourage others."—The same authority mentions also, in terms of high praise, the conduct of the rajah of Jhind, a relative and neighbour of the rajah of Putteeala; of whom he says—"This chief, though of lesser note, has done his duty well and nobly, and held the country to the rear of our camp from the commencement of our attack on Delhi. He, like the Putteeala rajah, is a Sikh; but their territories are at the eastern extremity of the Cis-Sutlej states, and therefore they are peculiarly accessible to the influences at work in the North-West Provinces, from which, indeed, the Putteeala rajah is divided by a merely imaginary line." —Of the rajah of Jhind, also, we have the following characteristic anecdote, in a letter from Meerut, of the 18th of May:—"It is said that the king of Delhi sent some of the insurgents (native cavalry) to the rajah of Jhind, asking his assistance in coming against the English; the rajah of Jhind happened to be out shooting, or parading his regiment; and immediately he found out on what errand the cavalry had come, he turned round to his soldiers, and ordered them to cut down every man of them."

Such instances of fidelity present honourable exceptions to the general conduct of the native princes at the commencement of disturbances that have since involved many of them in ruin.

Our attention must now be directed to events connected with the city of Agra—capital of the Anglo-Indian province of the same name, and seat of the lieutenant-governor of the North-Western Provinces. This important station is situated on the right bank of the river Jumna, in lat. 27° 12′ N., and long. 78° 6′ E. Its distance from Delhi is 130 miles; and from Calcutta, about 839 miles. Up to the close of the 15th century, Agra was but an inconsiderable village; but, early in the 16th century, it was enlarged by the emperor Sekunder Lodi, who conferred upon it the rank of an imperial city, and made it the capital of his dominions, under the name of Bhadulgue. Fifty years subsequent the city was further enlarged by the emperor Akbar, who erected a magnificent palace, and again changed its name to Akbarabad. The city continued to be the seat of the Monghol government until 1647, when it was removed to Delhi by the emperor Shah Jehan; from which period the progressive decline of Agra may be traced. Shah Jehan, who resided at Akbarabad in the early part of his reign, among other adornments to the place, built a superb mausoleum over the remains of his favourite wife, the begum Noor Jehan, or "Light of the World." This structure, which is called Taj Mahal, or "Crown of Edifices," is built of white marble, on a terrace of white and yellow marble. It contains a central hall, within which are the tombs of the begum and of Shah Jehan; and around the hall are several smaller apartments and corridors. The mausoleum, which has been considered the finest specimen of Indian architecture extant, is reported to have cost £750,000; and with its clusters of light mirrors, its great gateway, mosque, and Jumaul Khana, form the most exquisite group of Oriental architecture in existence; and although the more costly mosaics of twelve different sorts of stones within the mausoleum have been partially despoiled of their riches, the general beauty of the structure remains to this day nearly unimpaired. The height of the Taj Mahal, from the lower terrace to the golden crescent which surmounts the principal dome, is upwards of 250 feet, and the erection of the building occupied twenty years. A monthly sum continues to be allowed by the British government to keep it in repair; and although now 200 years old, it is described as having the fresh appearance of a building of recent date.

Respecting this tomb, the late Bishop Heber says—"After hearing its praises ever since I had been in India, its beauty rather exceeded than fell short of my expectations. The building itself is raised on an elevated terrace of white and yellow marble, and having at its angles four tall minarets of the same material. In the central hall, inclosed within a carved screen of elaborate tracery, are the tombs of the begum and, slightly raised above her, of the emperor himself. Round this hall are a number of





smaller apartments, corridors, &c.; and the windows are carved in lattices of the same white marble with the rest of the building and the screen. The pavement is in alternate squares of white and Sienna marble; the walls, screens, and tombs are covered with flowers and inscriptions, executed in beautiful mosaic of cornelians, lapis-lazuli, and jasper; and yet, though everything is finished like an ornament for a drawing-room chimney-piece, the general effect produced is rather solemn and impressive than gaudy."

Agra possesses a college, supported by the government; at which, in 1843, there were 251 pupils, four-fifths of whom are Hindoos. The houses in Agra are chiefly built of stone, and are very lofty, while the streets are so narrow as scarcely to allow a carriage to pass through them. The city contains many public baths, caravansaries, and mosques; but most of the principal buildings, especially the splendid palace of Akbar, are in a very dilapidated state. In 1784 Agra was taken by the Mahratta chief, Madhajee Scindia, and was retained by him until 1803, when it was captured, after a siege, by the forces under Lord Lake. It is now the seat of British government for the province; and it has been suggested as the most convenient place for the seat of government for the whole of India. During the last few years a very large expenditure has been applied on public works, including court-houses, record-rooms, revenue offices, a new burial-ground, bridges, roads, &c. Up to November, 1847, upwards of thirteen lacs (£130,000) had been expended on the road from Agra to Bombay alone. The Hindoo inhabitants hold the city in great veneration, as the place of the *avatâra*, or incarnation of *Vishnu*, under the name of *Parasu Rama*.

On the 13th of May a general parade was held of the troops in cantonment at Agra, when the lieutenant-governor of the North-Western Provinces (Mr. Colvin) addressed them, assuring them, if they had any cause of dissatisfaction, and wished to leave the Company's service, they might say so, and they should be allowed to depart peacefully. The men replied, in a body, that they were satisfied and happy, and had no wish to leave so good a service. The lieutenant-governor then addressed the European troops, telling them to consider the native soldiers as brothers, and to be as kind to them as possible. These harangues were favourably listened to by the whole of the force present, and both natives and Europeans cheered the lieutenant-governor as he left the ground under the usual salute.

The local authorities appear to have acted with judgment and firmness at the crisis presented to them; and the lieutenant-governor of the North-Western Provinces proved equal to the emergency by at once proclaiming martial law in the districts of Meerut, Moozuffernuggur, Boolundshuhur, and the Delhi territory east of the river Jumna, in the following terms:—

"PROCLAMATION.—The lieutenant-governor announces, for the information of the faithful subjects of the British government in all towns, stations, and districts of the North-Western Provinces, that active measures have been commenced, and will be promptly and vigorously prosecuted, for the signal punishment of the band of mutineers and murderers who have, in the cities and cantonments of Meerut and Delhi, disgraced the honourable names of soldiers, and have committed a series of treacherous and coldblooded barbarity even upon helpless women, which will draw down upon them the exemplary vengeance of the European and other regiments. The forces from Meerut, Umballah, and the hills, are being fast concentrated, and will co-operate with the contingents of the Rajpootana states in surrounding the insurgents, and preventing their escape from their richly-merited retribution. The lieutenant-governor calls on all the allies of the British power, and on the loyal people of the British districts, to watch vigilantly against the possibility of successful attempts at flight on the part of the insurgents after they have been attacked and dispersed by the British troops. European and native portions of the military forces now rapidly assembling will honourably and eagerly vie with each other in the extirpation of the traitorous criminals who have endeavoured to sow utterly groundless distrust between the powerful and munificent British government and its attached native soldiery, whom it has protected and distinguished with favour from the formation of its empire, and who have made themselves famous in history by the devoted bravery and zeal which they have displayed in its service. The British government will always highly value and reward the services of its good soldiers. It will ever strictly respect their rights, usages, and religious feelings, and consider them as its children, entitled to its protection in their vigour and in old age. It will punish the acts of faithless traitors with swift justice. Evil-minded men have tried to deceive the minds of the native soldiery by gross and unfounded misrepresentations of the intentions of the British government. Those intentions are what they have always been—of scrupulous regard for the faith and customs of every class and sect of its subjects and servants. The population of the country generally will pursue their accustomed occupations in tranquillity and security. Whenever it may be necessary, additional police or other forces will be raised for their protection. But the chief care of all must be, to render impossible the escape of the fugitive criminals, who will now be attacked in whatever part of the country they may be found.

"The lieutenant-governor North-Western Provinces, is hereby pleased, in virtue of authority

delegated to him by the right honourable the governor-general in council, to order the suspension as regards the offences against the state, specified in Section 1, Regulation X. of 1804, of the functions of the ordinary criminal courts of judicature within the districts of Meerut, Moozuffurnuggur, Boolundshuhur, and the Delhi territory east of the river Jumna, in which the inhabitants have lately been guilty of acts of violence and plunder, and to establish martial law in those districts until further orders. Immediate trials will be held by courts-martial of all persons of the class specified in Section 2, Regulation X. of 1804, taken in arms in open hostility against the British government, or in the act of opposing by force of arms the authority of the same, or in the actual commission of any overt act of rebellion against the state, or in the act of openly aiding and assisting traitors and enemies of the British government within any part of the districts before mentioned; and such persons, on conviction by the sentence of a court-martial of any of the offences above enumerated, will be liable to the punishment of death and to the forfeiture of their property and effects real and personal, as declared in Section 3 of the foregoing regulations.

"By order of the Lieut.-governor N.W. Provinces.

"May 18, 1857."

It might have been expected that the effect of the above proclamation would have been seen in the improved condition of the district; but such was not the case; and after a very short period of comparative quiet, abundant demonstration was afforded of the fact, that the snake of revolt in that portion of British India had been merely scotched—not killed.

Up to the middle of May, however, affairs had continued tolerably satisfactory at Agra; and the state of the surrounding districts was such as afforded no extraordinary cause for apprehension. An official report from the civil superintendent of Etawah—a town on the Jumna, in the upper province of Bengal, and about sixty-three miles south-east of Agra—is expressive of the good feeling that prevailed among the troops at that place in the early part of May. The document was officially addressed to the commissioner, Sir Henry Lawrence; and ran as follows:—

"Sir,—I had the honour yesterday to report demi-officially the precautions that I had quietly adopted at this station, with a view to preventing any depredations that it was possible might be attempted here by any of the straggling mutineers from Meerut or Delhi. These precautions have proved not altogether useless. Last night, about midnight, I received an express from Agra, acquainting me with the entire success of the measures hitherto adopted for the repression of this sudden, and even to the parties actually concerned in it, unexpected outbreak, and assuring me of the government's perfect confidence in the fidelity of the 9th native infantry—fidelity of which we were soon to have practical demonstration.

"About one hour later, my new kotwal, Mohammed Alee Jan, received information, whilst patrolling the Agra road with three sowars of the 8th irregular cavalry, of the approach of men armed with pistols and swords. On coming up with and challenging them, their replies were unsatisfactory, and he told them that they must be brought before the magistrate; on this, they cocked their pistols and threatened to shoot him if he came near them. He, however, talked quietly to them, and induced them to come to me; and I, as their story seemed improbable, sent them away to Captain Corfield, the officer commanding the station, directing the kotwal to strengthen his patrol *en route*, in order to guard against any attempt to escape.

"Scarcely twenty minutes had elapsed before I was roused by a smart firing as I thought at the treasury: all arrangements for a surprise had been made beforehand, and within three minutes I was at the treasury, armed and dressed. There I found the soldiers all on the *qui vive*, muskets loaded, cheery, and manifestly ready to fight any one or every one: they thought the firing was at the lines. I ran home and drove my wife in my carriage, already harnessed, over to Captain Ross's, which is *en route* to the lines, and where there is a guard of regular troops; took up Captain Ross, and dashed off to the lines. On our way we were joined by Messrs. Volk and Daniel on horseback, armed; and I suppose ten minutes from the firing of the first shot had not elapsed before we were all at the quarter-guard, where the medical officer almost immediately joined us.

"There I learned that, as directed, the kotwal had gone from my house to Captain Ross, when he was joined by three other sowars. Captain Ross questioned the men. They repeated, as before, that they belonged to the 2nd cavalry; had gone with remounts from Cawnpore, and were then returning from Agra. They had, however, no uniform; were armed to the teeth; had no single paper of any kind with them, and no money. Captain Corfield then came up, and, on questioning them, considered their story so very suspicious, that he directed

them to accompany him to the lines; this they did, though somewhat unwillingly. When near to the quarter-guard, he, Lieutenant Allen, the kotwal, and Meer Hossein Ali, the duffadar of the irregulars, dismounted, and ordered them to give up their arms: one did this; but on Captain Corfield's handing the weapons to the duffadar, their owner snatched them away violently: one man then shot Captain Corfield, who fell instantly (pistol-wound in the right shoulder—believed not severe—ball not extracted); another man dashed at Lieutenant Allen, who had a double-barrelled gun in his hand, the lock of which arrested the pistol-bullet of a third (fired point-blank at that officer's chest); knocked him down, and, kneeling on his chest, would have murdered him in a minute, when the kotwal, at whom three of the others fired simultaneously, killed him, dividing his backbone with a home tulwar blow; by this time, the sepoys in the lines (only fourteen or fifteen) rushed up (they had not before been able to fire, as the parties were all mixed up together), and poured in a volley; two were shot; one killed, as above, by the kotwal, and two more cut down by the sowars, and two escaped at the time; but of these, one was subsequently captured by the police.

"Of the men cut down by the sowars, one man is still alive and has confessed. He states that his name is Sher Andaz Khan; that he is a Patan of Garra Kote, of Zillah Futtehpore; that he is a lance naik of the 1st troop of 3rd cavalry, and was engaged in the late disturbance at Meerut; that his six companions are also all Patans of the same place, and fellow-mutineers. At first he stated that his party came here hoping to induce the 9th to mutiny; but he afterwards declared that, in reality, they were only trying to get home unobserved; and this I believe to be the true state of affairs.

"It is not for me to praise the coolness and gallantry displayed on this trying occasion by Lieutenants Corfield and Allen; but it is absolutely necessary that I should bring to the notice of government the excellent behaviour of the troops under their command, reduced by escort duties, sickness, and leave, to about twenty-six men, divided over four or five guards; as well as of the small detachment of the 8th irregular cavalry attached to the Thuggee department here, and placed at my disposal by Captain Ross. I solicit permission to express to them all publicly, on the parade, the approbation of the government of their steadiness in this particular instance, and of the great readiness evinced by each separate detached guard, to stick to its post, and do its duty come what might."

The excellent conduct of the men of the 9th native infantry, was noticed in commensurate terms of approval by the general commanding the district, and by his excellency the chief commissioner; and it was hoped the example of fidelity and soldier-like obedience to orders, afforded by these men, would have had a beneficial influence over their less principled and vacillating comrades in the surrounding districts. Of the determination of Sir Henry Lawrence to enforce subordination throughout the province under his charge, by a stern and rigid exaction of unhesitating obedience, there could be no question; and had his efforts been seconded by equally decisive conduct on the part of the lieutenant-governor of the North-West Provinces, it is possible that much of the evil which subsequently arose in that part of Bengal might have been avoided.

The 9th regiment of native infantry, whose good conduct had been thus favourably noticed at Etawah, had its head-quarters at Allygurh, with detachments at Mynpoorie, Etawah, and Boolundshuhur. At the last-named place, an emissary of the mutineers from Delhi had been detected while endeavouring to tamper with the loyalty of the men; some of whom, who were yet untainted by a mutinous spirit, became indignant at his intrusion, and repudiated the doctrine he was disseminating among their comrades. Finding their remonstrances of no avail, they at length seized the traitor, and conveyed him a prisoner to the officer in charge of the detachment, who forwarded him to Allygurh, where he was tried by court-martial, and, upon the evidence of the soldiers from Boolundshuhur, was convicted and sentenced to be hanged. The three men who, in the execution of their duty, had been thus instrumental in arresting the career of a traitor, stood alone in their loyalty, the remainder of the detachment having taken an opposite view of their duty as soldiers; and upon hearing the result of the proceedings at Allygurh, the whole of them deserted their post, and joined the head-quarters of the regiment, bitterly upbraiding their comrades for the part they had taken

against a Brahmin sepoy. The morning of Thursday, the 21st of May, was appointed for the execution of the rebel from Delhi, and the regiment paraded in the usual manner for carrying the sentence into effect in the presence of the whole corps. The proceedings had gone on without any appearance of disorder on the part of the men, until the hangman had performed his duty, and the body of the traitor hung suspended from the gallows, when one of the Boolundshuhur sepoys rushed forward, and declared aloud to his comrades, "that they had destroyed a martyr to the cause of their religion, since the Company's government had determined on sacrificing *caste* throughout India!" The men listened, awed into silence by the frightful denunciations of the sepoy; they then conversed together—wavered, and finally broke from their ranks with frantic and threatening shouts, declaring their intention to march at once for Delhi, in the name of "Deen and the King." Some of the better disposed men gathered round the European officers, and assured them, that although they could not prevent the dispersion of the regiment, they would protect them, and take care no harm should befal them; and they kept their promise; but the remainder of the regiment, after plundering and partly burning the station, marched off for Delhi, taking with them their comrades from Boolundshuhur and Etawah, which latter place they also plundered.

During the tumult occasioned by these proceedings, the European inhabitants of the town sought safety in flight, and, with the civil authorities, formed a station at Hattrass until assistance and instructions could be received from Agra, from whence a party of troops belonging to the Gwalior contingent, and about fifty volunteers, were promptly dispatched. Upon their arrival at Allygurh, such of the mutineers as had lingered behind the main body for the sake of plunder, were compelled to leave the town. The rescuing party were also in time to release six Europeans, whom the mutinous soldiers had shut up in a factory at Malose, one of the suburbs; and then proceeded to make a successful attack upon the Brahmin, Rao Bhopal Sing, of Burtowlee, a small village close to Allygurh. This man had plundered and burnt several neighbouring villages, "had seized on the tahseelee at Khyr," another adjacent village, "ejected the government officers, and proclaimed his independence by beat of drum." This gentleman was captured by the volunteers, assisted by a few sowars, and was hung on the spot. A large amount of treasure was recovered on this fortunate expedition.

On the evening of the 23rd of May, intelligence of these events reached the station of Mynpoorie, a town about fifty miles southwest of Agra, where another detachment, consisting of two companies of the 9th native infantry, had been posted, and the men did not hesitate to follow in the steps of their mutinous comrades. Unlike them, however, their conduct was not marked by outrage; and owing to the judicious behaviour of an officer with the detachment, Lieutenant De Kantzow, who temperately reasoned with them upon the folly of their conduct, they were induced to leave the place without inflicting any injury, or offering any insult to the Europeans. The latter on the departure of the sepoys, formed a volunteer corps among themselves, for the purpose of protecting the treasury and the property of the inhabitants.

The circumstances connected with this affair are detailed at length in the following report from the magistrate of Mynpoorie to the secretary of the governor of the North-Western Provinces:—

"May 25th, 1857.

"In the absence of the commissioner of the division, I have the honour to report, for the information of his honour the lieutenant-governor, the details of the mutiny of the three companies of the 9th regiment of native infantry at this station, referred to in my demi-official letters to the lieutenant-governor of the 23rd instant. Late on the night of the 22nd, Munsoor Ali, tehseeldar of Bhowgaon, came in to me and informed me that he had heard positively of the mutiny at the head-quarters of the 9th native infantry at Allygurh, and warned me to beware of the conduct of the companies at this station. I immediately proceeded to Mr. Cocks' house to consult with him, and we first decided on removing the ladies of the station in a shigram, which the tehseeldar of Bhowgaon had brought with him.

"Arrangements being made for their departure, I may here mention that fourteen females, consisting of ladies, sergeants' and writers' wives, with their children (an unlimited number), left the station under the charge of Mr. J. N. Power, the assistant-magistrate, who accompanied them a stage towards Agra, from whence they were escorted by Sheikh Ameenooddeen, a trusty

sowar of my own, as far as Shekobad, from which place I have been glad to hear they have arrived safe in Agra. Mr. Cocks and I then proceeded to the house of Lieutenant Crawford, commanding the station, and this officer agreed directly to take the detachment out of the station and march them to Bhowgaon. After leaving a small guard at the treasury and quarter-guard, which I visited with him, Lieutenant Crawford then left the station, and I then returned to my house, where I found Dr. Watson, the Rev. Mr. Kellner, and Mr. Cocks assembled. This was about four or five in the morning; and I had not retired to rest more than ten minutes before Lieutenant Crawford galloped back to my house, and informed me that his men had broken out into open mutiny, and after refusing to obey him, had fired at him with their muskets. Lieutenant Crawford stated, he had then found it useless to attempt commanding his men, and that he had thought it best to hurry back to Mynpoorie to warn the station, and that he believed Lieutenant De Kantzow was killed. Mr. Cocks and the Rev. Mr. Kellner immediately decided on leaving, and the former tried to induce me to leave also. as I informed him that I did not desire to leave my post, he honoured me by terming my conduct 'romantic,' and immediately departed in company with the Rev. Mr. Kellner. I then left my house, which I had no means of defending, and which I was informed the sepoys meant to attack, and proceeded to the large bridge over the Eesun, on the Grand Trunk road. My brother determined on accompanying me, and to share my fate; and I shall not be accused of favouritism, I hope, when I state that his coolness and determination were of the greatest aid and comfort to me throughout this trying occasion.

"On proceeding to the bridge, I was joined by Dr. Watson, and shortly afterwards by Rao Bhowanee Sing, the first cousin of the rajah of Mynpoorie, with a small force of horse and foot; Sergeants Mitchell, Scott, and Montgomery, of the road and canal departments, and Mr. McGlone, clerk in the Mynpoorie magistrate's office, also joined me at the bridge. I was, at this time, most doubtful of the fate of Mr. De Kantzow; for I had not coincided in Lieutenant Crawford's opinion, that he had been killed, Lieutenant Crawford not having seen him fall; and on this account I was unwilling to leave the position I had taken, though strongly urged to do so. The sepoys returned at this time to the station, having utterly thrown off all control, dragging (as I afterwards learnt) Lieutenant De Kantzow with them. They passed the dâk bungalow, and fired a volley into the house of Sergeant Montgomery (which was close by), the inmates of which had fortunately left, and they then searched the whole house over, with the view of finding money; they also fired at Dr. Watson's house, who had, as I have mentioned, joined me, and they then proceeded to the rear-guard, the magazine of which they broke open, plundering it completely of its contents.

"Lieutenant De Kantzow informed me that the rebels took the whole of the ammunition away, and being unable to carry it themselves, they procured two government camels for that purpose from the lines: each man must have supplied himself with some 300 rounds or more; and an immense quantity of other government stores was taken by them besides. Lieutenant De Kantzow informs me that his life stood in the greatest danger at the rear-guard at this time. The men fired at random, and muskets were levelled at him, but dashed aside by some better-disposed of the infuriated brutes, who remembered, perhaps, even in that moment of madness, the kind and generous disposition of their brave young officer. Lieutenant De Kantzow stood up before his men; he showed the utmost coolness and presence of mind; he urged them to reflect on the lawlessness of their acts, and evinced the utmost indifference of his own life in his zeal to make the sepoys return to their duty. The men turned from the rear-guard to the Cutcherry, dragging Lieutenant De Kantzow with them. They were met at the treasury by my gaol-guard, who were prepared to oppose them and fire on them; but Mr. De Kantzow prevented them from firing, and his order has certainly prevented an immense loss of life.

"A fearful scene here occurred; the sepoys tried to force open the iron gates of the treasury, and were opposed by the gaol-guard and some of the gaol officials; the latter rallied round Mr. De Kantzow, and did their best to assist him; but they, though behaving excellently, were only a handful of twenty or thirty (if so many), and poorly armed, against the infuriated sepoys, who were well and completely armed, and in full force. It is impossible

to describe, accurately, the continuation of the scene of the disturbance at the treasury: left by his superior officer, unaided by the presence of any European, jostled with cruel and insulting violence, buffeted by the hands of men who had received innumerable kindnesses from him, and who had obeyed him but a few hours before with crawling servility, Lieutenant De Kantzow stood for three dreary hours against the rebels at the imminent peril of life. It was not till long after Lieutenant De Kantzow had thus been situated at the treasury that I learnt of his being there. I was anxious, with all my heart, to help him; but was deterred from going by the urgent advice of Rao Bhowanee Sing, who informed me that it was impossible to face the sepoys with the small force at my disposal; and I received, at this time, a brief note from Lieutenant De Kantzow himself, by a trusty emissary I sent to him, desiring me not to come to the treasury, as the sepoys were getting quieted, and that my presence would only make matters worse, as the beasts were yelling for my life. At this time, the most signal service was done by Rao Bhowanee Sing, who went alone to the rebels, volunteering to use his own influence and persuasion to make them retire. It is unnecessary to lengthen the account; Rao Bhowanee Sing succeeded ably in his efforts—drew off, and then accompanied the rebels to the lines; where, after a space of time, they broke open and looted the bells of arms, the quarter-guard carrying off, it is supposed, 6,000 rupees in money, and all the arms, &c., they found of use to them. I had retired, and the Europeans with me, to the rajah of Mynpoorie's fort on the departure of Rao Bhowanee Sing, according to his advice; and shortly after the sepoys left the treasury, Lieutenant De Kantzow joined me, and I again took possession of the Cutcherry. I found, on my return, the whole of the Malkhana looted, the sepoys having helped themselves to swords, iron-bound sticks, &c., which had accumulated during ages past. The staples of the stout iron doors of the treasury had alone given way, but the doors themselves stood firm. My motives in taking up a position at the bridge were, first, that I might keep the high-road open; second, to keep the sepoys from proceeding to the city, and the budmashes of the city from joining the sepoys.

"The effect of the victory (if I may use such a term) over the sepoys, trifling though it may appear, has been of incalculable benefit. It has restored confidence in the city and district, and among the panic-stricken inhabitants; and I hope the safety of the treasure, amounting to three lacs, will prove an advantage, in these troubled times, to government. It is wholly impossible for me duly to praise Lieutenant De Kantzow's meritorious conduct; but I express my earnest hope that it will meet with the approval and award of his honour the lieutenant-governor. Rao Bhowanee Sing's conduct has been deserving in the extreme; I believe he has saved the station and our lives by his coolness and tact, and has supported the ancient character of his race for loyalty to the British government.

"During the insurrection of the sepoys, I was joined by Dumber Sing Resseldar, of the 2nd irregulars, a fine old Rajpoot, who did me right good service; and by Pylad Sing, duffadar of the 8th irregulars. These men guarded the gaol, which the sepoys threatened to break into. Their conduct I beg to bring to the special notice of his honour the lieutenant-governor. These officers have since raised for me a most excellent body of horse, composed chiefly of irregulars, which I have placed under the care of the Resseldar. I append a list of the gaol officials, and others, who have behaved well to Lieutenant De Kantzow, and to whom I have distributed rewards. The mutinous conduct of the 9th native infantry, I consider more infamous than that of any other corps. Their misconduct has been deliberate, and wholly unprovoked; and they have been broken up into four separate bodies, and had the example of no other corps to lead them astray; a few of the men behaved well to Lieutenant De Kantzow, whose letter regarding them I herewith append.

"Previous to the mutiny, they committed several acts of insubordination, which have only now become known. Rajenath Sing, a sepoy of the 20th, and evidently one of the mutineers at Meerut, returned to his village at Jewntee. I sent some police and a naik to seize him; and ten men of the 9th native infantry were ordered out to assist in his apprehension. The sepoys deliberately assisted in the escape of Rajenath Sing, reporting that he had left Jewntee before their arrival. Ramdeen Sing, of the 9th, fired off his musket, loaded with ball, while on guard at the Cutcherry. He was sent to Allygurh under

a guard. The guard released him on the way, and filed off his irons. After the departure of Captain Tonnochy, by orders of the lieutenant-governor, a guard of the 9th was placed over his house, and my brother consented to sleep there for the protection of the ladies. On Mr. Cocks and myself preparing the ladies for their departure, and desiring my brother to accompany them, one of the sepoys proposed to shoot my brother; but another advised his comrade against doing so, remarking, with some consideration, that my brother was merely the Chotta Sahib, and it would be better to slaughter the Burra Sahib, meaning myself. The presence of Dr. Watson with us is a great advantage and comfort, and he is ready to assist us in any way; and I cannot speak too highly of the indefatigable exertions of Sergeants Montgomery, Mitchell, and Scott, and Mr. McGlone. They have helped, by their skill, to fortify the office, and we can easily stand a siege in it."

Upon receipt of the above report, the secretary to the government of India addressed the following note to the secretary to the government of the North-Western Provinces:—

"Fort William, June 15, 1857.

"Sir,—With reference to your letter of the 29th of May, and its inclosure, I am directed to express the admiration of the right honourable the governor-general in council, of the courage and sound judgment shown by Lieutenant De Kantzow, of the 9th native infantry, during the recent mutiny of three companies of that regiment at Mynpoorie. The governor-general in council requests that the honourable the lieutenant-governor of the North-Western Provinces will convey the thanks of government to Lieutenant De Kantzow. His lordship in council is glad to see, by another report received from his honour, that Lieutenant De Kantzow has been placed in command of a special body of police.

"I have, &c.—R. J. H. Birch, Colonel."

A further mark of the high importance attached to the intrepid and judicious behaviour of Lieutenant De Kantzow, appears in the subjoined letter from the governor-general to the young lieutenant of the 9th regiment:—

"Government-house, Calcutta, June 7, 1857.

"My dear Sir,—I have just read, in a report from the magistrate of Mynpoorie, the account of your conduct upon the occasion of the mutiny of a portion of the 9th regiment of native infantry at that station on the 22nd ult. I have read it with an admiration and respect I cannot adequately describe. Young in years, and at the outset of your career, you have given to your brother-soldiers a noble example of courage, patience, good judgment, and temper, from which many may profit. I beg you to believe that it will never be forgotten by me. I write this at once, that there may be no delay in making known to you that your conduct has not been overlooked. You will, of course, receive a more formal acknowledgment through the military department of the government of your admirable service.

"I am, my dear Sir, yours very faithfully,

"Canning."

The following adventure of the young officer has a dash of heroism about it that is well entitled to be remembered. He says, in a letter from Mynpoorie, describing some subsequent operations in which he was concerned—"I was returning from reconnoitring, when information was brought me that five troopers of the 7th light cavalry were coming along the road. An immediate pursuit was of course ordered by me, and my thirty-nine troopers tore away at full speed after me. I was just coming up to them, and had already let drive among the murdering villains, when lo! I came upon 200 of their comrades, all armed with swords and some with carbines. A smart fire was kept up at a distance of not more than twenty-five yards. What could thirty-nine do against 200 regular troopers well-horsed and armed, particularly when walked into by the bullets of a hundred of the infantry? I ordered a retreat, but my cavalry could not get away from troopers mounted upon good stud-bred horses; so we were soon overtaken, and then commenced the shindy in earnest; twelve troopers surrounded me; the first, a Mohammedan priest, I shot through the breast just as he was cutting me down; this was my only pistol, so I was helpless as regards weapons, save my sword; this guarded off a swinging cut given me by No. 2, as also another by No. 3; but the fun could not last. I bitterly mourned not having a couple of revolvers; for I could have shot every man. My sword was cut down, and I got a slash on the head that blinded me; another on the arm, that glanced, and only took a slice off. The third caught me on the side,

but also glanced and hit me sideways. I know not how I escaped. God only knows; as twelve against one were fearful odds, especially as I was mounted on a pony bare back. Escape, however, I did; and after many warm escapes, too numerous to mention, I got back here; fourteen of my brave fellows were killed, four wounded, six missing: total, twenty-four, out of thirty-nine. Good odds, was it not?"

In a second communication, Lieutenant De Kantzow states, that he has been praised by the major-general and the lieutenant-governor of Bengal, and his conduct brought to the notice of the governor-general, who had again expressed his satisfaction with his conduct; and that he had been entrusted with the command of the station of Mynpoorie, and the remains of three native regiments collected there.

The following extract from a private letter, dated Mynpoorie, May 26th, also refers to the mutinous conduct of the detachment, and to the very narrow escape of the females and children at the station:—

"We had three companies of the 9th native infantry regiment here. On the evening of the 23rd we received intelligence of the mutiny of their head-quarters at Allygurh; but whether the men here knew it or not, is a secret as yet undiscovered. At a council of war, at which I was not present, it was resolved to send all the ladies and children to the fort in Agra, and meanwhile to march the men at once out of the station. This was done; but after marching out a few miles, they refused to go any further, fired on their officers, and came back to the station about five in the morning, just as the last of the ladies left for Agra. We got on our horses and divided; part rode for Agra, and part for the fort of the rajah of Mynpoorie. In about two hours the mutineers, having killed no one, and only plundered their own regimental treasury, left for Allygurh, and we in the fort at once returned to the Cutcherry, where we intend to remain. We are hourly expecting a mutiny at Futteghur, forty miles off; but as yet the men there have kept in their lines."

CHAPTER VIII.

REPORT OF THE LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR OF THE NORTH-WEST PROVINCES; PROCLAMATION OF CONDITIONAL PARDON; ITS SUPPRESSION BY THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL; OFFICIAL AND APOLOGETIC CORRESPONDENCE; STRICTURES OF THE INDIAN PRESS; THE AFFAIRS OF OUDE; ARRIVAL OF THE QUEEN-MOTHER AND PRINCES IN ENGLAND; TORTURE IN INDIA.

CONTINUING the narrative of events connected with the sepoy revolt, we find that, on the 22nd of May, the lieutenant-governor of the North-Western Provinces of Bengal, transmitted to his excellency the governor-general an official detail of the occurrences at Meerut and Delhi on the 10th and 11th of the month, with observations upon the state of the adjacent districts since those dates; in the course of which he represented, that the collector and his deputy at Goorgaon had abandoned their station, in consequence of the menacing behaviour of the contingent troops at that place; and he proceeded to observe—"The lieutenant-governor regrets the determination to quit the station on Mr. Ford's part, because he does not doubt that the best mode, especially in India, of staying violent outbursts against authority of this kind, is to remain at the post to the last, even at the direct risk of life. Withdrawal from a post, except under immediate attack and irresistible compulsion, at once destroys all authority, which, in our civil administration, in its strength is respected, if exercised only by a chuprassy; while, in the event of any general resistance, accompanied by a defection of our military force, it has in truth no solid foundation to rest upon: but the lieutenant-governor has not thought it necessary, on this account, after such alarmingly emergent circumstances as had occurred at Delhi, to censure Mr. Ford for the course which he adopted." The report further stated, that a great deal of excitement had occurred at *Agra;* and proceeds thus:—"I held a parade of the troops on

the morning of Wednesday, the 13th instant; and spoke to them, plainly and fully, on the subject of the gross delusions that have so widely prevailed regarding the intention of the government to meddle with their religious feelings or habits. I offered to any of them to take their discharge, if they were not satisfied with my explicit explanations and assurances. They all, at the moment, expressed their belief of my communications to them; and I have seen them, in a familiar way, on several occasions since. They have undoubtedly been infected by a deep distrust of our purposes. The general scope of the notion by which they have been influenced, may be expressed in the remarks of one of them, a Hindoo, Tewarree Brahmin—to the effect, that men were created of different faiths; and that the notion attributed to us, of having but one religion because we had now but one uninterrupted dominion throughout India, was a tyrannical and impious one."* The lieutenant-governor then observes—"Measures have been taken to strengthen the fort, and to place in it some considerable amount of supplies: but it is not by shutting ourselves in forts in India, that our power can be upheld; and I will decidedly oppose myself to any proposal for throwing the European force into the fort, excepting in the very last extremity. I need only add, that no effort in my power has been, or shall be wanting, which shall contribute to support the public tranquillity, or to restore the full exercise of the authority of the civil government."

Whatever advantage might have resulted from the judicious measures adopted by the lieutenant-governor of the North-Western Provinces on the 14th of May, and from his proclamations of the 18th, it appears certain, that the good effect of the whole was at least neutralised by a proclamation issued by him on the 25th of the same month, which met with the unqualified disapprobation of the government, and was immediately, as effectually as possible, suppressed. How far the chagrin occasioned by this unfortunate error may have tended to accelerate the progress of a disease that shortly afterwards eventuated in Mr. Colvin's death, could only be known to him who is now beyond the reach of human censure. The proclamation referred to was couched in the following terms:—

"PROCLAMATION.—All soldiers engaged in the late disturbances who are desirous of going to their homes, and who give up their arms at the nearest civil or military government post, and retire quietly, shall be permitted to do so unmolested. Many faithful soldiers have been drawn into resistance to government only because they were in the ranks and could not escape from them, or because they really thought their feelings of religion and honour injured by the measures of government. This feeling was wholly a mistake, but it rested on men's minds. A proclamation now issued by the governor-general in council† is perfectly explicit, and will remove all doubts on this point. Only evil-minded instigators of the disturbances, and those guilty of heinous crimes against private persons, shall be punished. All those who appear in arms against the government, after this proclamation is known, shall be treated as open enemies."

On the same day (May 25th), the lieutenant-governor telegraphed this proclamation to the governor-general in council, grounding the measure upon his conviction that the existing mutiny "was not one to be put down by indiscriminating high-horsed authority;" and that it was essential to give a favourable turn to the feelings of the sepoys who had not yet entered the lists against the government. Mr. Colvin further stated, that he had taken the grave responsibility of issuing, on his own authority, the proclamation transmitted; and concluded by "earnestly soliciting the confirmation of the act."

This message had no sooner reached the seat of government, than the most unequivocal disapprobation was expressed in every quarter; and early on the 26th, the following order to arrest its issue and prevent its further circulation, was telegraphed to Agra:—

"Your message and proclamation have been received: use every possible means to stop the circulation of the proclamation, and send word immediately how far this can be done, and at what distance from Agra it has already become known. Has it reached Delhi? Do everything to stop its operation, except in the cases of any who may already have taken advantage of it. The proclamation is not approved; and the embarrassment in which it will place the government and the commander-in-chief, will be very great."—The reply of the lieutenant-governor to this message, expressed a fear that the proclamation was past recalling; and, at the same time, his confidence that it had already done much good among the troops to whom it had been made known. Lord Canning, however, held to

* Parl. Papers, Session 1857.

† See *ante*, p. 118.

his own view of its pernicious effect; and, on the 27th of May, superseded it by the following proclamation:—

"The governor-general of India in council, considers that the proclamation issued at Agra on the 25th instant, and addressed to those soldiers who have been engaged in the late disturbances, might be so interpreted as to lead many who have been guilty of the most atrocious crimes, to expect that they will be allowed to escape unpunished. Therefore, to avoid all risk of such misinterpretation, that proclamation is annulled by the governor-general in council, who declares as follows:—Every soldier of a regiment which, although it has deserted its post, has not committed outrages, will receive a free pardon if he immediately deliver up his arms to the civil or military authority, and if no heinous crimes be shown to have been perpetrated by himself personally. This offer of a free and unconditional pardon cannot be extended to those regiments which have killed or wounded their officers or other persons, or which have been concerned in the commission of cruel outrages. The men of such regiments must submit themselves unconditionally to the authority and justice of the government of India. All who, before the promulgation of this present proclamation, may have availed themselves of the offer contained in the proclamation issued at Agra on the 25th instant, will enjoy the full and unreserved benefit thereof."

The lieutenant-governor of the North-Western Provinces was directed to have the foregoing document translated, and widely circulated, with all possible speed. He was instructed to spare no expense to get it conveyed within the walls of Delhi; and to inform the commander-in-chief when he had done so. This injunction produced from Mr. Colvin the following note to the governor-general, dated Agra, May 28th:—

"I assure you most earnestly and honestly, that my proclamation is thoroughly understood here exactly. The sense of yours is certainly better, and more explicit words. My time is torn by a thousand distractions, and I cannot always frame my words perfectly as I could wish; but I repeat, that the sense of this is just as you yourself would desire. Under the present circumstances here, openly to undo my public act where really no substantial change is made, would fatally shake my power for good; and I say it truly, that on me everything here depends. I propose, therefore, as communication with Meerut is no more open, to send the commander-in-chief, as more clearly explanatory of the purport of my proclamation, the passage of yours beginning, 'every soldier of a regiment,' &c., down to the 'authority and justice of the government of India.' This explanation, which only shows more clearly the meaning of my notification, can be added on the spot, by the commander-in-chief, with good effect; while the current of feeling here would not be disturbed. Not a man in Delhi is likely to act on my notification before the commander-in-chief is close to it. Therefore there will be but one consistent act at Delhi. Here, I cannot too strongly insist that nothing more be said or done in the matter. I give my honour, that there is not the least chance of our clear good faith being brought in question by the course which I propose; while to discredit me is, I feel, ruin to our great cause."

The sensitiveness and the arguments of the lieutenant-governor, were alike ineffectual to shake the opinion entertained at the council-board in Calcutta; and on the 29th, the governor-general wrote to him thus:—"Your message regarding the proclamation is received. It is necessary there should be no mistake at Delhi, when the commander-in-chief arrives there, as to the meaning of government. Your proclamation, however it may be understood at Agra, will not express the meaning of government to those in Delhi. The question is not one of words, but of substance. The government cannot offer pardon to the murderers of its officers; and your proclamation does this. A proclamation of the supreme government is herewith sent to you. It is to be conveyed, together with the message which precedes it, to the commander-in-chief as quickly as possible from Agra. It will also be forwarded to him by way of Cawnpore and Futteghur."

At the same time, the following message was transmitted to Major-general Sir H. Wheler at Cawnpore, with instructions to transmit it, with all possible dispatch, to the commander-in-chief:—"The proclamation of the lieutenant-governor, issued on the 25th instant, offers means of escape to the men who murdered their officers. This must not be. Therefore, the following proclamation, by the governor-general in council, is to be issued by you upon your arrival at Delhi. It will then supersede the proclamation of the lieutenant-governor. It is not issued at once in the North-Western Provinces, in order that the authority of the local government may not be weakened at a critical moment; and it will be for you, in any proclamation which you may

think necessary to issue yourself, to specify the regiments which come under the free pardon."

The proclamation sent with the above message, was the same in effect as that forwarded to Mr. Colvin on the 27th of May. Simultaneously with this message to the commander-in-chief, the following lengthened communication was forwarded, by the secretary to the government of India, to the secretary to the government of the North-Western Provinces:—

"Fort William, May 29th, 1857.

"Sir,—I am directed by the right honourable the governor-general in council to communicate to you, for the information of the honourable the lieutenant-governor of the North-Western Provinces, the following remarks of the government of India on the proclamation issued by his honour on the 25th ultimo. The proclamation issued by the lieutenant-governor of the North-Western provinces, on the 25th instant, is open to grave objection. By the first clause, it allows all 'soldiers engaged in the late disturbances,' who gave up their arms, to go to their homes unmolested. By the third clause, the operation of the first is limited, in so far that it is declared, that 'every evil-minded instigator in the disturbances, and those guilty of heinous crimes against private persons, shall be punished;' but it is expressly said that only these shall be punished. In the course of these disturbances, officers have been killed by their own men, or by the men of other regiments; and it is known that two regiments have made themselves especially infamous by such traitorous and murderous acts.

"It cannot have been intended by the lieutenant-governor that the sepoys who participated in the murder of officers should escape punishment; yet it is at least doubtful whether, under the proclamation, they are not entitled to go free, as soon as their arms have been delivered up; and certainly their liberty could not be refused to them unless the term 'private persons' (crimes against whom are the only crimes denounced) be interpreted as including officers engaged in commanding their men. To stretch interpretations on the side of severity, in a matter affecting the lives of men, is not a right course; and it is especially necessary, in the case of a proclamation of pardon, to avoid even the appearance of straining the plain meaning of such a proclamation, in order to take the lives of any persons who have surrendered upon the faith of it. But furthermore, upon any interpretation of this proclamation, the whole burden of proof that a mutineer has been guilty of the crimes selected for punishment, is, by this proclamation, thrown upon the government. It is not impossible that government may be unable to prove one of these punishable crimes against any of those who surrender; and as the officer of government to whom the sepoy may present himself to deliver up his arms cannot be expected to have any knowledge of the man's conduct, it is difficult to see how there can be any investigation whatever, even in the cases of the men known to belong to the regiments by which the worst outrages have been committed.

"No power is reserved to detain a sepoy for the purpose of inquiring into his conduct before conceding to him permission to seek his home unmolested; and though this power might possibly be assumed in the case of individuals against whom suspicion should arise, it would be nothing less than a snare to use it against all the men of a particular regiment, without having given notice of the intention to do so. There is, then, no reason why, with this proclamation in his hand, every sepoy of the 20th or 38th regiments should not leave Delhi, present himself at the nearest civil or military post, and claim of right to go free. In whatever sense the proclamation may be understood by the lieutenant-governor of the North-Western Provinces, no action can hereafter be taken under it which shall put the good faith of the government of India above suspicion, except such as would allow of the unimpeded escape of men who have murdered their officers. This would be a heavy and lasting reproach to the government of India, and a severe blow to the future discipline of the army. On this account, it is unavoidable that the proclamation should be cancelled or superseded with as little delay as possible.

"But the lieutenant-governor of the North-Western Provinces has earnestly deprecated this course, as one which would weaken his power and discredit his authority. Seeing the difficulties with which the local government at Agra has to deal, there is force in this appeal. Absolutely to annul an offer of pardon made, however unauthorised, by so high an authority as the lieutenant-governor of Agra, might

have a dangerous effect at this crisis; and in the present aspect of affairs, the governor-general in council does not fail to see the advantages, as tending to hasten the suppression of the rebellion, and the punishment of the more heinous criminals, of the offer of a large measure of mercy to that portion of the mutineers, who, under any circumstances, if they were now to submit, would be leniently dealt with. The number of men who have committed themselves to the rebellion, puts the punishment of all quite out of the question. Moreover, the immediate revocation of the terms on which pardon has been offered, and the substitution, before there had been time to take advantage of such terms, of others less favourable, could not fail to increase the mistrust and fear which has possessed the minds of the sepoys in the North-Western Provinces who are still in the performance of their duty. It is therefore resolved, that the proclamation of the lieutenant-governor shall not be set aside until the commander-in-chief, now advancing upon Delhi, shall approach the city, when his excellency will be instructed to issue the following proclamation, in the name of the governor-general in council."*

"The governor-general in council cannot conclude his remarks upon this subject without an expression of his regret, that the honourable the lieutenant-governor should, without necessity for any extreme haste, have taken the step of issuing a proclamation of this grave character, affecting the reputation of government in every part of India, and the discipline of the Bengal army, without previous reference to him. The consequences have been very embarrassing. When the proclamation was issued, his honour had, a few hours before, received a telegraphic despatch, showing that the general views of the governor-general respecting the treatment of the mutineers, were such as to be wholly irreconcilable with the spirit of the lieutenant-governor's proclamation. Against these views, as being, in his opinion, too severe for the existing position of affairs, he remonstrated in a telegraphic despatch, to which, in ordinary course, his honour might have expected an answer in a very few hours.

"The governor-general in council is unable to concur with the lieutenant-governor, in thinking that the terms of his proclamation are substantially consistent with the views expressed in that answer; and however that may be, the proclamation was issued without awaiting that answer. It would not have caused a delay of more than twenty-four or thirty-six hours, to have referred the proposed proclamation in terms to the government of India, to which authority, in ordinary course, the decision of such an important military question belonged; and as the main object of the measure was to work upon the mutineers at Delhi, even if circumstances had been such as to render the delay of a telegraphic reference to the governor-general in council inadmissible, the commander-in-chief, then on his march to that city, was the subordinate authority to whom the responsibility of ceding in the matter, without the order of government, should naturally have fallen. The point is one of so much importance, that his lordship in council feels it necessary to explain himself to the lieutenant-governor thus fully upon it; but he makes every allowance for the great difficulties of his honour's position; and he is assured that his honour acted as he judged best for the public interests in a time of danger.—I have, &c.,

"R. J. H. Birch, Colonel."

Previous to the arrival of this severe criticism and unqualified reproof, the lieutenant-governor had again addressed the secretary to the government at Calcutta, justifying the language of his unfortunate proclamation, which he still considered had been misunderstood at the seat of government; and in this communication, also, of the 31st of May, he says—"I thank you for the consideration shown me by the mode of proceeding now adopted [evidently referring to the arrangement by which the corrected proclamation was not to be issued by the commander-in-chief until after his arrival at Delhi.] The proclamation by the governor-general in council shall be sent on at once. I have already acted on my proposal contained in my message of the 28th, and forwarded to him, *verbatim*, the explanatory message of your former order, as indicated in my former message. I beg, however, in justice to myself, to say, that my proclamation certainly offers no pardon to soldiers who have murdered and injured their officers: the meaning of my proclamation in this point has been wholly mistaken. The words, 'that those guilty of

* The proclamation is, in words and substance, the same as that forwarded to the lieutenant-governor on the 27th of May.—See *ante*, p. 138.

heinous crimes against private persons shall be punished,' were meant expressly to include crimes against officers as well as against all other persons; in fact, crimes against every subject of the government. The word 'private' was used to mark the distinction between mere resistance to public authority and the commission of acts against lives or persons of individuals. It could not be for a moment supposed, that an attack by soldiers on their officers was to be held less subject to punishment than attacks upon the subjects generally of the state. All such attacks were included in one class, and punishment denounced against them all. A better word than 'private' might have been used; but the true sense was, I submit, such as I have stated. It pains me much that such a construction should have been put upon the word; and I beg to be allowed to take out from the message to the commander-in-chief the following words; viz.—'The proclamation of the lieutenant-governor offers means of escape to the men who murdered their officers.' God forbid that I should ever have done this! The word in the Oordoo proclamation gives the genuine sense of all subjects of the government, as being intended by the 'private persons.' I never dreamt for a moment that any other meaning could be given to it: at the same time, I express my deep regret that I should have used words which, in the sense placed upon them in Calcutta, shows them to be ill-chosen and improper. My apology is due for this, and I make it."

To this explanatory and apologetic note of the lieutenant-governor, the following curt reply was immediately telegraphed from the governor-general, and dated May 31st:—

"I beg you to send my message to the commander-in-chief at once, without curtailing it. The question is not what was *meant* by the proclamation, but what is *said* by it. It is not the use of the word 'private' alone which will enable the greatest criminals to escape. The proclamation promises liberty to every man who delivers up his arms, unless he is an instigator of disturbance, or guilty of heinous crimes against private persons; but it throws the burden of proof upon the authority to whom the arms are given up; and every man of the regiments which are believed to have murdered their officers, may, with this proclamation in his hand, claim his discharge unmolested, unless proof is ready against him individually, which is not possible: a discharge could not be refused to him without a breach of faith. To refuse it to all the men of particular regiments, without notice to that effect, and after they surrendered, would be monstrous; and yet if this is not done, every man of the 20th and 38th may claim his pardon under the proclamation. I am sure that this was not intended, but it is not the less the fact; and my opinion, as expressed to the commander-in-chief, remains unchanged."*

While this unpleasant correspondence was yet pending between the head of the Indian government and one of its most responsible servants, public opinion found expression, in no measured terms, deprecatory of the tone of Mr. Colvin's proclamation of the 25th of May. That the precise language of that document was at the moment unfortunate—as being open to a charge of ambiguity, when the most positive and clear definition of the meaning of government in relation to the question of pardon for the less guilty of the mutineers was imperatively necessary—there can be no doubt; but it may be now fairly questioned whether, after all, the single error of Mr. Colvin's political life was so heinous as to justify the severe condemnation passed upon him tacitly by his superiors at the council-board, and positively by that great exponent of popular (and sometimes *private*) opinion —the press. He became instantaneously, as it were, an object of hostility, and his proclamation was criticised with unsparing severity. Condemned alike for the intention, and for the act by which it was sought to be carried into effect, Mr. Colvin suddenly found himself and his policy the objects of popular displeasure; while in addition to the natural feeling of disappointment occasioned by the failure of his purpose, he was exposed to the mortification of having an important public act of his administration censured and superseded by the government. It was not therefore surprising, that with health enfeebled by a long residence in India, with the weight of anxiety inseparable from the position he held at the outbreak of the mutiny, and under the mortifications to which he was exposed through the proclamation of the 25th of May, that his strength should fail him in the struggle, and that the regrets of his perhaps too hasty and uncompromising colleagues in the government of India, should have been uselessly pronounced over his grave.

* Parl. Papers, Session 1857.

The following is a mild sample of the tone adopted by the Indian press in reference to the proclamation. Under the title of "Bounty for Crime," the *Friend of India*, of May, 1857, observes thus:—"Mr. Colvin, the lieutenant-governor of the North-West Provinces, has issued an address which we print elsewhere. Mr. Colvin proceeds upon the supposition, that men who have been born and bred as soldiers, whose very parents and brothers are now perhaps enjoying pensions (the fruit of long and honourable service), will, after having completely ignored the daily bounties of their rulers, become repentant at the sight of a few words read aloud, perhaps jeeringly, by one of their comrades. He seems to have an idea that Asiatics place faith in words, that they think that the organs of speech were given them otherwise than for the purposes of deceit. But the proclamation does not even effect that for which it was apparently intended. If none of the guilty are to be punished, how can there be any retribution? Many will plead that they never saw the notification, that they had no means of seeing it, that the leaders of the mutiny burnt all that fell into their hands, and threatened to shoot all those who concealed them. How can these men be punished? If mercy dictated the last act of Mr. Colvin, how does it effect its object? We feel utterly unable to fathom the motives which could lead to the promulgation of such an address as that of Mr. Colvin to the mutineers. What opinion can we form of a man who, in the midst of the disturbed districts, whose mind must be filled with all the horrors perpetrated in the recent revolt, could calmly sit down and write an edict virtually pardoning the murderers of his own nation, perhaps even of his own friends? It has long been a subject of complaint that our government is formidable only to the petty villain; it awards punishment for thefts, whilst murders, so that the murderers be numerous, go unpunished. We require a little of the old Roman spirit, which disdained to treat with a victorious enemy, and at the time of its greatest inferiority threatened punishment. Neither trouble nor treasure are of any moment when compared with the extermination of those men who have dared to break their allegiance, and have consummated their treachery with the pangs of helpless women and children. A fitting climax! Scenes in real life are often tragedies, but they are tragedies which generally punish the guilty; the curtain seldom drops leaving a villain prosperous in his wickedness. The horrible often borders upon the grotesque; but we think that even Mr. Colvin will see that this is not a time for philanthropic minutes, or for dexterous strokes of policy purchased at too dear a rate. There are men who know when to be clement and when to be severe, when the dictates of mercy ought to bow before the requirements of justice. Mr. Colvin has shown himself not to be one of these. His threats seem to proclaim that his mercy wears the garb of expediency."

An article in the *Homeward Mail* of July, 1857, descanting on the same proclamation, says—"There is sometimes tendered to a man a supreme test, on the issue of which the world judges all his after-life. Such an event has happened in the case of Mr. Colvin, the lieutenant-governor of the North-West Provinces, and we are grieved to say that he has fallen far below public expectation. Under the influence of a feeling which reason cannot justify nor common sense fathom, he issued the proclamation of the 25th of May, by the tenor of which, it will be seen, that nothing less than a complete amnesty is promised to the rebels, on the sole condition that they will consent to do no more mischief. No class of offender is exempted from this act of grace. The instigators of the mutiny, as well as its victims; the truculent wretches who find their fitting vocation in murder and robbery, as well as the poor fools who have not the strength of mind to resist temptation, are equally cared for. The rebels might have one grand carouse after reading the proclamation; one glorious night, in which they could recount their deeds of unchecked villany, and concert schemes of future violence; and then, having shared the plunder of the treasuries and the bank, they would have but to shoulder their muskets, lay them at the feet of Mr. Colvin, and depart to their homes in peace.

"There are no words to express such folly—no terror inspired by the vicinity of the rebels so great as that which is naturally felt in contemplating the rule of Mr. Colvin. He has destroyed in a day the reputation of a lifetime; and we have to thank wiser heads and bolder hearts, that his policy has not worked to the dishonour of government and the Anglo-Saxon race. Instructions, we believe, have been sent to



the chief military authority, to consider the proclamation as waste paper, except where its promises have been relied on in such a way as to render them clearly binding. The folly of the rebels will have hindered them from taking advantage of the loop-holes thus amiably made for them; but wherever a villain escapes the punishment of his crimes, the probability is, that justice will be defrauded through the agency of Mr. Colvin."

The affairs of the kingdom of Oude have been so intimately connected with the progress, if they did not actually supply the only solid grounds upon which the Bengal mutinies were based, that it becomes necessary to diverge for a moment from the continuous stream of events, and take a retrospective glance at the circumstances attending its extinction as an independent state, and the existing dissatisfaction of its people.

The territory originally comprised in the dominions of the nawab of Oude, extended 200 miles in length, and 120 in breadth, covering an area of 24,000 square miles, with a population estimated at from three and a-half to five millions. Its ancient capital was called Ayodhya; for ages famous in the traditionary lore of the Hindoos as the dwelling-place of Desaratha, the father of the god Rama. The magnitude of the city is still attested by the wide extent of its ruins; but it now possesses little importance beyond that which attaches to any favourite resort of pilgrims. Lucknow, the modern capital, is situated on the Goomty, a tributary of the Ganges, and is about 174 miles north-west of Benares, and 619 miles from Calcutta. The city, in 1856, had an imposing external appearance, and contained many noble edifices, though most of its streets were close and exceedingly filthy, especially those inhabited by the poorer sort of the people, which are mostly ten or twelve feet below the surface of the ground. Lucknow attained the meridian of its prosperity about the commencement of the present century, when its population was estimated at 300,000. The palace built by Asoph-ud-Dowlah, in 1776, was long considered one of the finest edifices in India. The tomb of that prince, called Imam-barah, was also an elaborate specimen of architectural beauty.

The political connection of the East India Company with the affairs of Oude commenced in 1764, after a battle near Buxar, with the troops of the emperor Shah Alum, commanded by Shuja Dowlah, the vizier of the Mogul, and nabob of Oude, whose tyrannical authority over his superior lord had been such, that upon his discomfiture by the English forces under Major Munro, the emperor took advantage of the retreat of his vizier, to place himself under the protection of the English commander. The emperor was received as an ally, and the territory of his vizier was seized by him as feudal lord. Circumstances subsequently occurred, that rendered it desirable, for political reasons, that Shuja Dowlah should be reinstated in his possessions, subject to certain conditions; and he consequently resumed the government, which continued to be held by his successors, as nawabs of Oude, until the close of the 18th century, when Sadut Ali, the reigning prince, was compelled, by the rebellious conduct of his troops, to place himself in the hands of the Company for protection. By the interposition of the Marquis Wellesley, then governor-general, the difficulties between the nawab and his army were speedily removed, and the leader of the insurrectionary force was delivered over to the British government, and detained a prisoner, first in Fort William, and afterwards at Vellore, where he died. The army of Oude was then disbanded, and the nawab expressed his desire to resign a position he found full of danger and anxiety. The conditions on which he proposed to relinquish the government, were, however, rejected; and it was deemed necessary, for the peace of the country and the safety of neighbouring states, that the late army should be replaced by a European force of 13,000 men, in return for which, by a treaty with the nawab in 1801, the provinces of the Doab and Rohilcund were ceded in perpetuity to the Company, the gross revenues of the territory so relinquished, amounting to one crore, thirty-five lacs, and 23,474 rupees.

Sadut Ali, thus protected by the English, continued upon the musnud until his death in 1814, when he was succeeded by his son, Ghazee-ood-Deen, who, in 1819, was encouraged by the Marquis of Hastings, then governor-general, to assume the royal title, and renounce the nominal allegiance he owed to the Mogul, whose influence it was intended to check by the creation of a rival independent sovereignty.

The internal administration of Oude ap-

pears to have been in a disorganised state prior to the commencement of the present century, and the decline of the kingdom became a frequent subject of earnest consideration on the part of the Company's government. In the reign of the second king, Nusseer-ood-Deen, the English resident at the court of Oude reported, "that the country had reached so incurable a stage of decline, that nothing but the assumption of the administration of its affairs by the Company, could preserve it from utter ruin." The details forwarded to Calcutta at this juncture by Mr. (afterwards Sir Herbert) Maddock, were so serious, that Lord William Bentinck determined to satisfy himself of their accuracy, and accordingly visited the court of Oude in 1829. The result of his lordship's personal observation was such, that the king was informed, that unless his territories were thenceforth governed upon other principles than those in operation, and the prosperity of the people be made a principal object of his administration, the precedents for interference afforded by the principalities of the Deccan, the Carnatic, and Tanjore, would be applied to the kingdom of Oude, and to the entire management of the resources of the country, and that the sovereign would be thenceforth considered a pensioner of the honourable Company. A period of transient improvement followed this warning, and the threatened annexation was for a time averted.

Upon the death of Nusseer-ood-Deen, a pretender to the throne was supported by the widow of the deceased king; but as his title was not recognised by the British authorities as valid, he was speedily put down; and, under their auspices, the crown of Oude was placed on the head of Mohammed Ali. A new treaty was proposed between the Company and the king, which entailed upon the latter the necessity for maintaining an increased military force; but the court of directors refused to sanction it, as being opposed to the spirit of the treaty of 1801, when the maintenance of the contingent was provided for by the cession of certain districts. By the 6th article of that treaty, it was stipulated, that "if his majesty should neglect to attend to the advice and counsel of the British government, or its local representative; or if (which God forbid!) gross and systematic oppression, anarchy, and misrule should hereafter at any time prevail within the Oude dominions, such as seriously to endanger the public tranquillity, the British government reserves to itself the right of appointing its own officers to the management of whatever portion of the Oude territory—either to a small or great extent—in which such misrule as that above alluded to may have occurred, for so long a period as it may deem necessary." The court of Lucknow, by some oversight or neglect, was not apprised of the refusal of the Company to recognise the treaty proposed by Mohammed Ali; and thus arose the greatest difficulty in the way of the subsequent annexation. Upon the death of Mohammed Ali in 1842, he was succeeded by his son, Mohammed Wurjud Ali, whose misgovernment even surpassed that of his predecessors in entailing misery upon the country. The present ex-king of Oude, Wajid Ali Shah, succeeded to the throne in 1847; and the effect of his administration may be gathered from the facts represented by his minister to General Outram, then British resident at Lucknow—namely, "that the revenues of the kingdom could not be collected; that the troops were unable to coerce the landholders to pay their land-tax; that the pay of the army was several months in arrear; and that, for want of means, when the troops were sent upon an expedition against the refractory landholders, no commissariat arrangements were thought of; and each man provided for himself as best he could, by plundering the inhabitants: if encamped, they found shelter for themselves by stripping off the roofs of the adjacent villages; the villagers themselves were forcibly seized, and compelled to carry the soldiers' bundles and kits." In addition to this military oppression, the people were ground to the earth by the collectors of taxes, which were gathered by contract, and whole districts were assigned to the highest bidder. An extensive system of bribery was associated with that of the collection; and consequently, the *amils*, or contractors, extorted immoderate sums in excess of the amount to be paid into the royal treasury: resistance, and frequently bloodshed, followed every attempt at collecting the taxes; and it was not at all a rare occurrence for a man to be beaten to death by order of the collector, in expectation of extorting money. Among other cruelties perpetrated under this system of lawless oppression, fathers have been compelled to sell their children, that the exac-

tions of the tax-gatherer might be satisfied. Again, it was represented "that not a day passed without an affray among the people, which the government was without power to suppress. Thuggee flourished more rankly in Oude than in any other part of India. Many villages were inhabited exclusively by avowed and professional thieves (*Dacoits*); and the population of two, in particular, were given—namely, Surajpore, 9,000, hereditary robbers; Pipar, 4,000, of the same class." In 1854, 212 cases of Dacoite were reported; in which 128 villages were burnt and plundered, 454 persons forcibly carried away, and 1,391 were killed and wounded; in a period of seven years, terminating at that date, 547 villages had been destroyed, 1,488 persons made prisoners, and 11,014 had been killed and wounded; while men guilty of any atrocious crimes in the Company's territories had only to flee into Oude, where they immediately ensured protection by entering the service of a zemindar, or landholder. Under such circumstances, it was not wonderful that the cultivators of the land should seek service in the Company's armies, rather than remain to endure the oppression they were exposed to by the neglect of their own government.

On the accession of Wajid Ali Shah, in 1847, the treasury contained nearly £1,200,000 sterling, which in less than five years had diminished to £75,000; this sum also disappeared in two months, with £200,000 anticipated from the revenue of the following year; while the payments to the stipendiary members and dependents of the royal household, or in the nominal service of the king, amounting to 135,000 persons, had fallen into arrear, to the amount of more than half a million.

The conduct of the king was reported by Colonel Sleeman, immediately after his accession, as "frivolous and sensual in the extreme;" and in the autumn of that year (1847), Lord Hardinge, then governor-general, felt himself constrained to proceed to Lucknow, and address a final and solemn warning to his majesty. By order of the court of directors, two years were offered as a period of probation, at the expiration of which, if no improvement should take place in the management of the kingdom, the condition of the people, and the personal conduct of the sovereign, his majesty was informed, the consequence would be the direct assumption of the government by the Company. Lord Hardinge was succeeded by the Earl of Dalhousie as governor-general in 1848, but no change in the administration of Oude took place, and the period of grace was extended two years further. At the expiration of that time, Colonel Sleeman reported to the governor-general as follows:—"His majesty has not in any way changed his course. He continues to show the same utter disregard to his duties and the responsibilities of his high office, and of the sufferings of many millions of those subject to his rule. His time and attention are devoted entirely to the pursuits of personal gratification: he associates with none but those who can contribute to such gratification—namely, women, singers, and eunuchs. Dressed in female attire, Wajid Ali Shah enters into rivalry with nautch girls, or trifles in his garden with swarms of beautiful women, dressed in transparant gauze, with wings fastened to their shoulders, in imitation of the Houris of the Mohammedan paradise. He never, I believe, reads, or hears read, a report or complaint, or public document of any kind. He takes no interest whatever in public affairs, nor does he seem to know or to care anything about them."

Notwithstanding the urgent necessity that existed for interference, the first step was yet delayed, although it was felt to be imperative that it must eventually be taken, on the mere ground of humanity towards five millions of people. The impediments placed in the way of extensive and important internal changes, by the occurrence of the second Burmese war, were at length removed; and Lord Dalhousie, with the advice of his council, prepared to act in the affairs of Oude. His lordship was fully aware that the overthrow of the reigning dynasty could be effected by simply withdrawing the British contingent; but he was, reluctant to take a course which would have brought upon Oude all the horrors of revolutionary warfare. Freed from the restraint imposed by British troops, every powerful talookdar would have sought to establish an independent state of his own; and the inevitable result would have been an internecine "war of the barons," and unutterable misery to the cultivators of the soil. He wisely, therefore, adopted a more active and energetic policy.

At length, on the morning of the 4th of February, 1856, the British resident, Major-general Outram, proceeded to the palace,

and, having obtained an audience of the king after some explanation, tendered for his majesty's signature a treaty, by which he resigned into the hands of the East India Company the exclusive government of his territories, in return for which a princely income was offered, with sundry privileges and immunities. After carefully reading the document, the king gave way to a passionate burst of grief; and as no argument could prevail on him to sign the treaty, the resident closed a long and painful interview by declaring, that he had no alternative but to inform his majesty, that his instructions were to assume the government at the expiration of three days.

At the end of that period—namely, on the 8th of February—a proclamation was issued, announcing to the people of Oude that they must thenceforth consider themselves subjects of the British government. By a well-concerted arrangement, the army of the king was disbanded without tumult or difficulty; the best men were draughted into the Company's service, and liberal allowances were made to the others, and to persons in the civil employment of the Oude government. The system of administration introduced was founded on that which had acted well in the Punjab; and Major-general Outram was appointed the first commissioner of the territory of Oude. A fair and moderate assessment of taxes was made; justice was administered to the people, and confidence was restored to the cultivators of the soil.

By the act of annexation the ex-king was secured an income of £120,000 per annum; which would have been increased to £150,000, had he consented to sign the treaty. A palace was assigned to him in Lucknow, and two spacious parks were set apart for his enjoyment, within the limits of which he could exercise exclusive jurisdiction, but without the power to inflict capital punishment.

It is to be observed, that, in former times, the rulers of Oude had, on emergencies, advanced considerable sums to the company, the whole of which had been returned with the exception of about two millions sterling. This balance the king was induced to claim as private property; but the court of directors, considering that the money was originally advanced from the public revenues, resolved to apply it to public purposes, and consequently disallowed the claim.

On the 10th of January, 1857, a return, ordered by the House of Commons, was published, containing a copy of a letter addressed by the court of directors of the East India Company to the governor-general of India in council, on the 10th of December, 1856, relative to the assumption of the government of Oude, and the introduction into that country of a system of administration superintended by British officers. The letter commences with congratulatory expressions upon the fact, that "an expanse of territory embracing an area of nearly 25,000 square miles, and containing 5,000,000 of inhabitants, has passed from its native prince to the Queen of England without the expenditure of a drop of blood, and almost without a murmur." The directors proceed to notice the circumstances attending the king's refusal to accept the new treaty, and then to consider the question of his future stipend. They then determined upon the following arrangement:—By the withdrawal of the additional grant of three lacs of rupees for the maintenance of the palace guards, and by the limitation of the titular sovereignty to the present king, the warnings of your government will be sufficiently vindicated; while, by confining to these forfeitures the threatened consequences of his majesty's ill-advised refusal, we shall relieve the minds of the royal family of all anxiety with respect to their future provisions. We shall also make manifest that, in achieving a great object in the interests of good government, and the happiness of a large population, we have fulfilled our determination to act with every proper and humane consideration of all persons whose feelings have a just claim to be consulted. We desire, therefore, that in the arrangements which may be made for the endowment of the royal family of Oude, the twelve lacs of rupees set apart for the annual provision of the present titular king, be considered an hereditary grant, to descend, without diminution, to his heirs; that is, to his direct male descendants born in lawful wedlock. We leave it to your government, with reference to Article VI. of the proposed treaty, to decide what members of the royal family shall be supported out of this hereditary grant of twelve lacs per annum, and what members shall be brought under the provisions of the above-mentioned article. We think, also, that some stipulation should be made as to the education and conduct of the young princes, and a proper superintendence of them, in the hope, which we trust is not

visionary, of their becoming hereafter useful citizens. The directors wish the governor-general to consider the suggestion, that a part of this allowance be commuted for an hereditary jaghire, not exceeding five lacs per annum: the duties and occupations of that position 'might possibly save them from sinking into the degraded habits of life of which we have, unfortunately, so many examples in the families of deposed princes. The directors refer in terms of satisfaction to the demeanour of the landowners and soldiers of Oude, and express their approval of the governor-general's determination to grant certain pensions and gratuities, and to discharge in full the arrears of regular pay due to the army by the Oude government. The letter concludes with the following paragraphs:—"We have read with attention the very interesting and able letter of instructions which was addressed to the chief commissioner of Oude on the 4th of February, wherein the whole system of administration to be introduced into the country is clearly stated in detail. In all its leading features, it corresponds with the system under which the affairs of the Punjab have been successfully administered. We approve of the liberal sentiments expressed in the 122nd and two concluding paragraphs, and we desire that every effort may be made to carry out the benevolent objects glanced at in those passages. A fertile country, occupied by a fine race of men, has suddenly passed under our rule: and, as it is our first duty to render the introduction of our government a blessing to our new subjects, so it is our first wish that this duty may be so effectually performed, that there shall henceforth be no conflict of opinion regarding the beneficent result of the peaceful revolution by which the kingdom of Oude has been converted into a province of the British empire in the east. We cannot conclude this despatch without expressing our high appreciation of the wisdom and energy which have distinguished the proceedings of your government throughout the whole of these momentous transactions; and of the judgment and vigour displayed by your agents."

The annexation of Oude to the vast territorial possessions of the East India Company, during the administration of Lord Dalhousie, has not yet ceased to be looked upon by many as an arbitrary and unjust proceeding on the part of the Indian government; and the dissatisfaction of the deposed family and its immediate personal retainers, who had chiefly profited by the abuses that flourished under the native rule, was not mitigated by a policy that deprived them of the means of prolonging a system of mal-administration, which had become ruinous to the people subjected to its tyranny and caprice, and was dangerous to the tranquillity of the neighbouring governments. It was not surprising, therefore, that the more energetic of the family, and the more ambitious, or perhaps loyal, of its adherents, should eagerly avail themselves of any possible opportunity, and adopt any plausible expedient, to create and encourage among the people of Oude the growth of a feeling antagonistic to the arrangement by which they were transferred from the independent rule of their native princes, to the care of an intrusive government alien alike to their faith and to their country. However great were the demerits of the system under which they lived, many among the intelligent classes of the population did not consider the reasons assigned for the act of sequestration, sufficient to warrant an exercise of power by which their nationality was destroyed; while the bulk of the people —from which, in a very great degree, the sepoy armies of Bengal were recruited— became gradually impressed with a belief, that the subversion of the independence of their country was an arbitrary and despotic act, which they were bound to submit to only until opportunity should occur for throwing off the foreign yoke and re-establishing a native government. With these seeds of mischief silently germinating upon its borders, and spreading widely over its territory by means of the very agents that would be employed to repress any hostile manifestation of its existence, we can scarcely wonder at the rapidity with which the flames of revolt have spread over the provinces of Bengal.

Independently of whatever dissatisfaction might have existed among the people of Oude, on the ground of personal feeling towards the race of their native sovereigns, there was another and yet more substantial cause of offence introduced by the changes consequent upon the annexation of the country. The question of land-tenure has been for many years, in India, a source of dispute and litigation, arising from the innovations made by the Company's government upon the ancient system by which landed property was held by the people. For ages, the soil of India

had been held by a class of superior owners, termed Zemindars, or Talookdars, who were recognised by the native princes as chiefs and proprietors, upon whom the sub-holders, or cultivators, were dependent. The Company sought to destroy this system by admitting the village communities to the rights of ownership also, and merely recognised in the talookdars a class of hereditary middle-men, or farmers, holding large tracts of land by civil tenure, and responsible to government for the revenue of their respective districts. The rights conferred upon the sub-holders were not sufficiently defined when the change was introduced, and there has been no more fertile source of argument and litigation in the courts of India than the rights of the class whose title to the land was, for the purpose of revenue, thus interfered with. Many among the talookdars obtained decrees in the civil courts against the government, and others were pacified by a per-centage in compromise of their claims. In Oude, the "Talookdaree" system was almost universal. Nearly the whole country was parcelled out among great "Zemindars," or "Talookdars;" and, though under a Mohammedan government, those men were almost universally Hindoos. As native chiefs, they had obtained great prescription, exercised great power and authority, and were, in fact, the feudatories of the native government. They had their own forts, and troops, and guns. Under this system, the rights of the village proprietors, where any existed, were naturally precarious, and dependent upon the pleasure of the talookdar. This primary authority over the land was contrary to the system by which the Company recognised the title to land in its other territories, and it was thought fit to assimilate the tenure by recognising an ownership in the sub-holders. But when the government took possession of Oude, a difficulty naturally arose, as to the parties with whom the question of tenure was to be settled? The "Talookdars" were strong, and in possession; the communities dormant, broken, and ill-defined. It would naturally take some time to regulate the claims of the one, and establish the rights of the other: but it was attempted; and the general result of the interference with the talookdars was to deprive them of the immunities they had enjoyed under the native rule, and to make direct village proprietaries. This naturally created a deep sense of wrong among a powerful and influential class of the people of Oude. The revolt of the native troops in the adjacent presidency furnished an opportunity for the active manifestation of their discontent, and the military revolt became in Oude a popular insurrection. In a moment, the whole foundations of government were shaken. Time had not yet elapsed sufficient to destroy the strength of the talookdars, or to enable the village proprietors to appreciate their rights, and identify themselves with the government that would have established and strengthened them. Consequently, the talookdars almost universally resumed what they considered to be their own, and they met with popular support in so doing. Thus they became committed against government; and as the rebellion progressed, and they were compelled to act on one side or the other, they declared against the aggressive rule of the Company without reserve. We had no longer any friends in Oude, and a Hindoo confederacy acquired consistency under the rajah Maun-Sing, who, at the first opportunity, took the field before Lucknow with all the warlike clans of Oude ranged under his banner.

Beyond these various grounds of dissatisfaction, as consequent upon the recent changes, if we refer to the language of an authority entitled to all respect—namely, Sir Henry Lawrence, who, as chief commissioner of the province of Oude, necessarily possessed a most extensive and accurate knowledge of its affairs and its people—we have the assurance that "Oude has long been the Alsatia of India. In that province," he says, "were to be met (even more than at Hyderabad or at Lahore), the Afreedes and Durukzye of the Khyber, the Belooch of Khelat, and the Wazaree of the Sulimani range. There also congregate the idle, the dissipated, and the disaffected of every native state in India; besides deserters from the British ranks." And in an article published in the *Calcutta Review*, in September, 1856 (some months previous to the commencement of the outrages that have since convulsed India, and, as it were, with a prophetic foresight of their approach), the same authority says—"The earliest days of annexation are not the safest. Be liberal, moderate, and merciful; but be prompt, watchful, and even quietly suspicious. Let not the loose characters floating on the surface of society, especially such a society as Lucknow, be too far tempted or trusted."

Upon glancing at the foregoing *epitome* of the history of Oude, since its recognition as a kingdom in 1819, to the period of its absorption into the political system of Anglo-Indian government, it would seem impossible that any diversity of opinion could exist as to the positive necessity that had arisen for a powerful and decided interference with the policy under which its government had ceased to be respected, and its people were abandoned to intolerable and ceaseless oppression. For the sake, therefore, of the reigning family, as well as of the millions subjected to its reckless and unsympathising rule; and independent of any consideration of danger to the neighbouring states, by the proximity of such a focus of discontent and lawless tyranny, it had become imperative upon the Company, as imperial conservator of the welfare of India, to interpose its authority, and arrest the evil. This, after repeated warning, was done; and it must be recollected, by those who are interested in the questions of expediency and justice that have been raised on account of such interposition, that the act of annexation was not the result of hasty determination, nor was it resorted to until repeated warnings had been given and disregarded, and the inevitable consequences of persistence in the destructive course followed by the native government had been plainly and emphatically declared. By successive governors-general—from the period of the administration of Lord William Bentinck in 1828, to that of the Marquis of Dalhousie in 1856—the kings of Oude had been expostulated with, on the ground of their maladministration of the functions of government; and they had been alternately advised and threatened as to the inevitable consequences. That the act by which the protecting and defensive policy of the East India Company was consummated by the deposition of an incapable dynasty and the annexation of its states, should have occurred at the close of the administration of the Marquis of Dalhousie, is simply an historical fact. The event had long been predetermined in a certain contingency; and it happened to be adopted at the particular crisis, because longer toleration of the prevailing abuses was felt to be incompatible with the principles upon which India, under any rule whatever, had been successfully governed.

Long before popular feeling in that kingdom had found expression in open revolt serious doubts were entertained by many persons in England as to the justice of the policy adopted, as well as of the propriety of the measures by which that policy was carried into operation. To remove the scruples that were entertained and expressed upon the subject, it was alleged, on the part of the East India Company, that the abuses of the court of Oude were so gross, its demoralisation so complete, and its incapacity for government so manifest, that no other means remained, by which the utter ruin of the country could be prevented, than by absorbing it into the system by which the vast extent of British India had been long and advantageously governed.

Looking to the circumstances we have already detailed in connection with the internal condition of Oude, and the conduct of its rulers for many years prior to its erasure from the roll of independent states, it seems scarcely possible to believe that the facts were other than as alleged on behalf of the Company; yet, it is only consistent with the impartiality that should characterise an historical narrative, that the averments of parties whose view of past transactions has led them to a very different conclusion, should also be recorded in these pages; and a brief reference to the proceedings at a general court of proprietors of the East India Company, held in Leadenhall-street on the 24th of September, 1856, may suffice for the purpose, and at the same time exhibit a most extraordinary contrast of opinion grounded upon the same facts.

Upon the occasion alluded to, Messrs. Lewin and Jones, two active members of the honourable court of proprietors, brought before the court the subject of the annexation of Oude; and the former gentleman, after some explanatory details, and severe animadversions on the conduct of Lord Dalhousie and the policy of the home government, moved the following resolution, viz.—"That the seizure of the territories of Oude is one of the worst examples of Indian spoliation, and an act of the basest ingratitude towards the family of a native prince, who in a season of extremity (1815), when the rule of the East India Company was waning, its treasuries exhausted, and the government of India unable to borrow money to oppose the Mahratta confederacy, opened his coffers with a loan of £2,500,000, on the bare receipt of the governor-general, Lord Hastings; and subsequently, in 1825,

under a similar exigency, assisted the East India Company with a further loan of £1,500,000; and again in 1842, when the East India Company was in want of funds to enable it to carry on the Affghan war, assisted the government of India with a further loan, to relieve the pressure on the Indian treasuries."

In support of this resolution, Mr. Jones entered at great length into the history of the Oude government, and referred to the treaties entered into with it by the East India Company. In detailing these, he alleged, that "after the first battle, in which the Company had obtained an advantage over the nawab of Oude, arrangements were entered into singularly advantageous to the victors. Oude was to pay a subsidy of half a million a-year. In 1798, Sir John Shaw made a new treaty, which raised the subsidy to £760,000 a-year, on condition that the East India Company kept 10,000 troops within the king's territory, and defended him against all foes, foreign and domestic. Three years after Lord Wellesley, in pursuance of his scheme of embracing within British control the whole of India, persuaded the nawab of Oude to give him territory instead of subsidy: and thus a total revenue was given to the British government of £1,300,000 (being one-half of the revenue of Oude), instead of the £760,000. For this the Company was to furnish, if needed, a larger contingent than 10,000 men. Such was the nature of the treaty. But now, on the plea that the king had not preserved his country in a perfect state of protection as regarded life and property, the British government in India took from him the remaining half of his annual revenue—namely, £1,300,000 more, thus absorbing the revenue of the whole kingdom." The honourable proprietor then said, that "the ground of interference by the Indian government with the government of the nawab of Oude, was the sixth article of the treaty of November, 1801. That article stated, that the territories ceded to the Company should be subject to the exclusive management and control of the Company; and the Company guaranteed to the Wuzier, and to his heirs and successors, the possession of the territories which would remain after the territorial cession. His excellency engaged, that he would establish in his reserved dominions such a system of administration, to be carried into effect by his own officers, as should be conducive to the prosperity of his subjects, and to be calculated to secure the lives and property of the inhabitants; and his excellency would always advise with, and act in conformity to, the counsel of the officers of the said honourable Company. It was upon this clause that Lord Dalhousie founded his right of interference. He alleged that the king had not carried out the object of the treaty, and therefore he could not escape paying the penalty, which was no less than the loss of his whole dominions. Now (said the honourable proprietor), in order to a right interpretation of that treaty, it was necessary to consider what was the position of the parties when it was signed. The nawab of Oude was not then in an entirely dependent condition as now; and the East India Company had not then that paramount power which it now enjoyed. Mr. Grant had said that our authority for taking possession of Oude was founded on our holding the paramount authority which belonged to the Great Mogul; but that proposition would not hold water, and Mr. Grant's allusion to a paramount authority vanished by the clauses of the treaty. What, then, was our relative position when that treaty was signed? The king of Oude had a large army; we had an army certainly large also. Every zemindar in his district had a castle well armed, and were at the king's command, while we had enemies all around us. The Mahrattas were out against us; and an alliance with them would have given strength to the nawab. Was it likely, then, that being in such a position as this, he would have given such an authority over his territories as was now claimed under the treaty? But what (he asked of the court of directors) was your own interpretation of the treaty? What were the governor-general's comments upon that treaty? The governor-general, in November, 1817, made this comment upon the treaty:—'In construing the terms of the recorded engagement between the honourable Company and the nawab of Oude, it is required by every principle that the most liberal and comprehensive meaning should be given to such articles of the treaty of 1801 as are in favour of that party whose weakness presents no security for him but in that good faith on which he has relied.' This passage was in a letter from the governor-general to Colonel Baillie, resident at Lucknow. One case alone, said the governor-general, could be imagined capable of driving the India government to conduct so repugnant to their

wishes as that of annexation; and that was, the fact that the nawab of Oude was plotting, with other native princes, the overthrow of the British power in India. But such an allegation no one had ever ventured to make against the king of Oude. That, however, was the only contingency ever contemplated that would justify the usurpation of those territories which the Indian government had now, in violation of their own interpretation of the treaty, taken forcible possession of. For, in their letter of the 17th of September, 1817, the court of directors state, that they concurred in the sentiments expressed by the governor-general in his letter to Colonel Baillie, of the 12th of November, 1814, and they agreed with his lordship, that in construing the terms of the treaty of 1801, the most liberal meaning should be given to them. He did not believe that Lord Dalhousie had read the opinions of his predecessors; but wishing to accomplish something before he quitted India—which was a great failing of all governors-general—he sent off Major-general Outram with an intimation that the kingdom of Oude must be absorbed, and that he must find reasons for it. The instructions given to the major-general showed that the whole matter was a foregone conclusion. Although Major-general Outram was instructed to inquire into the state of Oude, yet Lord Dalhousie spoke, in those very instructions, of the 'evils which the state of Oude had suffered so long?' Mr. Dorin, a member of council, did not commit himself so far. He said, that 'things could not be suffered to go on if they were such as he supposed them to be.' But Lord Dalhousie jumped at once to the conclusion that Oude had suffered long. What were the accusations made against the king of Oude? Major-general Outram charged the king with having neglected his duty, though he admitted that the king was of an amiable disposition, and devoted himself to building palaces; but it was alleged against him, that he surrounded himself with dancers, fiddlers, and poets, and secreted himself in the society of women. It was the first time he had heard the presence of a poet at a court being a cause of scandal. The custom of this country would not lead us to suppose that dancing and music were very objectionable occupations. They had deprived the king of power; the British residents assumed the duty of nominating his ministers, of deciding questions of justice between his subjects, and, when he would raise an army, they forbade it; when he objected to their progress through his dominions, they persisted in it. What diversion, then, would they allow his mind, so as to be free from the annoyance of their insolent interference? The king had been charged with being guilty of vices and debauchery; but he (Mr. Jones) had been told on good authority, that few people were more moral than the king of Oude in that respect. He never smoked, and the Mohammedan religion was most decisive as to abstaining from drunkenness. It was said that the revenue of the king of Oude had decayed. Of this the court of directors had no right to talk, even if it were true, while they were borrowing two million of money from him at five per cent. It was an artful trick to put off the annexation until he had completed the conversion of the loan from five to four per cent. The king of Oude had, at different times, lent the court of directors money at six per cent., when the Company were borrowing elsewhere even at as high a rate as ten per cent. But, however poor his kingly estate might be, the treaty gave us no right to interfere. The judicial and police departments of his kingdom might, perhaps, more rightly fall within the terms of the treaty, though even there their power of interference was limited. Crime had been greatly checked. But the instances of plunder quoted by Major-general Outram were such as, fifty years ago, were prevalent even in this country. There was no copious emigration of labourers from Oude. The cities were prosperous, palaces were rising, arts promoted, roads were forming; the export of saltpetre, indigo, and grain had not diminished in quantity, nor had the spirit of the people sunk. The British Indian government recruited their best troops in the friendly provinces of Oude. The poppy also was extensively cultivated; and he feared it was some old mercantile jealousy for their disreputable opium monopoly which stimulated their cupidity for Oude. The cause of any disasters which had befallen Oude might be traced to their own failure of contract. They had received £1,300,000 for 10,000 troops to be permanently settled in the king's territories; but the Company had not fulfilled their agreement. The new system of raising the revenue, introduced by the Company, had proved very injurious to the country. The resident persisted in it; the government enforced it; the king yielded;

and Lord Hastings, seven years afterwards, declared the new system injudicious. The conclusion he had drawn was, that though disorders existed, the conduct of the Indian government had been too erroneous to allow them to determine whether they had not been the chief causes of those disorders; that the treaty recognised the independence of the king internally, but that the Indian government had destroyed it; that the king had established a system of protection to his subjects which would bear comparison with any portion of British India; and that there was, therefore, no justifiable ground on which to rest our interposition."

The exposition by Mr. Lewin was yet more condemnatory of the policy of the Company and its agents in forcing the annexation. He declared, that "the prime minister of the king was influenced by promises of personal consideration. He was told by the governor-general, that if he would prevail on the king to agree to the terms proposed, his conduct would be viewed with favour. He was directed to tell the king that he should have three days to consider as to signing away his kingdom; and that if he did not assent thereto, no terms would be made with him, but that he would have to trust to Providence. This (said the honourable gentleman) was the law of a highwayman. A footpad could only say, 'Your money or your life!' The resident was not to conceal from the king, that by a refusal of his assent to the terms proposed, he would render himself liable to the loss of a liberal provision. Not content with tampering with the king, the resident was instructed to deal deceptively with the queen-mother. She was told that her pension was made to depend upon the king signing away his own kingdom. People in a public capacity might do these things; but if, in a private capacity, similar acts were attempted to be done, the person attempting them would be kicked out of society. With regard to the character of the king of Oude himself, throughout the Blue-book, the most ample testimony was given as to his fidelity. Colonel Sleeman, in his report, dated December 10th, 1851, said—'I believe no native sovereigns in India have been better disposed towards the British government than they have been; or have, in time of difficulty, rendered aid to the extent of their ability with more cordiality or cheerfulness. Though it is vain to hope for a just and efficient administration, such as a British government has a right to expect from the hereditary sovereigns of this family, no reigning family in India has, I believe, a juster claim to the protection and consideration of the paramount power.' That was Colonel Sleeman's manner of speaking of the king of Oude. What did Lord Dalhousie say of him? He said that the subsidies were paid with regularity; and he wrote, that however gross might have been the neglect of his government, and however grievous its misconduct, as yet the king of Oude had been faithful and true in his adherence to the British power. And yet this was the man the East India Company had turned off his throne, on the ground that his country was in a state of confusion. It was very clear, that it was entirely owing to ourselves that such a state of things existed in Oude. Lord Hastings said, that the confusion existing in that country was entirely owing to our rule; and he therefore suggested that the British resident should be withdrawn. The native princes of India (said the honourable proprietor) were then looking to the conduct of the British government. Their fate would be determined by the final policy now to be adopted. If the annexation of Oude was persevered in, they would be converted into suspicious and dangerous foes. If reversed, they would be our firm and gallant friends."

The appeals and explanations offered for the king of Oude, either at Calcutta or in London, were alike unavailing. The annexation was confirmed; and the deprecatory language of the honourable proprietor was followed by events that have converted the territory of Oude into a focus of rebellion, and made of its cities little other than vast charnel-houses.

In the autumn ot 1856, the position of the royal family of Oude had become such, that it was determined to seek justice by a personal appeal to the Queen of England and the British parliament; and for that purpose, the queen-mother of Oude, with the brother and son of the king, attended by an extensive suite of native officers and servants, arrived in this country; and after some delay, occasioned by a due regard to court etiquette, the queen-mother was admitted to an audience by the sovereign.*

* Her majesty's reception of the queen of Oude was represented at the time as having been most gracious. The queen of Oude was conveyed from her residence at Harley-street in great state, her

The arrival of the royal appellants was notified to the court of directors; and shortly afterwards, namely, on the 25th of May, 1857, a petition from the deposed family was presented to the House of Commons by Sir Fitzroy Kelly, one of the members for East Suffolk, setting forth, that "they had been unjustly deprived of their dominions, revenues, palaces, and property." That the royal house of Oude had for a long period maintained inviolate treaties of friendship with Great Britain; that in 1801 a treaty was concluded, by which Great Britain guaranteed possession of his territories to the nawab of Oude, his heirs and successors, and that this treaty was confirmed by various subsequent ones; that in 1848 Colonel Sleeman was appointed British resident in Oude; that in consequence of his reports, General Outram arrived at Lucknow in December, 1854, and though entirely dependent for information on Colonel Sleeman's records, made a report on which Lord Dalhousie prepared a minute, declaring that the treaty of 1837 was "null and void" from its commencement. The petitioners protest against this, and maintain that the British government is still limited by its stipulations and conditions; and even if it were not, the treaty of 1801 precludes the British government from confiscating Oude, as was done in 1856, against which the petitioners protest as a violation of treaties, in no degree warranted by any evils perilling the public tranquillity. They further submit, that the Company's government cannot be entitled, under any circumstances, to seize the district of Khyrugur and other territories ceded to the vizier of Oude by the treaty of 1816, in discharge of a debt due to him by the Company, and that the Company are bound to abide by that treaty, and repay all loans advanced by the royal family of Oude: and they prayed, in the accustomed phraseology of petitions to parliament, that "a select committee might be named to inquire into their allegations and grievances." The petition concluded by claiming the restoration of their rights as independent native princes, the fulfilment of justice, the maintenance of treaties, and the preservation of the honour and dignity of the British nation; and to be heard in support of their claims.

The petition was read, and laid upon the table of the House of Commons; but no steps were taken in furtherance of its object in the house, although the publicity given to it by the usual organs of intelligence had the effect of bringing public opinion to bear upon the subject; and the relative merits of the question became a fruitful source of discussion during the remainder of the year.

In the early part of the session of 1857, the affairs of India, as they were connected with the management of its revenues and the condition of its people, became subjects of frequent discussion in the British parliament; and on the 23rd of May, Lord Claude Hamilton (the member for Tyrone) called the attention of the House of Commons to the alleged prevalence of a system of torture auxiliary to the collection of the revenue; and after referring to former discussions upon the subject, which had occurred in that and the other house of parliament, and to the commission which was issued to inquire into the subject, the noble lord said, that "the result of that com-

crown being carried with her to the audience. This emblem of sovereignty is a lofty coronetted cap, in form something like the coronets of our peers, only higher and rounder at the top, and, instead of velvet, is a mass of gold tissue ornamented with jewels. On the top of the cap are placed some extraordinary silver ornaments, which sway and jingle about with every movement, producing a sound like a number of silver bells. From the rim of the crown depends the veil, which is really two curtains of gold and coloured tissue, that meet over the face, and then pass down each shoulder. The queen of Oude wore a robe of gold tissue, pendant from her shoulders, which was borne by a Hindoo lady in waiting, who alone was permitted to enter the carriage with her. The queen's dress was a blaze of Eastern magnificence, but she has adopted European fashions sufficiently to indulge in the finest silk stockings, though they were ornamented with gold anklets. Her female attendant was remarkable for the absence of gold and jewels, wearing a plain Indian dress, with large red stripes. The queen, whose name and style is "Jenabi Auleah Mootaleah Nawab Taj aura Begum Saheb," was attended by a numerous suite, including Mohummud Joorut Allie Khan Bahadoor, the Nawab Nazir or chief eunuch; Ialeesood Dowlah Bahadoor, an aide-de-camp; Nawab Mehdee Koollie Khan Bahadoor (a great-grandson of Nadir Shah), a chamberlain, a physician, a secretary, a diplomatic agent, and several other officers. Each of the princes wore the same sort of high coronet cap of gold and jewels, but ornamented with a few small feathers, and without the silver ornaments peculiar to the crown of the queen. The young prince was magnificently decorated with jewels—the dress itself being composed of cloth of gold. The Oudians still delight in calling this prince the "heir-apparent," and his name and style are "Wullee Auhad Mirza Mohummud Hamid Allie Bahadoor." His uncle, the elder prince, is called "Mirza Sikundar Hushmut Jawaad Allie Bahadoor." The audience was not repeated.

mission was to prove, that in the presidency of Madras torture prevailed to an alarming extent. One of the purposes for which it was employed, was to enforce the payment of the revenue. It also appeared, that torture had been inflicted for the purpose of extorting confessions from persons accused of crime; and with what result? Why, 1,606 persons, under the influence of torture, had confessed themselves guilty of the offences with which they were charged; and yet, when those persons had been allowed to retract that confession, and take a fair trial, 890 of them had been fully acquitted. It was impossible to conceive a more infamous state of things." Then, again, his lordship said, "the torture inflicted by the native police, not only upon males, but also upon females, almost defied description; and yet, when these atrocities were brought home to the offenders, the punishment inflicted was so slight, that other persons were deterred from making complaints." The noble lord announced his intention to bring the whole subject before the house on some future occasion; and concluded by asking the president of the Board of Control, to state what steps had been taken by the government to put an end to the practice of torture in the presidency of Madras, since the report of the commission which had proved its prevalence in that presidency; and whether similar investigations had been instituted in Bombay and Bengal; and if so, whether it was intended to communicate the result of such inquiries to the house?

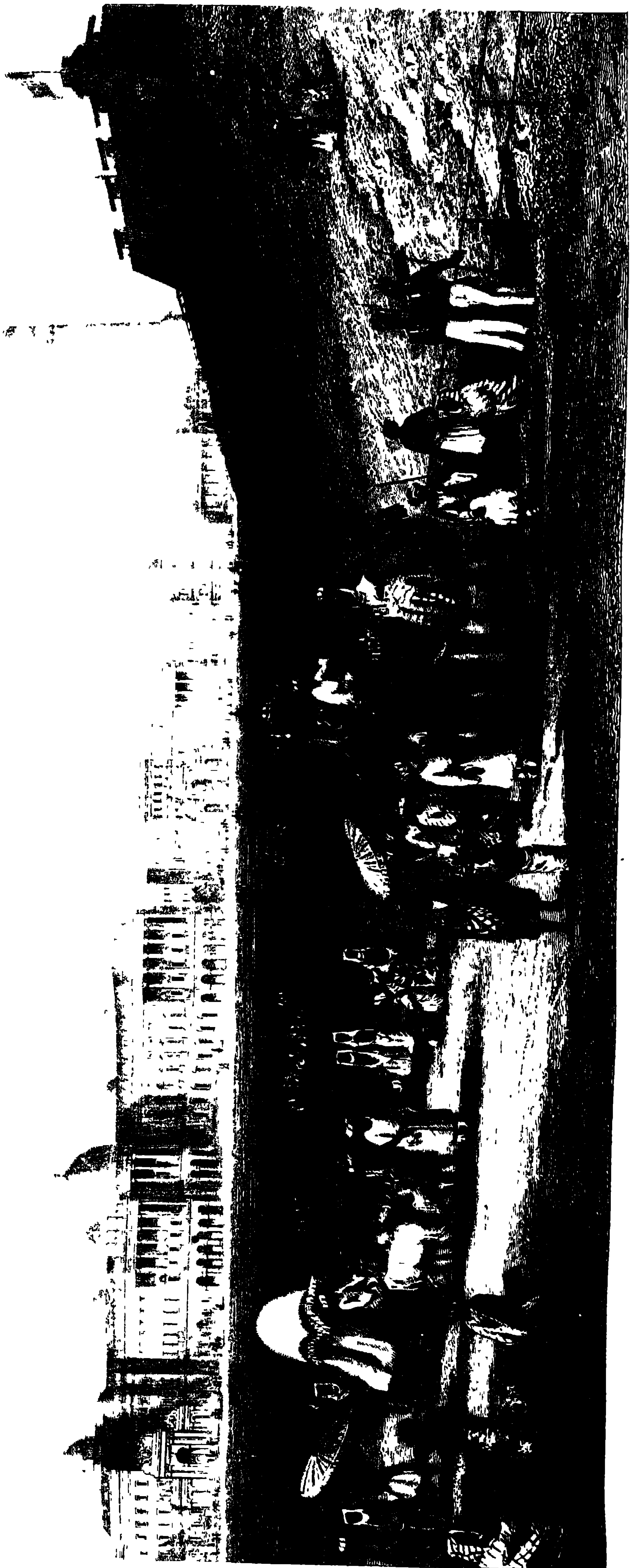
Mr. Vernon Smith (the minister referred to) said, in reply, that it was his intention to move for every despatch which had been written on the subject since the report of the commission referred to. A great deal had been done in consequence of the report; and from the well-known character of Lord Harris, the governor-general of Madras, there could be no doubt he would do his utmost to discountenance and put an end to any system of torture.—These despatches will be hereafter referred to.

CHAPTER IX.

PROGRESS OF THE REVOLT; INCREDULITY OF THE INDIAN GOVERNMENT; SANGUINE MISREPRESENTATIONS TO THE BRITISH PARLIAMENT; ATTEMPT TO CORRUPT THE GUARD AT FORT WILLIAM; PANIC AT CALCUTTA; ADDRESSES OF THE INHABITANTS; FLIGHT OF THE KING OF OUDE; APPLICATION FOR TROOPS; STATE OF THE BENGAL ARMY; EFFECTS OF THE SYSTEM OF "ABSENTEEISM;" LOYAL DEMONSTRATION BY THE 70TH REGIMENT OF NATIVE INFANTRY; LEGISLATIVE ACTS FOR PUNISHMENT OF OFFENCES.

NOTWITHSTANDING the indifference with which, for a considerable time, the continuous arrival of disastrous intelligence from all quarters of the presidency of Bengal was received at the seat of government, the accumulating weight at length removed the film from the mental vision of the governor-general in council; and the fact could no longer be ignored, that a vast and formidable insurrectionary movement was progressing, and daily acquiring strength and organisation. Even after the affair of Meerut, the government hesitated to realise the extent of the calamity; and when the indulgence of its incredulity was no longer possible, it undervalued the gravity of the occurrence, and made light of the apprehensions of the public. The panic that had seized European society at the distant stations began at last to roll, with hourly increasing earnestness, towards the capital. In every quarter, a sense of some undefined, but imminent and immediate, danger oppressed the people. At a distance from the seat of government, it was felt that the presence of mere detachments of English troops was no longer a protection against the impulsive attacks of an enemy, insidious and sudden in his approach, and cruel and unsparing in his rage; and all eyes naturally turned towards the governor-general and his council for reassurance and protection. In the provinces generally, the civilians had taken arms, and were prepared to co-operate with the European troops in defending their lives, and ensuring the safety of their families. In the capital, a proposition to enrol a volunteer corps for its protection was rejected, as





unnecessary and uncalled-for; and up to the middle of May the members of the Indian government still had faith, or affected to have it, that the prevailing disturbances were merely symptoms of a slight discontent, which the ordinary resources of the government, aided by the remembrance of its vigorous interposition at Berhampore and Barrackpore, were amply sufficient to remedy; and it was, doubtless, under this impression that information was forwarded to the president of the Board of Control, in London, which enabled him on the 11th of June to express his hope, in the House of Commons, "that the public would be under no alarm upon the subject of recent events in Bengal, as, owing to the promptitude and vigour which had been displayed by his noble friend Lord Canning, and the excellent demonstrations which had been made upon the occasion of the disbandment of the 19th regiment, the late disaffection among the troops in India had completely been put an end to—as he felt quite sure any such occurrence would in future be put an end to—by the exhibition of the same promptitude and vigour as that to which he had referred."

Although somewhat anticipating the date of events, it may not be out of place here to observe, that at the moment the president of the Board of Control was making the above statement in the British House of Commons, eleven regiments of cavalry, more than fifty regiments of foot, five field batteries, five companies of artillery, and nearly all the sappers and miners, were in open revolt. Oude, with the exception of its capital, was in the hands of the insurgents. Benares and Allahabad had been saved from capture at a frightful expense of bloodshed and havoc. Cawnpore and Lucknow were each in a state of siege, and the public treasuries had been plundered to the extent of more than a million sterling! So much for foresight in India, and ministerial statements in parliament!

Returning to the scene of action, we find that at Calcutta, on Sunday, the 17th of May, an incident occurred, which abruptly destroyed whatever illusion prevailed on the score of existing danger, and the possibility of its immediate approach. During the evening of that day, some men belonging to the 25th regiment of native infantry (which with a wing of the 47th native infantry, was encamped on the esplanade between the Coolie Bazaar and Fort William) contrived to hold communication with the soldiers on duty in the latter, consisting of the 2nd regiment of guards, and the 70th regiment of the Company's line. The men in camp were without ball ammunition: those in charge of the fort were provided with ten rounds for each man; and the object of the emissaries from the 25th regiment, was to obtain, if possible by persuasion, a portion of this ammunition, declaring, at the same time, their readiness, if the request was acceded to, to make an attack upon the fort during the night, slaughter the whole of the Europeans within it, turn the guns, in the first place, upon the shipping (to prevent intelligence being conveyed out of the country), and then to play upon the city while the European population were massacred, and their public and private property destroyed. This effected, the native troops were to pillage the remaining inhabitants, and march to join the forces of the emperor at Delhi. Fortunately for humanity and the Europeans in Calcutta, these propositions were addressed to men who, as yet, were "true to their salt," and they were indignantly rejected. The treasonable design was promptly reported to the fort major by the sepoys to whom it had been disclosed. Not a moment was to be lost, and orders were issued to place the fort in a state of security: the drawbridges were raised, and the ladders withdrawn from the ditches; the guns on the bastion were shotted; additional guards were placed over the arsenal; European sentinels were stationed at the officers' quarters and on the ramparts; while patrols, within and without the fort, were kept on duty throughout the night, which passed away without any effort to attack the garrison by the baffled traitors on the esplanade. Early the following day, a requisition was forwarded to Dumdum for the 53rd European regiment, which marched from that station into Fort William on the same evening, accompanied by the whole of the women and children belonging to her majesty's regiments collected at the station. Upon the arrival of the 53rd, the men of the 25th were ordered to give up their arms, which they did without offering any resistance.

Even with the above facts before the governor-general, and notorious to the inhabitants of Calcutta, there still remained in high quarters a disinclination to appreciate the full importance of the warning they conveyed. To the addresses of loyalty and confidence forwarded to the

government by influential mercantile and other classes of Bengalee society at this juncture, the replies given, through the secretary to the government, were invariably expressive of perfect confidence in the measures adopted for the instant repression of disorder, and an implied denial that the outbreaks were entitled to more than ordinary consideration, or were at all important or serious. In the reply of the governor-general to an address of the French consul and residents at Calcutta, who had offered their services to the government in consequence of the revolt of the native regiments, the secretary to the governor-general was directed, on the 25th of May, to express Lord Canning's belief, "that there would be no occasion to call for the services of the French community. Everything," says the secretary, "is quiet within 600 miles of the capital. The mischief caused by a passing and groundless panic has already been arrested; and there is every reason to hope that, in the course of a few days, tranquillity and confidence will be restored throughout the presidency."

At last, in the midst of a torrent of loyal addresses on the one hand, and rumours of increasing disaffection on the other, a circumstance occurred that effectually disturbed the equanimity of the government. A sealed document, written in the Persian language, was picked up in a crowded part of the city, calling upon "the faithful among the inhabitants to rise *en masse*, and kill the Feringhee Kaffirs." The terror of the European community became excessive upon this discovery; and it was not allayed by a report that obtained currency respecting the sudden flight of the king of Oude, who, it was said, had left his residence at Calcutta for some purpose unknown to government, but imagined to be in connection with the proceedings in his late kingdom. The meditated attack of Fort William was dwelt upon, with the consequences that were to have attended its success; and the governor-general was called upon to proclaim martial law, to raise a corps of militia for the protection of the city, and to arm the European sailors belonging to vessels in the Hooghly, for the preservation of property afloat, and to provide asylums for the inhabitants, in case they should be compelled to leave Calcutta. Under the pressure of these circumstances, Lord Canning at length yielded: assent was given for the enrolment of volunteers; special constables were sworn in; and other measures adopted to allay the disquietude that prevailed. Letters were dispatched to meet Lord Elgin and General Ashburnham at Ceylon, requesting the aid of the troops then on their way to China; and Sir Henry Ward, the governor of the island, was urged to send as many European troops as he could spare to meet an emergency that could no longer be disputed. At the same time the governor-general in council forwarded to the directors of the East India Company a narrative of the events at Meerut and Delhi, and urged the necessity for a material increase in the strength of the European troops. The despatch said—"The necessity for an increase of the substantial strength of the army in the Bengal establishment—that is to say, of the European troops upon this establishment—has been long apparent to us; but the necessity of refraining from any material increase to the charges of the military department, in the present state of our finances, has prevented us hitherto from moving your honourable court in this matter. The late untoward occurrences at Berhampore, Fort William, Barrackpore, and Lucknow, crowned by the shocking and alarming events of the past week at Meerut and Delhi, and taken in connection with the knowledge we have lately acquired of the dangerous state of feeling in the Bengal native army generally (strange and, at present, unaccountable as it is), have convinced us of the urgent necessity of not merely a positive increase of our European strength, but of a material increase in the proportion which our European troops bear to the native regular troops on the establishment. We are of opinion that the latter is now the more pressing necessity of the two.

"We believe that all these objects, political, military, and financial, will be immediately attained, in a very material degree, by taking advantage of the present opportunity in the manner we have now the honour respectfully to propose; and we see no other way in which all the same objects can be attained in any degree, now or prospectively. We recommend that the six native regiments, which are, in effect, no longer in existence, should not be replaced, whereby the establishment of regular native infantry would be reduced to sixty-eight regiments; and that the European officers of these late regiments should

be used to officer three regiments of Europeans to be added to your establishment at this presidency.

"We confidently affirm, that the government will be much stronger, in respect of all important internal and external purposes, with three additional European regiments of established strength, than it would be by embodying six native regiments of the established strength; and we anticipate no inconvenience in respect of minor objects, in time of peace and tranquillity, from the consequent numerical reduction of regular troops. Indeed, the financial result of the measure, if carried out as we propose, will leave a considerable surplus available, if it should be thought fit to employ it, for an augmentation of irregulars; who, for all such minor objects, are much better, as well as much cheaper, than regulars of any description.

"Your honourable court will observe, that, at present, the relative strength of European to native infantry, in the Company's Bengal army, is disproportionately small. In the Bombay army it is as one to nine two-thirds; and in the Madras army as one to sixteen two-thirds; while in the Bengal army it is as one to twenty-four two-thirds. If the proposed measure is adopted, the proportion in the Bengal army will be between those in the Bombay and Madras armies—viz., one to eleven two-thirds."

Anticipating the date of the reply to this communication, it may be here stated, that on the 8th of July, the honourable court of directors promised their best attention, "at the earliest possible period," to the governor-general's report, and added—"We confidently expect, that the next despatches we shall receive will apprise us of the complete success of the measures taken for the suppression of armed resistance to our government; and we feel assured that the same energy and skill which have been displayed in making head against the most formidable danger to which the British government in India could be exposed, will be employed in taking precautions against the return of that danger, and in immediately ascertaining and removing, so far as is practicable, the causes which may have led to it."

The disaffected state of a great portion of the native army of Bengal now became a fact acknowledged, and henceforth was a subject of anxious consideration by the Indian government; the whole *rationale* of the military system was freely analyzed, and the conduct of the authorities severely commented on by the press, for their neglect of ordinary prudence in the choice of individuals to fill the higher appointments of the army, and for their obstinate perpetuation of a system by which the efficiency of the military strength of the presidency was impaired, through the absence from their respective corps, of more than 700 European officers belonging to the native regiments on the establishment; such absence being occasioned by the employment of military officers in civil capacities, whereby the regiments were deprived of their experience, example, and influence; while dangers, imminent and undisguised, were spreading over the country: and there cannot be a doubt, that but for the prevalence of such a system, the spread of the contagion that has ultimately destroyed the native army of Bengal, might have been effectually checked before the disease became incurable.

In an elaborate essay by the Rev. G. R. Gleig, chaplain to the forces, on the subject of "India and its Army," originally published in the *Edinburgh Review* (1853), the grievance to which we have adverted is discussed at some length, and with much point. The reverend author asks—"Will anybody pretend to say that an English battalion, 800 strong, has, upon our present peace establishment, too many officers attached to it? And if 800 Englishmen, speaking the same language with their officers, cannot be made effective, as a regiment, with fewer than thirty-three battalion officers, exclusive of the staff, how can it be supposed that 800 sepoys—a mixed mass of Hindoos and Mohammedans, speaking different languages, trained up to different habits, and altogether aliens, in customs and in thought, on every important subject—are to be rightly managed by twenty-two officers? But are there really twenty-two battalion officers present with any native regiment in India? By no means. Such is the demand for European service on the general staff of the army, and so trying the effect of an Indian climate on European constitutions, that not only is this not the case, even in a solitary instance, but that, in a vast variety of instances, less than one-half of the regimental officers in the Company's service ever do duty with their corps. Nor is it to

be forgotten, that even as regards regimental duty, no provision is made in the Company's service for staff employment. The adjutant, the quartermaster, and the paymaster, are all selected from among the battalion officers; thus leaving available for Company duty—supposing all to be present —barely fifteen. Even fifteen, however, is far above the mark. Nine years ago the Company's regular native army—cavalry, infantry, and artillery—consisted of 212,500 men; to these were nominally attached 4,481 officers; of whom the general staff, and the command of irregular corps, absorbed not fewer than 2,229; leaving exactly 2,253 officers to take charge, in field and in quarters, of 212,000 men. This will give an average of something less than one officer to every ninety-three men—a proportion which all who are conversant with the subject will pronounce to be wholly inadequate, and which drew from Marshal Soult, when he was here, on the occasion of her majesty's coronation, expressions of astonishment that discipline could be preserved in the Indian army at all.

"Again: inadequate as this complement is, the experience of the last eight years has shown that the progress of war, even for a few months, renders it far more so. We have heard of regiments, both in Affghanistan and the Punjab, going into action without being able to show so much as one European officer at the head of each company. We believe that there were occasions when three or four Europeans, at the most, took their places in the line. Can we expect, looking to the class of natives now dignified with the title of commissioned officers, that regiments composed like those of our Indian army, and so commanded, should behave otherwise than ill? We should not like to see the best regiment under the crown led into action without having at least one officer per company to show the way. And yet there is affectation of surprise and regret when a sepoy battalion, under the command of a lieutenant, becomes unmanageable and insubordinate."

Such, then, was the state of the Indian military service in 1844. To prove that the evil has existed to the present time, it is only necessary to refer to the following extract from an official notification from the major commanding the 53rd regiment; addressed, on the 1st of June, 1857, to the assistant adjutant-general of the presidency division at Fort William:—

"I have the honour to bring to your notice, for submission to the major-general commanding the presidency division, that the number of captains at the head-quarters of the regiment under my command, is inadequate to perform the duties called for in garrison, and therefore beg to request that Captain —— be directed to rejoin his regiment."—A similar representation and request was made on the 3rd of the same month by the lieutenant-colonel commanding the 35th regiment, who further pointedly stated, that "the services of every available officer and soldier was much required under existing circumstances."

Among the many serious disadvantages that resulted from this system of military "absenteeism," was one which arose from the want of that cohesion so essential to the efficiency of an army, which can only be maintained by a thorough understanding between the men and their officers; a *desideratum* the Bengal army could rarely boast of, in consequence of the drain that was permitted upon the whole military establishment, for the benefit of the civil service. Owing to the vast and yet continual extension of the boundaries of the Company's territory, and a desire to economise the expense of the civil service, officers of all grades were encouraged to aspire to, and actually obtained, civil appointments, without reference to their military duty. In India, a Company's officer was always supposed to be fit for anything that offered. He could be an inspector of schools, an examiner in political economy, an engineer, a surveyer, an architect, an auditor, a commissary, a resident, or a governor. Political, judicial, and scientific appointments were all open to him; but the inevitably mischievous result of this aptitude for all duties but those strictly of the profession, was, that the service to which the party appointed really belonged, suffered by the deprivation of talent perverted to an illegitimate use. Frequently, as we have already had occasion to observe, more than one-half of the European officers belonging to a native regiment were absent from it on civil service for many years consecutively. Incessant changes occurred in commands; and the sepoy and his officers were seldom acquainted, or knew anything of each other's disposition. The routine of regimental duty was given into the hands of young officers unable either to converse with the men, or to understand their wants and

appreciate their feelings; and being thus totally dependent upon the native officers for the means of communication with the men under their command, a wall of separation was built up between them, very gratifying to European notions of superiority, and encouraging to self-esteem; but deplorably injurious to the efficiency of the army. There is no race of men upon earth in whom an affectation of humility and obedience is more universal than among the natives of Hindostan; yet, as a rule, the Hindoo sepoy is one of the slowest to obey an order. In European armies, disobedience, next to actual mutiny, is heavily punished. In those of India, acts of disobedience, and breaches of regulations, were frequently passed over as affairs of accident. It was, therefore, not surprising that the Bengalee sepoys, pampered and indulged as they were in all matters connected with questions of *caste* and religion, inadequately officered, and having no common bond of union with their European superiors beyond the mere fact of belonging to the same service, should be always ripe for mutiny, and accessible to the persuasions of the disaffected of their own race; who detested the rule, and loathed the association of the Feringhee subjugators of their native princes.

It has already been observed, that in every instance of mutinous outbreak, the pretext, when referred to at all, has invariably been an alleged dread of European interference with religion and with *caste*, as enjoyed by the Hindoo sepoy. It was in vain that the government, through the military and civil authorities, had repeatedly and unequivocally disclaimed any such intention; and by the proclamation of the governor-general in council of the 16th of May, had confirmed the denial. The impression of a meditated wrong was indelibly stamped upon the imagination of the native soldier; and it could not be effaced until washed out with the blood of the unconscious and innocent objects of his suspicion. The pernicious tendency of the system under which the Bengal native army had been suffered to exist from its origin, was so well known to reflecting observers in India, that the probability of an outbreak like the one now recorded had, for many years past, been a subject of conversation in the military and civil circles of the three presidencies. The peculiar constitution of Bengal, as the first in political rank, and the assumption of superiority it always arrogated to itself over the sister governments, rendered any free discussion of the subject alike delicate and difficult; while the manner in which the question of *caste* was invariably dealt with, made argument worse than useless. English officers in the Bengal service had been found capable of even exaggerating, in their own persons, many of those prejudices and exclusive privileges of *caste*, that sensible men of the other presidencies looked upon as evils hardly to be tolerated in natives, who claimed them by right of birth and the religion of their race. The officers of the Bengal army looked down on the officers of the Bombay and Madras forces, as belonging to an inferior service; and this error, which could not be concealed from the shrewd and observant native soldier, silently perhaps, but surely, fostered and encouraged the *caste* prejudices of the ranks beneath them. Then, as regards the material of the Indian army. Men in Bombay and Madras were enlisted without regard to high or low *caste*. In Bengal, all but *high caste* men were rejected. An institution in itself so arrogantly exclusive and repugnant to social prosperity, by perpetuating eternal separation and enmity, was one that ought to have been discouraged—not fostered. To those who have not witnessed the influence of *caste* in the daily life of India, but a faint idea can be conceived of its effect upon society: the shunning of contact; the inward loathing of one class toward the other; the abject submission of each to the other in the descending ranks of the scale; the barriers erected by fanaticism for preventing men of one rank from rising to a higher grade; the hopeless *status quo!* the break on the wheel of human progress presented by the institution of *caste*—are effects of the system that had been long apparent, and have been most culpably tolerated to the present time.

Returning from this digression, we find that, towards the latter part of the month, the panic that had agitated Calcutta began to subside. The value of public securities recovered a healthy level, and subscriptions to a new loan poured in with unwonted rapidity: but among the most gratifying items of intelligence communicated to the public about this period, was a general order by the governor-general in council, announcing the receipt of a petition from the native commissioned officers, non-com-

missioned officers, and sepoys of the 70th regiment of native infantry, couched in the following terms:—

"Barrackpore, 25th May, 1857.

"It is reported that European troops are going up to Delhi and other places, to coerce the mutinous and rebellious there, and we wish to be sent with them also. In consequence of the misconduct of these traitors and scoundrels, confidence in us is weakened, although we are devoted to government; and we therefore trust that we may be sent wherever the European troops go; when having joined them, we will, by bravery even greater than theirs, regain our good name and trustworthiness. You will then know what really good sepoys are."

The petition was signed on behalf of the regiment by the subahdar-major, five subahdars, and six jemadars; and at a parade on the 26th of May, at which the whole of the native officers, non-commissioned officers, and sepoys were present, the whole of them expressed to their commanding officer their unanimous concurrence in its prayer. The petition was accompanied by a communication from Major-general Hearsey, in which he stated that he had particularly remarked the good feeling and loyalty shown by the regiment during the misconduct of the 19th and 34th regiments; and that he had such confidence in the regiment, that although it was the junior of the brigade at Barrackpore, he had, on the public parade, entrusted the colours and band of the disbanded 19th regiment to its keeping. The major-general further wrote—"It was my intention, when this bad feeling among many of the native regiments had been checked or overcome, to have recommended that the 70th native infantry should have had an honorary colour presented to it, and an extra jemadar to carry it, with the word 'Fidelity,' inscribed in English, Persian, and Oordoo, on it, in large characters, or any other acknowledgment it might please the government to confer, as a reward for the trustworthiness shown by this loyal regiment."—Upon receipt of this favourable testimony to the character of the regiment, the governor-general at once proceeded to the cantonment at Barrackpore; and at a parade of the troops there ordered for the purpose, his lordship addressed the men as follows:—

"Native officers and soldiers of the 70th,—Your petition reached me yesterday, and I am come to answer it. I have received it with delight; not because I doubted your fidelity, for I know the trust that is reposed in you by your gallant colonel; I know the high opinion which your brave general, with his long experience of the sepoys of Bengal, entertains of you; and I have myself marked your good and faithful conduct under recent bad example, when many fell away. I, therefore, felt sure of your loyalty. But your petition gives me pleasure, because it is an open contradiction of the rumour which has gone abroad, that the faithlessness of some regiments has tainted all within their reach. You have refuted the unjust suspicion nobly.

"Men of the 70th, I will answer your petition. You have asked to be sent to meet the mutineers of Delhi. You shall go. In a few days, as soon as the arrangements can be made for your progress, you shall proceed to the north-west. You have promised that in acting against the rebels you will excel your European comrades in bravery. I believe that you will vie with them worthily. You will have loyalty, truth, and humanity on your side, if, unhappily, the misguided men whose acts have moved your indignation continue to resist the government.

"But you have another duty to perform. You are going where you will find men, your brothers-in-arms, who have been deluded into the suspicion, against which you have stood firm, that the government has designs against their religion or their caste. Say to them that you at least do not credit this; that you know it to be untrue; that for a hundred years the British government has carefully respected the feelings of its Indian subjects in matters of caste and religion. You may even hear it asserted that the governor-general has come among you determined to disregard these feelings, and to do injury to your caste, openly or secretly. If you find any who believe in this senseless fable, say to them that I, your governor-general, have told you, with my own lips, that it is false. Say to them that the authority of the Queen of England extends into every quarter of the globe, and over people of every creed, and that it has never done violence to the conscience of any man.

"Tell them this; make them listen to it; and you will do useful and friendly service to them. And now, native officers and men of the 70th, I bid you good-bye. I know that I shall hear good of you. Trust your

officers. Look to your colonel as your friend and guide. Look to the government as children look to their father. Let me hear that you have done your duty, and I shall know how to mark with distinction the zeal and faithfulness of the 70th."

The general order then declared that the governor-general had received the petition with the highest satisfaction. "He has never," it said, "doubted the fidelity of the 70th native infantry, although that regiment has been exposed to the influence of bad example; and the governor-general rejoices that it has vindicated its good name amongst the regiments of the Bengal army by this act of spontaneous and eager loyalty. The 70th regiment of native infantry has proved before all men, that it views with horror the atrocious crimes by which traitors and murderers have recently disgraced the name of the sepoys of India, and that it has not been led astray by the malicious inventions of those who are seeking to inspire mistrust between the government of India and its soldiers."

In order that all due honour should be given to this mark of loyalty, the petition of the 70th regiment was ordered to be placed on the records of the army of Bengal, and to be read with the general order, at the head of every regiment and company in the service at a parade ordered for the purpose.

Notwithstanding this spontaneous ebullition of loyal fervour and devotion, and its encouraging appreciation in the highest quarter, intelligence was shortly afterwards received from General Hearsey, that the fidelity of the 70th regiment could not be depended upon; and (as we shall presently see) no alternative remained but to disarm it, and place it among the list of other corps that had failed in their duty, without adding to their offence a spurious affectation of loyalty, and wilfully substituting for the honourable word they were to have borne as a distinctive mark upon their colours, the ignominious and recreant epithet of "Traitors."

By way of allaying the causes of disquietude that prevailed, an act of the legislative council of India was hastily passed for the emergency, under the title of "An act for the prosecution, trial, and punishment of offences against the state." The preamble stated, "that it was necessary to make due provision for the prevention, trial, and punishment of offences against the state:" and it contained clauses in which provision was made for the punishment of rebellion, the punishment for harbouring or concealing rebels; giving the executive government power to issue a commission for the trial of persons charged with certain offences, in any district proclaimed to be in a state of rebellion; giving the executive government power to prohibit the carrying or possession of arms, and magistrates power to search houses, and seize arms, &c. The act was to continue in force for one year only.

A general order was also issued by the governor-general in council, authorising every general officer commanding a division, every brigadier, and every officer commanding a station, being the senior officer on the spot, to appoint general or other courts-martial, for the trial of any of the officers, or soldiers, or followers, in the service of the East India Company, being natives of the East Indies, and amenable to the articles of war for the native troops, who may be charged with any offence which, in his judgment, requires to be punished without delay; and to confirm and carry into effect, immediately or otherwise, any sentence of such court-martial. The courts assembled under this order were to consist wholly of European commissioned officers, or wholly of native commissioned officers, or partly of both: the number of members present was not to be less than five; and it was left to the discretion of the officer appointing the court to determine the composition of its members—thus meeting any difficulty that might be suggested on the score of native feeling and prejudice, a fastidious deference to which had too long been suffered to interfere with, and impair, the discipline of the army, and which was still manifest even in the very act for suppressing crimes that had arisen from its over-indulgence.

Strengthened by the reiterated assurances of devoted loyalty on the part of the influential inhabitants of Calcutta, and the reinforcements that now began to arrive from the troops returning from the Persian expedition, the authorities at the seat of government regained confidence; and the capital again settled down, for a short time, into its usual state of tranquil indifference to everything not immediately within its own boundaries.

CHAPTER X.

THE OUTBREAK AT NUSSEERABAD; FIDELITY OF THE 1ST BOMBAY LANCERS, AND ESCAPE OF THE EUROPEAN OFFICERS AND FAMILIES; DEATH OF COLONEL PENNY; HONOURABLE RECOGNITION OF LOYAL SERVICE BY THE GOVERNOR OF BOMBAY; LETTERS FROM OFFICERS; THE 44TH AND 67TH NATIVE INFANTRY DISARMED AT AGRA; GALLANT SKIRMISH WITH REBEL TROOPERS OF THE GWALIOR CONTINGENT NEAR MYNPOORIE; DEATH OF CAPTAIN HAYES AND ASSISTANT-SURGEON FAYRER; ANTICIPATED DISTURBANCES AT BAREILLY; REMOVAL OF THE FEMALES AND CHILDREN FROM THE CANTONMENT; REVOLT OF THE NATIVE REGIMENTS, AND FLIGHT OF THE OFFICERS; MURDER OF SIX ENGLISH GENTLEMEN BY THE REBEL AUTHORITIES; PLUNDER AND DESTRUCTION OF THE CANTONMENT; MASSACRES AT SHAHJEHANPORE AND MOHUNDEE.

NOTWITHSTANDING the favourable aspect of affairs, as understood and acted upon at this period in Calcutta, the poison of disaffection was still operating with deadly effect and ceaseless activity upon the native army, at the various stations throughout the presidency; and the unfortunate result was next manifest at the cantonment of Nusseerabad, a town in the upper province, situate about twelve miles to the south-east of Ajmeer.* This cantonment had been drained of infantry and guns for the Persian war; but the 1st Bombay lancers had remained; and, shortly after, the 15th Bengal native infantry from Meerut, the 30th from Agra, and the 2nd company of the 7th battalion Bengal artillery, were added to supply the deficiency of troops at the station. Matters proceeded quietly at this place until the afternoon of the 28th of May, when the horses of the Bombay troop, with a portion of the men, had gone to water. As soon as they were out of the cantonment, the light company of the 15th native infantry, by a sudden and unexpected movement, took possession of the artillery, and, being joined by the remainder of the regiment, turned the guns upon the lines occupied by the cavalry. For some hours the 30th regiment and the artillerymen remained passive: they refused to act against the mutineers; but they took no part in their proceedings, and protected their officers from insult. At length, as the evening advanced, the whole of them yielded to persuasion, and threw themselves into the movement commenced by the mutineers of the 15th regiment. The lancers, who numbered 250 men, finding the crisis had arrived for deciding the mastery, unhesitatingly charged the rebellious mass in the hope to recover the guns. Driven back for a moment, they rallied, and again and again advanced upon the bayonets of the mutineers; and, though ultimately repulsed by the overwhelming numbers of their opponents, covered themselves with glory, and inflicted severe loss upon the enemy. In this affair, Captain Spottiswoode and Cornet Newberry, of the lancers, were killed; and Captain Hardy and Lieutenant F. Lock severely wounded. The officer commanding the regiment, Colonel Penny, died the following night from the effects of a fall from his horse during a charge. Further attempt to regain the guns being useless, the lancers retired from the cantonment, taking with them the European officers and families belonging to the revolted regiments, whom

* This city is situated in the centre of the Rajpoot states of Jyenagur, Joudpoor, and Odeypoor, and is the capital of a province. The chief attraction of the place is the tomb of the great Mohammedan saint, Khaja Moyen-ud-Deen, who became celebrated some six or seven centuries since for his extraordinary virtue and sanctity. The distance from Agra to Ajmeer is 230 miles; yet it is related, that the emperor Akbar made a pilgrimage from the former city to the latter, on foot, to implore a blessing on his family. His progeny then consisted of daughters only; but after his pilgrimage it received the addition of three sons. The Mahratta chief, Madhajee Scindia, and Dowlut Rao Scindia, though Hindoos, were remarkable for their devotion to Mohammedan society and customs, and the piety of the latter was testified by his bestowing a superb pall and canopy of cloth of gold on this tomb. Here is also an ancient temple, which has been regarded by modern travellers as one of the finest monuments of Hindoo architecture extant. Four miles from the city, a remarkable place of Hindoo pilgrimage, named Pokur or Pookur, is still resorted to by the votaries of Brahma. The fort of Ajmeer, named Taragur, is built on the north-east end of a range of hills, and consists principally of a plain stone wall along the edge of the mountain, strengthened by a few round bastions. The city lies at the foot of the hill, and is surrounded by a wall and ditch. The remains of a palace of the emperor Jehangeer are still extant, and are remarkable for the fact, that it was while holding his court at this place that the Mogul sovereign received the first embassy from the East India Company in 1616, and gave his permission for the establishment of a factory in the city. (See "Introduction," p. 21.)

they safely escorted, first to Ajmeer, and, subsequently, to the camp of Colonel Dixon at Beawur. The mutineers remained in possession of the station until midnight of the 28th, when, after plundering the treasury, and firing some bungalows, they marched off in the direction of Delhi, with their arms and ammunition. It appears they were not long in making their way to the capital, although their passage was greatly impeded by the guns they had carried off, and which they were finally compelled to abandon in the deep sandy plains on their route. Captain Nixon, who held Muttra on the Jumna, having received intelligence of the mutiny and desertion, determined to intercept the rebel force on its way to Delhi, with the Bhurtpore contingent under his command. His troops advanced for three marches, and then they also mutinied, forcing Captain Nixon and Captain Munbee to flee for their lives into Bhurtpore. An attempt to bring the Malwa contingent against the mutinous sepoys on their way from Nusseerabad was attended with similar results; and the two regiments, with the artillerymen belonging to the abandoned guns, were thus enabled to swell the ranks of the rebel army at Delhi.

The behaviour of the 1st regiment of Bombay light cavalry, at Nusseerabad, was soldierlike and exemplary; and their fidelity to their officers, throughout a severe ordeal, was beyond all praise, and well deserved the eulogy pronounced upon the regiment in the following official report of Captain Hardy, who succeeded to the command on the death of Colonel Penny. Addressing the officiating major of brigade, Rajpootana field force, on the 30th of May, Captain Hardy says—"I have the honour to report, for the information of the brigadier commanding the Rajpootana field force, the part taken by the 1st lancers in the late sad proceedings at Nusseerabad. At about half-past 3 P.M., on the 28th inst., the alarm was given that the 15th regiment of Bengal native infantry was in open mutiny, and had seized the guns. In common with the other officers I was almost immediately down in my troop lines. In a few minutes the whole regiment was under arms, mounted, and formed up in open column of troops. The column was put into a gallop, and proceeded to the lines of the artillery, when the guns were immediately opened upon us. The order was given at once to charge and take the guns, troops charging in succession. Being 'left' in 'front,' the 6th troop, under Captain Spottiswoode, led; that officer fell at the head of his troop, after getting into the battery. A succession of charges followed, the officers, of course, leading the way. Not succeeding, as hoped for, in retaking the guns, Colonel Penny ordered the attacks to cease, and the regiment was marched back and formed in rear of our men's lines to protect them and be ready to act on the mutineers if they came out of their lines into the plain. While there, about five o'clock, the whole of the 15th officers joined us, having been fired at by their men. The 30th regiment would not obey their officers; and it was decided to move out of camp with the ladies and children while light remained. Colonel Penny being taken ill, it devolved upon me to execute the order for immediate retreat on Ajmeer. Subsequently, the direction was changed for this place (Beawur), where we arrived yesterday morning. Halfway the regiment halted till daylight, for rest and to let stragglers come up; and here Colonel Penny was brought a corpse, having died on the road. A volunteer party of three men and a havildar was sent back to reconnoitre and bring an account of the further proceedings of the mutineers in cantonments; and a party under a native officer was left on the halting-ground with orders how to act in case of emergency, and to stay till rejoined by the party reconnoitring.

"This rear detachment reached the regiment at eight o'clock yesterday evening. The result of the *reconnaissance* (which duty was performed in the most creditable manner) has already been laid before the brigadier in person. In addition to Colonel Penny, deceased, apparently from over exertion, and Captain Spottiswoode, shot, as before stated, under the guns, Cornet Newberry, a promising young officer, was also shot in the act of charging, and Lieutenant and Adjutant F. Lock and myself are wounded, but doing well. At present, I only know, for certain, of one of our men badly wounded, and three horses shot. Cornet Jenkins had his charger shot under him, and Lieutenant Stephens's charger is badly wounded. The loss of the mutineers I have been unable to ascertain at present. I make out to be missing sixty-six men, exclusive of the guards and sick left behind; but I hope the greater number of these will be speedily accounted for. In concluding this report, I would beg the

brigadier's kind offices in recommending the regiment under my command to the generous consideration of government. Cantoned with two mutinous regiments, the regiment has, as the brigadier knows, been nightly on duty for a fortnight past, and entirely responsible for the safety of the cantonment. They have been constantly tempted, and assailed with abuse, with no other result than telling their officers. They turned out in the promptest way to attack the mutineers, and they marched out of camp when ordered, as they stood, leaving their families and everything they had in the world behind them. They are now without tents, in a hot plain, and without any possibility of being comfortable; but up to this time all has been most cheerfully borne, and all duty correctly performed. I am fearful as to the propriety of mentioning the losses of the European officers; but I cannot refrain from bringing to the notice of my superiors the grateful sense I have of the efficient and kind aid that the officers have afforded me at this trying time. Their active services during the mutiny have already been recognised by the brigadier's approbation."

The report of Captain Hardy having been, in due course, transmitted to the commander-in-chief, was, by his excellency, submitted to the notice of the governor in council at Bombay, with the expression of his earnest appreciation of the good conduct of the regiment that had so honourably distinguished itself, by unwavering fidelity in the face of so many incentives to a less worthy line of conduct. Lord Elphinstone promptly recognised the propriety of marking his approval of such honourable conduct on the part of the troops of his presidency; and the subjoined notification of the governor's approbation was immediately issued, and ordered to be distributed throughout the presidency of Bombay.

"The right honourable the governor in council, has the highest satisfaction in publishing, for the information of the army, the annexed report of the conduct of the 1st regiment of light cavalry (lancers), made by Captain Hardy, on the occasion of a mutiny of the Bengal troops at the station of Nusseerabad, on the 29th of May last. This report has only recently been laid before government by his excellency the commander-in-chief, the original despatch having miscarried on the road. By a later report, the governor in council has learnt with regret, that eleven men of the lancers basely deserted their comrades and their standards, and joined the mutineers; but the governor in council will not suffer the disgrace of these unworthy members of the corps to sully the display of loyalty, discipline, and gallantry, which the conduct of this fine regiment has eminently exhibited. To mark the approbation with which he has received this report, the right honourable the governor in council will direct the immediate promotion to higher grades of such of the native officers and men as his excellency the commander-in-chief may be pleased to name as having most distinguished themselves on this occasion, and thereby earned a special reward; and the governor will take care that liberal compensation is awarded for the loss of property abandoned in the cantonment, and subsequently destroyed, when the lancers, in obedience to orders, marched out to protect the families of the European officers, leaving their own property entirely unprotected."

In addition to the above honourable recognition of meritorious service, the commander-in-chief at Bombay directed, that the notification of the governor in council, with the letter of Captain Hardy annexed, should be carefully translated into Hindostani and Mahratta, by interpreters of regiments, and be read and explained to the whole of the native troops of the Bombay service at a special parade to be ordered for the purpose;—so great was the importance attached to exceptional instances of native loyalty at the period referred to, when the Indian press was rife with imputations upon the fidelity of the Bombay branch of the service.

An officer of the 1st lancers, who appears to have borne a full share of the perils of the day, writes thus to a friend, a few days subsequent to the occurrence:—"Of course, by the time this reaches you, you will have heard that these cursed Bengal troops have followed the example of their fellows at Delhi and Meerut. At about 3 P.M. on Thursday, the 28th, to our utter surprise, we were all roused by hearing guns fired in the infantry lines, and almost immediately afterwards, we were informed that the 15th and 30th regiments had mutinied, and were then in arms. We (that is, our regiment) were ordered at once to the lines; we were in the saddles in less than half-an-hour, and on our way to the artillery lines, where some of the mutineers had formed up, and,

in conjunction with some of the artillery-men, had manned the guns: as soon as we appeared, they opened a fire of grape and canister on us. We were ordered to charge the guns by successive troops. The left troop was in front, and, in company with part of my troop (No. 5), went gallantly at the battery. In this charge, poor Spottiswoode was killed, and myself wounded in two places—a sword cut on left arm, and contusion from gun-shot on right chest; but, I am happy to say, neither bad wounds, as you may believe, when I was able again to assist in leading a charge. We made three or four successive charges, in which poor Newberry, a gallant youngster as ever lived, breathed his last, and Captain Hardy was wounded in the leg. Finding that from the position in which the guns were placed (amongst bomb-proof buildings) we were unable, from want of room, to do anything, we retired to our own lines; and in the evening marched to Beawur, where we stayed two days. We returned to camp yesterday, and found all quiet, and order is again beginning to be restored. On the march to Beawur our colonel died, from the effects of a fall from his horse, combined with a sort of fit he had, so that this makes me a captain. I can't tell you how sorry I am at Spottiswoode's death: he was one of the finest fellows that ever lived. My brother, I am happy to say, by some lucky accident, did not get a single wound, and is as well as can be; and although I have my arm in a sling, looking like an old Greenwich pensioner, still I am not at all badly wounded, and will be again all right. *I now ride and do all the adjutant's duties*, so you see it can't be much. We expect a reinforcement from Deesa in a day or two, in the shape of 300 European infantry, three guns European horse artillery, one squadron of 2nd cavalry, and a wing of 12th regiment of Bombay native infantry. At present, we are the only troops in cantonment. No officers of any branch of the service, with the exception of our officers, have been wounded. The mutineers plundered everything they could lay their hands on; and when I went into the bazaar to inspect it, I never saw such a pitiable sight: no less than twenty-two officers' bungalows are burned down, and their kit burnt or looted. Our regiment has come off best, having lost next to nothing. Our men are as stanch as Europeans, and behaved splendidly."

The subjoined letter from an officer of the late 15th native infantry, affords a more detailed narrative of the outbreak at Nusseerabad. It differs somewhat from the official account, and would warrant the conclusion that the mutiny was not unexpected by the European officers, and that other troops besides the Bombay lancers were engaged in the unsuccessful struggle against mutiny and rebellion. The writer of the communication appears to have been on leave, and had rejoined his regiment on the 26th of May. He says—"The day after my return, reports began to be circulated about the disaffection of our regiment and the 30th native infantry, most of them being to the effect that our men were the instigators. We fancied these reports much exaggerated, and imagined that, though our men might follow in a move of the kind, they would not be the first to lead the way. The result shows how much we were mistaken. Every precaution was taken for the safety of the station. The cavalry (1st Bombay lancers) were nearly all of them under arms every night, and strong bodies of them patrolled the cantonment. The guns were kept limbered up all night, and loaded with grape; and a detachment of 250 Europeans of her majesty's 83rd and some European artillery were sent for from Deesa, about 200 miles south-west of Nusseerabad. I used to sleep with a loaded revolver and my sword by my bedside; and should not have been in the least surprised if I had been awoke any night, and told that the sepoys were firing the bungalows, which, in other places, seems to have been a preliminary step. The excitement seemed to calm down, or at any rate we got easier in our minds, and fancied that the crisis had past. On the 27th I happened to be on duty, and on going round the station at midnight, found everything remarkably quiet. • Next day, when I was eating my tiffin in my own house, about half-past three in the afternoon, my servants rushed in, saying that the men had risen. I called for my pony and armed myself, and then went over with W—— to the colonel's. When he was ready we started for the parade-ground, through one of the streets running between the sepoys' huts and their lines. The men were coming out of their huts and loading their muskets; and I expected they would have popped at us as we passed. On reaching the quarter-guard, we found some of the men had already

turned out; and, by degrees, the men of the different companies fell in in front of their respective lines, and were brought up and formed into open column. Soon after we came down and the men fell in, the colonel sent me with a message to the officer in charge of the guns. He did not know they were in the hands of the rebels. We had heard firing in that direction before; but did not know that the first thing which took place was, that a few of the worst men, having induced the native gunners to join them (there were no European artillerymen, but the native ones were considered quite faithful), had possessed themselves of the guns, six in number. I galloped off towards them, and must have been within from 70 to 100 yards, when I began to experience the unpleasant sensation of bullets whizzing past my head, and saw a lot of sepoys taking potshots at me as I came along. One man put up his hands and warned me off, and I did not require any further hint—the neighbourhood was not the safest. I immediately turned my pony's head, and endeavoured to retreat under cover of a wall, which ran in front of the artillery lines. Here I saw more men running up with the kind intention of having a crack at me, so I had to keep along the parade-ground right in the line of fire, and had one or two men popping at me over the wall on my right. My pony went as fast as ever he could go; and, thanks be to God, carried me back in perfect safety, much to the astonishment of all who saw it. The colonel then ordered the grenadiers and light company to move off under cover of the bells of arms, and attack the guns; but when they had gone a little way they refused to move further, and man after man deserted and joined the mutineers. At the same time the colonel told me to take out another company, and extend them in skirmishing order in front of the guns, and to pick off the men at the guns, and, if possible, charge. Fortunately the men would not move; if they had, they would have obeyed orders till told to begin firing, when I should have had a bullet through me, and the men would have deserted in a body. As nothing was to be got from them, the companies were recalled. I had forgotten to tell you that the regiment, previous to this, was drawn up in line facing the guns; the guns being about 600 or 700 yards to the left of our lines. In this position we remained upwards of an hour, when, finding the men would do nothing, the colonel formed open column. The guns, of course, would not open on us, as they knew all the men were going to join them when things were ripe. It was only in active movements the men refused to obey orders; in everything else they were quite subordinate. At one time, when the officers were grouped together somewhat in front of the men, some men came out from the guns and tried to hit us with their muskets, which they could do without injuring the sepoys. At last sunset began to come on, and it was evident we could not remain much longer, so our adjutant was sent off to the brigadier for orders, who told us to retire. The colonel was determined, if possible, to carry off the colours, which were accordingly brought out of the quarter-guard. When the colonel gave the order to march, the men refused to go. He then asked who would join in taking off the colours, and the grenadiers, almost to a man, came forward. The colours were brought to the front, and put under charge of the grenadiers; very few others came forward; and when the word 'march' was given, a jeer was raised, and a shout, 'You shan't take away the colours.' The men cocked their pieces. I turned round and saw that two men had got the colours, and were running away towards the enemy. The first gun that was fired at us was the signal for the officers to be off. Providentially we were all mounted at the time, so off we started, amid showers of bullets, towards the cavalry lines. I dodged round the first bell of arms (a small square building detached from all others, in which the arms were kept); and as I passed each bell, saw three or four men behind each, who deliberately shot at us as we passed. Either my pony swerved before I came to the sergeant-major's bungalow, or else I saw more men in the road; I don't know which. At all events, I had to steer with great difficulty round the outside of the house, which brought me again on the open parade-ground. Round the corner, and I was comparatively safe. A moment or two more and I was safe among the cavalry, who were drawn up in rear of their own lines. Every one of us came in safe by God's mercy. P——'s charger, a very fine animal, dropped dead directly he had brought his master into safety. The colonel had an awfully narrow escape; his horse swerved right round at the start, and we thought it was all over with him. The

horse received one ball on the forehead, another in the neck, and his knee was grazed by a third, but he brought the colonel in safe, and is still alive. We now had the explanation of all the firing we had heard going on at the artillery while we were standing under arms. The cavalry had come up, and been fired on with grape by the mutineers, and had made several attempts to charge, but could not capture the guns. Newbury, quite a young fellow, charging by himself, was riddled with balls, and then hacked to pieces. Captain Spottiswoode was also killed, and two other officers slightly wounded. J—— had his jacket ripped open at the shoulder by a bullet. M——, who cut down a man, had a very narrow escape; and so had several other officers. When we came up they determined to retreat at once. It was just sunset when we left the station. The ladies had been sent on in buggies previously, in case we should have to 'bolt;' so we fell in with them just outside the cantonment. We left by the Ajmeer-road; and when we had gone a mile or two struck off to the left, under the hills, making a detour towards Beawur, where it was determined to retire. We went right across country, over fields and rocky hills, for about ten miles, till we came to the Beawur-road, leaving the blazing bungalows of the station behind us. About two o'clock we fell in with most of the officers of the 30th, who had escaped, and arrived at a bungalow. Here Colonel Penny, commanding the lancers, who was taken ill on the way, from the effects of a fall and over-excitement, died. We could get nothing to eator drink; and, starting again at daybreak, reached this (Beawur) about eleven. The journey by the road is thirty-two miles, and our detour must have made it at least ten miles longer, so you may fancy how tired our horses were. Not a thing has any one saved—I have not even my watch; and my pistol was jerked out of my holster in our flight."

After the departure of the mutinous troops, on the night of the 28th of May, Nusseerabad appears to have escaped further annoyance. A letter from the cantonment, a few days after the occurrences described, says—"I have the pleasure to inform you that order is re-established here. The station is protected by the 1st Bombay lancers, and a portion of the Joudpoor legion, under Captain Blake; and the Kishengurh horse. A troop of cavalry search the surrounding villages daily for plunder; but as there has been so much time lost, the loot has been buried, and the result has been almost 'nil.' The 15th officers are all here, except two left on duty at Beawur. The 30th, also, are all present, with the exception of one ordered to Ajmeer. The whole dependent on the hospitality of the gallant 1st, whose bungalows were only partially looted and burnt. The Europeans from Deesa are expected to-day at Beawur. Should they halt here with guns, we are prepared to give any insurgents, in the event of their showing near us, a hot reception."

Turning again towards the North-West Provinces, we find, by a despatch forwarded by the lieutenant-governor, that, during the night of Sunday, the 24th of May, the lines of the cantonment at Agra, that had formerly been occupied by the 72nd native infantry (since removed to Neemuch), were destroyed by fire; and a few nights after, those in the actual occupation of the men of the 67th native regiment, were also in a state of conflagration. That neither of those occurrences was believed to be accidental, appeared from the fact, that the European troops, consisting of the 3rd fusiliers and a troop of artillery, were not allowed to quit their lines for the purpose of rendering assistance, as probably the incendiaries expected they would have done; but, on the contrary, they were turned out armed, and prepared to act on an emergency. Being foiled in the contemplated manœuvre, which might have put them in possession of the arms and ammunition of the absent soldiers, the men of the native regiments, after some delay, proceeded to the scene of conflagration, and helped to extinguish the fire. The night passed over without any incident to cause further alarm, and an appearance of tranquillity prevailed at the station.

The following observations of an officer in cantonment at the time, are expressive of the feverish state of the European mind at Agra at this period. The writer, after describing the extent of the fires, and the means by which they were extinguished on the second occasion by the native soldiers, says—"On the first occasion, they were complimented by their colonel, who expressed his high satisfaction at their conduct, &c., and was in return laughed at by the bloodthirsty scoundrels. On the last occasion, the 67th native infantry made a great deal of fuss about the destruction of

their lines, and swore vengeance against the 44th, whom they were pleased to accuse of being the incendiaries. How far the colonels of the two regiments and the brigadier of the station really gulped this down I know not; but few among us here were gulled by these subterfuges; and the sequel showed that the colonels, with the brigadier of the station, were wofully wrong, at least in their expressed confidence. At first, the fire took place at midnight in an empty hospital; on the second occasion, it commenced at about eight o'clock, also in the empty lines of the 72nd. Finding that neither the hour of midnight nor the earlier hour of candlelight would tempt the Europeans away from their lines unarmed to quench the fire, and that the anthorities allowed these empty buildings to burn away at leisure, the incendiaries tried their hand at the lines in occupation of the 67th. Fortunately, even now the authorities remained firm to the resolution of keeping the only European troops we have in the station ready to act on an emergency, not against the fire, but against all traitors and mutineers. I say fortunately, for be assured—and I am very cautious in what I am writing—had the Europeans hastened from their lines, unarmed as usual, to quench the fire, a rush would perhaps have been made to get possession of the artillery guns, six in number, with but a handful of Europeans to protect them; but to a certainty both the native regiments would have hastened, with all the ferocity evinced by their brethren at Meerut, to enact the scenes which marked the massacre of our countrymen at that station, and before the Europeans could have got back to their lines and been armed and formed, even supposing that they would not have been attacked while unarmed, these scoundrels would have had ample time to scatter woe and misery in many a household in the cantonment, and thence to proceed to the civil lines, there to repeat the bloody scene; and ultimately, like their brethren of Meerut, proceed to join them at Delhi, for our troops could not follow them. The rising of the native regiments would have been a signal for the discontented and others, perchance many, interested in the general rising of the Mohammedans, to perform their part in the destruction of the Kaffirs (Christians.)"

After an interval of quiet that scarcely extended over five days, renewed cause for apprehending mischief was presented to the European community. On Friday, the 29th of May, a company of the 44th regiment of native infantry, together with one of the 67th regiment, were on their return from Muttra, whither they had been dispatched for the purpose of escorting some treasure to Agra. The combination of the men of the two native regiments had been purposely ordered, in consequence of the adverse feeling that notoriously existed between the corps, it being considered probable, that in case of any attempted irregularity by the men of one regiment, those of the other would be a check upon their proceedings. This reliance upon their antipathies was not, however, warranted by their conduct; as on the march back, the whole escort mutinied: and without injuring the officer in charge, the men declared their intention to convey the treasure to Delhi, and forthwith marched with it in that direction. Intelligence of this event reached Agra on the night of Saturday, May 30th, and was quickly communicated to the men of the two native regiments, who made no secret of their desire to emulate the exploits of their absent comrades. The European officers lost no time, after the information reached them, in removing their families to places of safety; and many of the Christian inhabitants of the city prepared to follow their prudent example. Meanwhile, the men of the 44th and 67th regiments were preparing for a demonstration; and at two o'clock in the morning of Sunday, the 31st, had just began to issue from their lines, when they discovered that the fusiliers and artillery were watching their movements, and were prepared to crush any effort at mutiny. The disagreeable fact recalled for a time these ardent spirits to a sense of that "better part of valour, named discretion," and they quietly retired to the shelter of their lines, without provoking the chastisement that had been prepared for them. The European force and civilians remained under arms during the morning, it having been determined to disarm the two regiments. Of these, only one (the 44th) was thought likely to resist the order when given.

Between six and seven o'clock on Sunday morning, the 44th and 67th regiments were paraded in the unwelcome presence of the European troops, and were ordered to lay down their arms. The men of the 67th immediately obeyed, protesting respectfully against the undeserved disgrace that had

been put on them by the government; but the 44th hesitated. They did not offer to relinquish their arms, but were evidently undecided as to the course they would take upon the occasion: they had not calculated upon such prompt and decisive action by the authorities, and were taken by surprise. At length the rank began to waver and break, and some of the men began to move off the parade with their arms, but they were immediately ordered back in a tone that convinced them they had no choice between obedience or destruction. They now saw that the authorities were determined, and that further procrastination on their part would bring upon them a discharge of grape from the artillery, which faced them with the portfires lighted. Gradually they obeyed the order; some piled their arms as usual; others, acting the part of insulted honour, threw down their arms with well-simulated indignation, and stood frowning while their weapons were gathered up and conveyed by a company of the European troops to a place of safety. The men of the two regiments were then ordered to fall in, and shortly afterwards were marched to their lines and permitted to disperse. One company of the 44th was at this time on duty in the fort, whither the brigadier with his staff, and accompanied by a party of the European fusiliers, immediately proceeded, and having relieved them from their guard in the usual manner, they also were required to lay down their arms. Some of these men showed an inclination to resist the order, and began to load; but, upon the fusiliers cocking their muskets, they with the others submitted, and, having given up their weapons, they were marched off to the cantonment to join their comrades. Two other details of the 44th, on duty at Government-house and the gaol, on being apprised of the proceedings at the fort, abandoned their posts without orders; and, taking with them their arms and ammunition, started for Delhi.

The remainder of the day passed without any appearance of disorder; but, during the night, about 200 of the 44th, who had contrived to procure swords, daggers, and other weapons, quietly approached the artillery lines, with intention to take possession of the guns. The artillerymen were, however, prepared for the event, which had been considered probable; and, on discovering the sepoys, made ready to receive them with a volley of grape. The visitors had not expected such a reception, and, moreover, had no appetite for it; they consequently halted at a safe distance, and, after a very short consultation, the whole body retraced their steps, and following their comrades to Delhi, left Agra to a repose of short duration, succeeded by the events which will be hereafter referred to.

MYNPOORIE.—One of the most exciting and painful episodes in the history of the sepoy revolt, is recorded in some graphic details of a murderous *rencontre* with some troopers belonging to the Gwalior contingent, who, under the command of Captain Hayes, of the 56th native infantry, were reconnoitring in the districts between Mynpoorie, Etawah, and Agra, on the morning of Sunday, the 31st of May. The detachment consisted of 200 sowars and four European officers, *en route* from Lucknow to Mynpoorie; and it appears, by the narrative of the only survivor of the four of the latter, that, on the morning of the second day, the men turned upon their officers and sacrificed three of them to their vengeance. The three killed were Captain Fletcher Hayes, military secretary to the chief commissioner in Oude; Lieutenant G. D. Barber, adjutant of the 2nd Oude cavalry; and Assistant-surgeon Fayeer. The latter was first dispatched—a sowar having stolen quietly behind him while stooping to drink at a well, and with one cut of his tulwar severed his head from his body. The one surviving officer did not regularly belong to the detachment, but had volunteered to accompany it, and had himself a narrow escape, being within eight yards of Captain Hayes when the latter was cut down by one of the native officers. The survivor was hotly pursued for several miles by the mutinous sowars, but escaped the bloodthirsty ruffians who were in chase of him. The communication of Captain Cary, 17th native infantry (subjoined), describes the whole affair, and its melancholy consequences; and is so replete with graphic detail and exciting interest, that any history of the Indian revolt of 1857, would be incomplete without it. The writer dates from "Mynpoorie, June 2nd;" and says—

"I thank God that I am at this moment alive and well, and that I am able to write and tell you so; for last night we buried in the churchyard here my three poor companions, who were ruthlessly murdered by the sowars we were taking with us to assist in suppressing the mutinous spirit rising in these districts. I wrote to you from camp

Gosanjunje three or four days ago. On our arrival at Bowgous about half-past 7 P.M. on Saturday, Hayes determined upon cantering into Mynpoorie, about eight miles, to consult with the magistrate about attacking the Etah rajah, who had set himself up as king, and set our rule at defiance. All Sunday we remained at Mynpoorie, sending poor Barber, the adjutant of the 2nd irregular cavalry, directions to proceed up to Kurrowlee, and that there we would join him on Monday morning. The thanadar came in from Bowgous, saying our men were mutinying, and begged us not to trust them; but when Hayes's escort came in the evening, and said their men had been complaining about the long marches, &c., we thought it was nothing. Well, we cantered along, all merrily, in the morning, talking of how we would open the road to Allygurh, and carry all before us; and after riding about eleven miles we came up in sight of the men apparently going along the road and quite orderly. They were on one road, we on another. I said, 'Let us cross the plain and meet them.' As we approached they faced towards us and halted, and when we had cantered up to within about fifty yards of them, one or two of the native officers rode out to meet us, and said in a low voice, 'Fly, Sahibs, fly.' Upon this poor Hayes said to me as we wheeled round our horses, 'Well, we must now fly for our lives;' and away we went with the two troops after us like demons, yelling and sending the bullets from their carbines flying all round us. Thank God, neither I nor my horse was hit. Hayes was riding on the side nearest the troopers; and before we had gone many yards I saw a native officer go up alongside of him, and with one blow cut him from his saddle. It was the work of an instant, and took much less time than I have to relate it. On they all came shouting after me, and every now and then 'ping' came a ball near me. Indeed, I thought my moments were numbered; but as I neared the road at the end of the maidan a ditch presented itself. It was but a moment I thought, dug my spurs hard in, and the mare flew over it, though she nearly fell on the other side; fortunately, I recovered her, and in another moment I was leaving all behind but two sowars, who followed me and poor Hayes's horse tearing on after me. On seeing this I put my pistol into my holster, having reserved my fire until a man was actually upon me, and took a pull at the mare, as I had still a long ride for it, and knew my riding must now stand me a good turn; so I raised the mare as much as I could, keeping those fiends about 100 yards in rear; and they, I suppose, seeing I was taking it easy, and not urging my horse, but merely turning round every now and then to watch them, pulled up, after chasing me two good miles. Never did I know a happier moment, and most fervently did I thank God for saving my life. Hayes's Arab came dashing along, and passed me; I still continued to ride on at a strong pace, fearful of being taken and murdered by some who had taken a short cut unknown to me. Thus up to the sixth mile from home did I continue to fly, when, finding my mare completely done, and meeting one of our sowars, I immediately stopped him, jumped up behind, and ordered him to hasten back to Mynpoorie. After going about a mile on this beast we came up to poor Hayes's horse, which had been caught; so on him I sprang, and he bore me back safely to cantonments. It was, indeed, a ride for life or death; and only when I alighted at the magistrate's Cutcherry, in which all the Europeans were assembled, did I feel at all comfortable. Men were immediately sent out to look for the body (Hayes's) and bring it in, and ascertain the fate of Barber, the adjutant, and young Fayeer, who were known to have left their last encamping-ground with the men. In the afternoon poor Hayes's body was brought in, his head most frightfully hacked about, his right hand cut off, and his left fearfully lacerated—his watch, rings, boots, all gone, and his clothes all cut and torn to pieces. Poor fellow! it was a sad fate for such a good and clever man, and deeply do I feel the loss of one who was ever a kind friend to me, anxious to serve me by every means in his power; gladly would I have assisted him had I had it in my power; but what could I do against 200 infuriated fanatics? Poor Hayes was not eight yards from me when he fell, and one instant's delay would have been certain death to me. One old Sikh sirdar with two followers, who stood aloof from these acts of murder, and one of Hayes's servants, brought in his body, and from them I learned that poor young Fayeer's and Barber's remains were also being brought in. A dastardly villain of a sowar stole behind poor young Fayeer, as he was drinking at a well, and with one blow of his tulwar on his neck killed him; he fell back, his head half severed from his body.

The old Sikh rushed forward to raise him, and ordered them to seize the murderer, when another man said, 'What! are you with these Kaffirs; take care of yourself.' On raising poor young Fayeer's head the poor man breathed his last. Barber fled up the road, several giving chase; he shot one horse and two of the sowars, when he was hit with a ball and then cut down, his property taken off, his horse seized, and then they all rode off towards Delhi. Fayeer was killed about ten minutes before we came up; then they killed poor Hayes, and then Barber. Thus you see, through the mercy of God, I escaped sharing these poor fellows' fate. I am now with some eight others in the Cutcherry of Mynpoorie; we have lots of arms and ammunition. It is a large pukha building, and from the top we can make a good fight if no guns are brought against us. We have 100 of the Gwalior horse, under Major Raikes, and are raising infantry and cavalry all round, and now have about 100 of each or more, besides a few men of the 9th native infantry who remained true to their salt, and did not desert with the rest. The Gwalior horse Major Raikes seems very confident in; but since this last *émeute* in our men I do not place trust in a single native. Deeply do I feel for my unfortunate companions who left Cawnpore with me, full of hope, and anxious to be the first to cut our way through this Etah rajah's country, and open the road for government to Allygurh, which has now been closed some days. We were all anxious to distinguish ourselves, and every day we tried to inspire our men, who swore they would follow us; and thus, with a deceitful, lying, outward show of entering heartily into our views, did they lead us on, and then became the murderers of those poor men who had never injured them, and promised them all sorts of rewards if they would fight well and stick to our sides like men. Thus is our dream dispelled. I, the only one left of those four: it is sickening to contemplate."

Bareilly.—By the middle of May the events at Meerut and Delhi had become known in many parts of the presidency; and among others, the country round Bareilly, a city of the upper province, situated on a tributary of the Ganges, about 118 miles north-east of Agra, was informed of the prevailing agitation. The cantonment at Bareilly was at the time occupied by the 18th and 68th regiments of native infantry, the 8th irregular cavalry, and the 6th company of Bengal native artillery; and on receiving intelligence that a king had been proclaimed at Delhi, the two infantry corps became extravagantly excited, and it was no longer doubtful that they would follow the example of the other mutinous regiments. This possibility had been suspected; but, with a natural, but certainly non-military, reluctance to receive an unwelcome truth, the necessary measures that might have averted the danger in time were procrastinated until they became unavailing.

The following report from Brigadier Sibbald, commanding in Rohilcund, to the secretary to the government of India, represents the state of the troops in cantonment at Bareilly, up to the 23rd of May:—"I beg you will do me the favour to bring to the notice of the right honourable the governor-general of India, that on my return from inspection duty at Almorah, I found all quiet here, but the troops labouring under a great depression of spirits, caused by the fear of some heavy punishment they imagined government was about to inflict upon them. The reason for such a feeling of fear is best known to themselves, for up to the present time nothing of a turbulent nature has taken place; and though, doubtless, a very bad and uneasy feeling was for some days very prevalent, no open act of the troops has rendered them liable to the punishment they so much dread. During my absence, Colonel Troup, then in temporary command of this station, did everything in his power to allay this feeling, and with the happiest results; but I considered it judicious, on resuming my command, to assure the troops that the promises of pardon made to them by Colonel Troup, I pledged myself to use my utmost efforts to obtain, provided they continued to act as good and loyal soldiers.

"On the morning of the 21st instant, I addressed the troops to this effect on a general parade; and Mr. Alexander, the commissioner of Rohilcund, afterwards spoke to the native officers assembled in front of the troops, and in the name of his honour the lieutenant-governor, assured them that the intentions of government towards them were the same as they had ever been, and begged them to dismiss from their minds the causeless dread that frightened them. The troops are evidently in a more happy and cheerful state, and as they themselves say, 'Have commenced a new life.' Under existing circumstances, permit me to ob-

serve, that in my opinion a confirmation of these promises of free pardon from the highest authorities will be productive of the happiest results; were the men under my command fully convinced that the past should be forgotten, I feel convinced that their loyalty and good conduct may be relied upon.

"At the request of the commissioner of Rohilcund, I yesterday dispatched a party of thirty sowars from the 8th irregular cavalry, to act under the magistrate of Moradabad; and though the large population of the town, and the number of prisoners in the central gaol, would render it imprudent greatly to diminish our strength here, I still feel I shall be able, in a limited manner, to assist the civil power in maintaining the peace of the district. Cavalry, on occasions of sudden outbreak and disturbances raised in different points, are of course more efficient than infantry, as the promptness with which a body of rioters is suppressed is of the most vital importance. The state of affairs here, of which his honour the lieutenant-governor has been kept informed, rendered it to the last degree imprudent to detach any from the 8th irregulars, even under circumstances of imperative urgency. Feeling the utter insufficiency of our present body of cavalry, and the innumerable calls that were made on that body, I trust that the measure adopted by Colonel Troup in the great emergency in which he was placed, may meet with the support and confirmation of government. The men already raised have allowed me to attach the small party already alluded to, to Moradabad, and every day places me in a position better able to meet the requisitions of the civil power.

"In conclusion, I hope I may be allowed to express my entire satisfaction and hearty concurrence with the measures adopted in my absence. With Mr. Alexander, the commissioner of Rohilcund, I have the greatest pleasure in acting; he keeps me well informed, and my confidence in his energy and discretion is unbounded. From the cheerful and obedient spirit now evinced by the troops, I augur the happiest results, and am convinced that should their services be required they will act as good and loyal soldiers.—I have, &c.—H. SIBBALD,

"Brigadier, commanding in Rohilcund.

"P.S.—The reports from Moradabad, Shahjehanpore, and Almorah, of the conduct of the troops is, up to the present moment, most satisfactory. The 29th regiment at Moradabad, by the good spirit they are now evincing, are proving their repentance for the outbreak of the bad men among them. I cannot say too much in praise of the 8th irregular cavalry; their conduct is beyond praise, and I should feel much gratified should government consider them worthy of its thanks."

The receipt of the above report was acknowledged by the secretary to the government at Fort William on the 30th of May. After expressing the approval, by the governor-general in council, of the measures adopted by Colonel Troup during the absence of the brigadier on duty, and of the assistance afforded by Mr. Alexander, the commissioner in Rohilcund; the secretary observes—"As the first paragraph of your letter states that the troops at Bareilly have committed no crimes, and that nothing turbulent has taken place, the governor-general in council does not clearly understand what is meant by the promises of free pardon made by Colonel Troup, and to which you solicit confirmation; but if it be that assurances have been made to the men that the intentions of government towards them are the same as they have ever been, and that no interference with their caste is to be attempted, those assurances are hereby fully confirmed, and you cannot too strongly impress upon the minds of the men, that so long as they continue loyal and true to the government, they will be treated with the utmost consideration, as they always have been hitherto.—I am, &c.,

"R. J. H. BIRCH, Colonel."

Between the date of the report of Brigadier Sibbald, and that of its recognition, serious events had occurred at Bareilly. The immediate cause of agitation was supplied by the arrival of about 150 of the Meerut stragglers, who contrived to pass the night in the lines without the knowledge of the European officers; and it soon became evident, that the evils which had afflicted so many other places, could not be much longer averted from Bareilly. Inflamed by the representations of the fugitive sepoys, the troops began to talk openly of revolt: they threw off the mask of subordination that they had but awkwardly worn for several days, and avowed their intention to seize the guns, throw open the gaol, and liberate some 2,000 prisoners in confinement there. It was boasted that, on the troops rising, the city would be fired, and

that plunder and massacre would rage within the walls; while the surrounding country, which was only waiting for Bareilly to take the initiative, would hasten to join the insurgents, and cut off the retreat of the Europeans in case of their attempting to escape. Fortunately, the energies of the officer in command, Colonel Troup, and of the resident commissioner, Mr. Alexander, were equal to the emergency; and by much tact and prudence, they succeeded, by friendly interviews and addresses, in calming down the tempers of the men. The 8th irregular cavalry affected at this time great loyalty and zeal, and advantage was taken of the circumstance to throw out guards and pickets to protect the station, and defend the guns, treasury, and gaol; while their patrols were to give instant alarm upon any appearance of disorder; the main body being kept ready saddled and armed for the protection of the European residents. Orders were given to Captain Mackenzie, the commandant of the regiment, to increase his strength to 1,000 men; and numbers of individuals who had been waiting the opportunity, were immediately enrolled. The females and children at the station were sent off to the hills for safety; and the officers and other Europeans, being thus relieved of a great source of anxiety, agreed upon a rallying point for themselves in case of necessity, and awaited the crisis which they were assured could not be very remote.

A letter from Bareilly, of the 26th of May, refers to the circumstances that then existed, as follows:—"We have here passed in safety through a fearful crisis. For three days we were in the condition of men seated on a mine the train of which was on fire. By the unremitting care of Colonel Troup (commanding in the absence, on inspection tour, of Brigadier Sibbald) and of Mr. Alexander, the commissioner, and others, the train has been interrupted, and time has been gained to remove the combustible material." The writer then states, that the commissioner had dispatched orders throughout the district, commanding all soldiers on leave to place themselves at the disposal of the civil magistrates, and to act as detached police upon the roads, for the purpose of intercepting the progress of straggling mutineers on their way to Delhi, who were to be quietly and securely conducted until past the vicinity of Bareilly. The letter then says—"After three nights, during which the irregulars were under arms, the good men, who form the great majority, evidently felt themselves the stronger, and then ventured to speak out. The native regiments have now, of themselves, thrown out men off duty as running sentries round their lines, to prevent the approach of straggling mutineers." The writer further observes, in conclusion—"Much, very much, of the excitement arose from an undefined fear on the part of the sepoys. They knew that many of their number had committed themselves, and they dreaded the vengeance of the government, whom they knew to be cognizant of their errors; and this feeling was dexterously seized on and encouraged by those scoundrels, both in and out of the regiments, who, having nothing to lose, and hopes of gaining much, are always ready for a disturbance. When this crisis shall have passed, stern and unflinching vengeance on those who have mutinied and been guilty of atrocities, tempered with judicious and gracious clemency to those who were only misled into a willingness to join them, will, I fondly hope, tend greatly to create and consolidate a lasting loyalty throughout our native troops."

The fancied security of the station was, however, soon to be disturbed; and, after three anxious nights of deceitful calm, the time for action arrived. On Friday, May 29th, a rumour got abroad, that the troops were preparing to turn out; but upon the officers going among them, to ascertain the fact, most of the men stoutly disclaimed any such intention, and pretended to attribute the report to the idle vagabonds in the station, who desired to excite confusion with a view to plunder. The subahdar-major of the 68th regiment went to the adjutant, and "with streaming tears, petitioned on his own behalf, and that of the regiment, that the ladies and children of the officers might return to the cantonments; averring that all danger had passed, and that the men were never more loyal or attached to their officers." Happily the prayer was not acceded to, and the intended butchery was so far prevented.

Under the pressure of extraordinary vigilance on the part of Colonel Troup and his officers, the lull in the storm continued throughout the Saturday; but a sense of impending disaster seemed to oppress all minds. In the evening a large number of fugitives, belonging to the 45th regiment,

which had mutinied at Ferozepore on the 13th,* passed through the station, and, on their way, spread the wildest rumours among the troops, who were told that a large force of Europeans, with artillery, had been concentrated in the vicinity of the cantonment; and that the destruction of the whole of the native regiments had been determined upon by the "white people." Several men belonging to the corps at the station also rejoined during the night, and by their tales added much to the uneasiness excited among their comrades by the Ferozepore deserters. Few of the men retired to their huts during the night; and the lines were kept in a state of commotion that occasioned serious misgivings among the European officers.

On Sunday, May 31st, the day opened upon the cantonment at Bareilly peacefully, and nothing seemed moving to disturb the usual arrangements of the day. Divine service was performed at the church, and there was a large and serious attendance of worshippers. The native officers reported all quiet and satisfactory, and assured the colonel commanding that the men were "never in better heart." The form of examining and closing muster-rolls and pay accounts, was carefully and deliberately gone through; leave-rolls were prepared and countersigned; and the whole routine of a Sunday in cantonment regularly observed; and so cleverly was the mischief veiled, that not one regimental officer had the slightest suspicion that it was so near consummation.

Precisely as the clock struck the hour of eleven, a gun was fired, and a loud and long-continued yell from the lines broke the repose of the Christian sabbath. The men rushed to the bells of arms, and began to fire indiscriminately among the officers' houses. Some of the well-disposed hastened to their officers, and besought them to fly, and by no means to approach the parade, where the mutineers were then assembling. Meanwhile, others were running frantically in every direction, firing at everything and everybody that came in their way; and before several of the officers knew what had really occurred, their houses were surrounded, and themselves had become targets for their own men. The escapes of many were perfectly miraculous. In an endeavour to quit the cantonment, Ensign Barwell, of the 18th regiment, was dismounted, and had his horse taken from him; and yet, although a shower of bullets flew past him, he escaped unhurt. Lieutenant Rogers, of the 68th, was surrounded by a crowd of infuriated men, who attempted to seize his horse; but, by a sudden and vigorous effort, he sprung through the mob, and, although fired at, was not touched. Two companies of the 68th ran to the bungalow of the colonel, intending to surround it, and make sure of their victim; but he had fortunately been apprised of their approach, and escaped in time. Three officers of the 68th—Captains Paterson and Gibbs, and Lieutenant Warde—occupied quarters on the parade, within a hundred yards of the lines: they were surrounded and fired at on all sides; but their horses having been got ready, they mounted, and galloped past the entire front of the parade, receiving from the mutineers assembled there volleys of shot, that fell harmless among them. On passing the battery, every gun opened upon them with grape, within 200 yards of the party; but they also passed under this shower of missiles without a wound. These, unfortunately, were the exceptions. Ensign Tucker, of the same regiment, was shot dead while endeavouring to save the life of the sergeant-major. Brigadier Sibbald was mortally wounded, in attempting to reach the rendezvous, by a musket-shot in his chest. The noble old man succeeded in reaching the desired spot, but shortly after fell dead from his horse. The whole number of officers and civilians who succeeded in getting to the rendezvous was thirty; and, after waiting some time, in case any others of the scattered community might join them, they at length mounted, and turning their horses' heads towards Nynee Tal (a European sanitarium among the hills, about seventy-four miles from Bareilly), the whole of the party sought safety in a necessary flight. After a hot, long, and tedious journey, of twenty-four hours' duration, without one moment's rest, the whole of them arrived in safety at Nynee Tal, without meeting any serious obstruction in their way. Eleven native officers, and twenty-four troopers of the 8th irregular cavalry, who were yet faithful, accompanied the fugitives, leaving all they possessed to the mercy of the insurgents, rather than abandon their officers in this extremity.

One of the most extraordinary escapes

* See *ante*, p. 120.

upon record during this sanguinary outbreak, was that of Mr. R. Alexander, the commissioner of Rohilcund, who, on the Sunday of the revolt, was confined to his bed by a severe indisposition. When the servant of this gentleman rushed into his chamber, and, announcing the mutiny, begged of him to arise and fly for his life, he declared he was too ill to ride, and would rather die where he was. He was, however, constrained to get up, and assisted to mount the horse brought for him by the servant. The animal took fright at the firing, and becoming unmanageable, ran away with his rider; fortunately, he took the road to Nynee Tal, and soon came up with the other fugitives from the cantonment, by some of whom the mad career of the terrified animal was arrested, and the rider saved from further danger.

While these incidents were progressing, repeated discharges of musketry and artillery announced to the inhabitants of Bareilly, that rebellion had arrived at their own thresholds. Soon after the commencement of the outbreak, the gaol was attacked by the mutinous soldiers and budmashes of the town, and nearly 3,000 prisoners, of all grades, were let loose upon society. Many of these individuals began to plunder the shops, and maltreated all who offered to resist them. Irritated at this, the townspeople took up arms, and, after a little time, a regular fight ensued between the Hindoos and the Mohammedans, in which the latter were victorious, and at once took the command of the place, under the leadership of Buktawur Khan, a subahdar of artillery, who assumed the rank of general; and having harangued the people on their duties to the government about to be established, paraded the streets in the brigadier's carriage, followed by a numerous, if not a brilliant staff. One of the native judges in the Company's service, named Khan Bahadoor Khan, a descendant from a Rohilla chief (Hafiz Rehmut), and notorious for his abject servility to the Europeans generally, had now the audacity to cause himself to be proclaimed king of Rohilcund; and inaugurated his reign by a series of cowardly murders, perpetrated upon the unfortunate English residents who had not succeeded in making their escape. Among these were Messrs. Robertson and Raikes, of the civil service; Dr. Hay, son-in-law of Mr. Thomason, the late lieutenant-governor of the North-West Provinces; Dr. Carl Buch, principal of the government college at Bareilly; the judge of the district court; and Dr. Hansbrow, the medical officer in charge of the gaol. These six gentlemen were brought prisoners before the self-chosen king of Rohilcund, and put upon their trial. In mockery, the forms of justice were observed: a jury of natives was sworn; some charge or other preferred; witnesses examined; a conviction of course obtained, and sentence of death was immediately pronounced on each. Three of them were taken from the bar, and hung in front of the gaol; the other three were kept in irons until the morning, when they also were suspended by the side of their companions. The next step of this tyrant was to offer rewards for the heads of all the Europeans that had escaped his vengeance, fixing 1,000 rupees as the price for that of the commissioner. After thus gratifying his hatred to the men among whom he had been constantly associating with seeming friendship and mutual confidence, orders were given by the rebel brigadier to destroy the cantonment, which was plundered and fired; and before the night had closed, all that remained of Bareilly was a heap of smouldering ruins.

Some days after the events we have detailed, an official report of the outbreak and subsequent proceedings, was transmitted by Colonel Troup to the deputy adjutant-general. It ran as follows:—

"As the senior officer of the late Bareilly brigade, I find it my painful duty to report to you, for the information of the officer commanding-in-chief, the fearful and extraordinary occurrences which took place at that station on the 30th ultimo. I would premise by stating, that from the 6th to the 19th ultimo, during the absence of the late Brigadier Sibbald, C.B., on a tour of inspection at Almorah, I was left in charge of the station at Bareilly, up to which latter date everything has been reported already to army head-quarters. On Brigadier Sibbald's return to Bareilly, and resumption of command, he was pleased to approve and confirm all that had been done during his absence, and had a parade of the troops to assure them of this. From the 19th until the 29th ultimo, things went on without much change. On the latter date, however, I received a note from Mr. Alexander, the commissioner of Rohilcund, stating that it had been reported to him, that it was well known that the 68th regiment of native

infantry intended mutinying at 2 P.M. on that day. I had hardly received this note from Mr. Alexander, when the havildar-major of the regiment came to me in breathless haste, and reported that he had been sent by the subahdar-major to inform me, that whilst bathing at the river in the morning, the men of both regiments (the 18th and 68th) had sworn to rise at 2 P.M., and murder their European officers.

"Although not in command of the station at this time, living near the 18th and 8th irregular cavalry, I warned them of what I had heard; and wrote to Captain Gibbs, the adjutant of the 68th, to request that he would warn the officers to be on their guard. At the same time, I recommended Captain Brownlow, the major of brigade, who was at the time living with me, to go at once and report to, and, if necessary, to bring down, the late Brigadier Sibbald to the 8th irregular cavalry lines, they having been warned as to the point of assembly on an alarm being given. On this occasion, the irregular cavalry, under Captain Mackenzie, were in their saddles, and, as far as I could see, and from what Captain Mackenzie himself told me, the men appeared in good heart, and quite prepared for any emergency. Whether from the promptitude with which the cavalry turned out or not I cannot say, but the day passed over quietly. Although I heard vague reports that the 8th irregular cavalry would not stand by us on the artillery and infantry revolting, I must confess, that up to Friday evening, the 29th ultimo, I did not believe it; but on Saturday night, the 30th, I had no doubts on the subject; for my informant, who had it from the men themselves, told me that they had sworn not to act against the artillery and infantry, but that they would not harm or raise their hand against any European. During the whole of Friday night, the 29th, and the whole of Saturday, the 30th ultimo, the men of the artillery and infantry were in a state of great excitement, caused, it is supposed, by the stories circulated by fugitives from the 45th regiment; who, during these two days, had been passing in great numbers through the station; and which was much increased by the exaggerated accounts brought back by the men who had returned from temporary leave on the 30th ultimo. Be this as it may, from all that I both heard and saw on Saturday night the 30th ultimo, I had no doubt in my own mind, but that what I had heard of the 8th irregular cavalry was quite true, and that the artillery and infantry would most certainly revolt either that night or the following morning.

"On Sunday morning, the 31st ultimo, I was up at an early hour, and found everything quiet and still as usual. Some short time previous to my getting up, an attempt had been made to set fire to Captain Brownlow's house, but without success. During this morning, I sent several times to the lines for the havildar-major and a sepoy of the 68th regiment, in both of whom I had, up to this time, great confidence; but they made all sorts of excuses, and did not come. I then sent my sirdar-bearer to the lines, to see if he could find out what was going on. On his return he stated, that he was quite certain that something most unusual was about to take place; for that although all was quiet, the men were all present in their lines, and seemed to be under some great excitement; that on his way home, he had heard some of the sepoys of the 18th say, that it was no use going to bathe that morning, as they would all be wanted in the lines at 11 A.M. On hearing this, I at once made up my mind that all that I had heard would most certainly happen, and wrote off without delay to Captain Gibbs, the adjutant of the regiment, to warn the officers to be on the look-out, for that I felt quite certain that the men were about to mutiny. The orderly, however, who was entrusted with the conveyance of my note never delivered it. A very short time after this, Mr. Guthrie, the magistrate of Bareilly, called and stated to me that the guard over the treasury, furnished from the 68th regiment, had on that morning abused a government chuprassy sent by him with a letter, which they tore up and threw in his face. This at once convinced me that the insurrection had begun; for up to this time, no act of violence, neglect of duty, disobedience of orders, or any other impropriety of any kind, had been perpetrated by the men. I again wrote to Captain Gibbs, telling him what I had heard from Mr. Guthrie, the collector; but it would appear, from what he has since told me, that neither of my notes ever reached him, so that the first intimation he himself and the other officers had of the fearful tragedy about to be enacted, was their men firing upon them whilst in their bungalows.

"During Sunday morning, the 31st ultimo, Major Pearson, commanding the 18th, called upon me, and assured me that his men were all right, and that he had every confidence in them, at the very moment that I knew, almost for a certainty, that within two hours his regiment would be in open mutiny. It, however, did not at all surprise me, for the previous day I had been equally assured by Captain Kirby, commanding the artillery, that he had no reason to doubt his men, although, at the very time of his so assuring me, I was aware that his pay havildar had addressed a letter to the 18th and 68th regiments, urging them by the most sacred oaths to rise and murder their European officers, stating that such had been done at all the other stations, and that if they would not do so, the Hindoos were to consider that they had eaten beef, and the Mussulmans pork. About seven o'clock, or perhaps between seven and eight o'clock, on Sunday morning the 31st ultimo, the late Brigadier Sibbald, C B., wrote to his brigade-major, Captain Brownlow, who was living with me, to the following effect: 'How is it to-day? I hear all does not look well; what does Troup say?' Captain Brownlow and all the other officers were in full possession of my opinions, which were patent to the whole community of Bareilly. About ten o'clock, Captain Brownlow and myself proceeded to breakfast, and being quite convinced that the conclusions I had drawn were correct, and that he was under a miserable delusion, during breakfast I continued to urge them upon him, when at last about half-past ten, or perhaps twenty minutes to eleven o'clock—the fatal hour named for the murder of every European in the place—he said he would go over to Lieutenant Gowan, the adjutant of the 18th regiment, who lived within a short distance of my house, and find out from him what was going on. Lieutenant Gowan was one of the best officers I have ever seen, and was intimately acquainted with all that was passing in his regiment, and quite agreed with me in all my views. Captain Brownlow, on leaving, promised to return, but never did so; and in waiting for him, I did not quit my house until within five minutes of eleven o'clock, and only then left it on being urged to do so by my servants. I had hardly got out of my house when a gun was fired by the artillery, which was followed by the report of musketry, which with the yells of the men, was heard in every direction. I ran on foot towards the irregular cavalry lines, and in passing through Captain Mackenzie's compound on my way to them, I found that Captain Brownlow was safe in Captain Mackenzie's house; I forget now what he said, or what reason he gave for not returning to me as he had promised, or whether he had seen Lieutenant Gowan or not; nor am I aware of what, or if any, means were adopted by him for communicating with his brigadier: he said that he had written me a note, which note I received after I had reached Captain Mackenzie's compound. On my arrival at the 8th irregular cavalry lines I found Mr. Alexander, the commissioner, and several other gentlemen, civil and military, assembled there; and after waiting for a considerable time (during which the work of murder and destruction was being carried on by the mutineers), the cavalry appeared to take a most unusually long time in getting ready, considering that some time previous to the revolt they had been ordered by Captain Mackenzie to do so. All assembled agreed that there was nothing for it but to retire on Nynee Tal; and after considerable delay, seeing some of the cavalry formed up, I desired them to follow me, which they appeared to do readily enough; but we had hardly got in motion, when Captain Mackenzie halted them, and, to make use of his own words, said to me, that the men wished to have a crack at the mutineers; to which I replied, 'I do not think it is of any use, but just do as you please.' He then took his men back to the mutineers; the result of doing so I fully anticipated, and which is too well told in Captain Mackenzie's report to require any comment from me. On the cavalry proceeding with Captain Mackenzie towards the mutineers, most of the gentlemen present then agreed to stand by each other, and endeavour to push our way to Nynee Tal; and as we knew our only safety depended upon our putting distance between the insurgents so as to prevent the news of the revolt getting ahead of us, or of their having time to think of us, we moved off at a brisk pace and got a considerable distance on our road before we were joined by Captain Mackenzie and the other officers, and the remnant of his regiment.

"In justice to Captain Mackenzie and Lieutenant Becher, I consider it my duty, however much they, like others, may have been deceived by their men, to state that in

my opinion no two officers could have possibly behaved better towards, or shown a better or more gallant example to, their men than they did; I was in daily, I may say hourly, personal communication with them, and I have great pleasure in stating, that from the very first to the last they were devoted and most unremitting in the performance of the many harassing duties required of them; and I do most respectfully, at the same time most earnestly, beg to strongly recommend them to the favourable consideration of the commander-in-chief, as two most deserving and valuable officers. In venturing to do this, I beg to observe, that I have not formed my opinion of them hastily; so far from it, I have known Captain Mackenzie, I may say intimately, for the last nine years; and I feel quite certain, that in stating what I have of both him and Lieutenant Becher, I am only giving expression to the feelings of all those who, like myself, have escaped from Bareilly on the 31st ultimo. I trust his excellency the commander-in-chief will approve of what I have done in promoting the native commissioned, non-commissioned officers, and men of the 8th irregular cavalry, and that he will be good enough to procure for those mentioned the order of British India, which I have promised them. Their conduct is not only considered by myself, but by all who have escaped, to be beyond praise; but more particularly that of Ressaldar Mahomed Nazeem Khan, the acting Woordie major of the regiment, who has not only sacrificed all his property, but has left three helpless and very young children to their fate, to follow our fortunes. Subjoined is a nominal list of those who have escaped, who are known to have been killed, and missing.

"I have, &c.—C. Troup, Colonel.

"Late commanding 68th Regiment N. I.

"*Brigade Staff.—Killed:* Brigadier H. Sibbald. *Escaped:* Captain Brownlow, major of brigade. *6th Company, 6th Battalion Artillery.—Escaped:* Captain Kirby, Lieutenant Fraser, Sergeant Waldon. *Killed:* Sergeant Staples. *18th Regiment Native Infantry.—Missing:* Major H. E. Pearson, Captains T. C. Richardson and H. V. Hathorn; Lieutenant J. Y. Gowan, Lieutenant Stewart, Lieutenant Dyson, Sergeant-major Belshun, Quartermaster-sergeant Cross; are supposed to be concealed in a village about seven miles from Bareilly. *Escaped:* Surgeon Oakley, Lieutenant M. Hunter, Ensign W. B. Barwell. *68th Regiment Native Infantry.—Escaped:* Colonel C. Troup, Captains Roberton, Paterson, and Gibbs; Surgeon Bowhill; Lieutenants Warde, Christian, Stanton, Rogers, and Ensign Jacob; Sergeant-major Jennings. *Killed:* Ensign Tucker, and Quartermaster-sergeant Henry. *8th Irregular Cavalry.—Escaped:* Lieutenants Mackenzie and Becher, and Assistant-surgeon Currie. *Civilians, and others who escaped from Bareilly on the 30th ultimo*—Mr. Alexander, commissioner; Mr. Guthrie, collector; Mr. C. Currie, joint magistrate; Mr. Pasley, assistant; Doctor Anderson, Mr. Temptlon, Mr. Beddie, of the Bareilly College; the Rev. L. Poynder, chaplain, Bareilly; Mr. Barkley and his son, residents of Bareilly; Mr. Raikes and Mr. Robinson, judges of Bareilly; Mr. Orr and Mr. Wyatt, deputy-collectors; Dr. Hay, civil surgeon; Dr. Hansbrow, in charge of the gaol; Dr. Beech, principal, Bareilly College; with all the other European residents, merchants, and writers in government offices, are all missing, and some of them may turn up: but I believe that it has been ascertained, beyond all doubt, that the seven above-named have all been murdered.

"C Troup."

On the 26th of June, Major-general Lloyd, commanding at Dinapore, transmitted to the governor-general the following statement of a native *syce* (groom), who was at Bareilly during the mutiny of the troops. It is corroborative of the preceding details; and owing to the position of the narrator among the mutineers, supplies some additional particulars:—

"Dinapore, June 26th, 1857.

"On the 22nd of May last I arrived at Bareilly from Calcutta, in charge of two horses from Messrs. Cook and Co., for Mr. Guthrie, the collector; on arrival, I found that fears were entertained that the sepoy infantry regiments were about to rebel. The 8th irregulars were thought to be stanch. The officers and other gentlemen used to congregate nightly for safety at particular houses, although the men were performing duty as usual; the ladies and children had been sent up to Nynee Tal some time previously. My master, Mr. Guthrie, as well as others, kept their horses always saddled ready for any disturbance that might happen. On Saturday, the 30th, there was great confusion and dread of an outbreak, but it passed off. The next day, Sunday, about 10·30 A.M., a chuprassy came to Mr. Guthrie, and told him that the sepoys

were plundering the treasure. My master and the deputy-collector, Mr. White, started for the treasury in a buggy; they soon afterwards returned, and I saw the holes made by bullets in the hood of the buggy. My master, Mr. White, Mr. Currie, the commissioner, and the brigade-major mounted their horses, and rode to the cavalry lines for aid. I accompanied them; the sowars were all ready and mounted. The general (Sibbald) came along from his house on horseback, and was at once shot dead by a sowar; upon this the gentlemen all fled for Nynee Tal, where I afterwards heard that Mr. Guthrie wrote to the Bareilly nawab that he had arrived, and would one day be quits with him. I heard that the infantry officers made off for Nynee Tal directly their men rose. Two officers (of the 68th, I believe) were murdered by their men near the lines. I believe no other gentlemen were killed; but the sergeants and the women, and children of clerks, and others who had not previously been sent to Nynee Tal, were cruelly murdered. The kotwal, I believe, escaped to Nynee Tal with the gentlemen; the town was not plundered; the four guns were taken by the insurgents, and were fired by them on the fugitive officers, but without effect; the bungalows were all plundered and burnt. The only gentlemen killed were Brigadier Sibbald, shot by a sowar; the superintending surgeon (Hayes), killed by the people in the city while trying to escape; and the two officers killed in the infantry lines. I heard that eight gentlemen, who had fled from Moradabad, I believe, were under the protection of the Rampore nawab; and that he had threatened to attack the rebels if they came his way, which they must do if they go to Delhi, as they had intended: they are under the command of the artillery subahdar; but each man did what he liked, and no authority was respected. I remained a week at Bareilly after the rebellion, near my master's house in a grove; and travelled to my home at Dinapore *viâ* Shahjehanpore, where all was burnt, and no Europeans remaining; Seetapore, where the same condition existed; Sultanpore, again the same; Jaunpore, where the treasury had been plundered; Ghazeepore, where all was quiet; Buxar and Arrah; and reached Dinapore on the 24th instant. The regiment from Shahjehanpore had joined the mutineers at Bareilly before I left it. I did not hear at Shahjehanpore what had become of the officers; the bazaar was almost deserted. I met with Jemadar Salamut Ali near Jaunpore, and thence we travelled together; a Ghoorka regiment is protecting Nynee Tal and guns: when I left Bareilly, Moradabad had not gone. (A true translation of Shaick Toofanee's statement.)

"A. A. Becher, Captain, 40th Regt. N.I."

The following extract from a letter of one of the ladies who escaped from Bareilly, is dated from Nynee Tal, June 12th, and will close our present reference to the outrages at that station. After some general remarks upon the state of the country, the writer says—"Two companies of Colonel Troup's own regiment (the 68th) surrounded his house to shoot him. He was warned by his bearer, and fled through a back-door, jumped on his horse, and galloped off. All the gentlemen in Bareilly had slept every night before this outbreak in their clothes, with pistols at their side, and horses saddled, ready to fly at a moment's warning, as they knew of the disaffection of the troops. Owing to the forethought and wisdom of Colonel Troup, all the ladies had been sent up here as soon as the first panic was felt; and by this, humanly speaking, they were all saved, for they would have been terribly in the way when it came to the push at the last. Mr. Barwell and Mr. Hunter, of the 18th, are safe here. * * * The most horrible thing is, that several gentlemen and a merchant, with his wife, mother, and children, were dragged before a man at Bareilly—a wretch who called himself the rajah, but who, I believe, was a bunnia. They were hiding in a native's house in the city; the house was searched, they were taken before the man, and their heads cut off. Poor Mrs. —— is here. It is dreadful to think of her distress; she is without a penny in the world. Her house is burnt, which contained all her property. There are many other widows here. Mr. Poynder has escaped; his little hill pony carried him the whole way bravely. The Beharee bungalow is burnt. Some of the gentlemen came away without hats. Fancy this in the middle of the day, at this time of year; but none suffered from it. Mr. Alexander (commissioner of Bareilly), who is now safe here, was in bed very ill when the signal-gun for murdering went off; his servant rushed in and told him to fly. He was so ill, that he declared he could not ride, but some one pushed him on; and then came a shower of bullets and grapeshot round his

head, and his horse ran away with him, luckily the right road. Some of the officers had hair-breadth escapes. The sepoys were actually posted on the parade-ground, at regular distances, coolly taking aim. The artillery, with their native officers, were firing with their guns against their officers. The whole thing was most awful. The townspeople then got up, and there was a terrible fight between Mussulmans and Hindoos and sepoys for the treasure. Thousands of Hindoos have been killed. At Moradabad the Mussulmans are very violent. Of course all your property there is gone. * * * I think we are here as safe as we can be. Captain Ramsay is most vigilant, and wise in his proceedings. The roads are guarded by Ghoorkas (66th Ghoorka regiment.) A company of Ghoorkas are also in this station, and guns; and all the gentlemen have been formed into a militia, called the 'Kumaon Militia,' subject to Captain Ramsay in every way. This militia is divided into companies; there are about a hundred gentlemen with firearms, and they take it by turns to patrol. Enough grain for three months is being brought in, because we are afraid our provisions may run short, as there are so many people; and until the country is quieter no one can go to the plains. The Bhabur (the country at the foot of the hills) is overrun with dacoits and bad characters. It is horrible that we cannot hear what is going on below. Strange reports come, and we don't know what to believe. We are living in hope of getting an English regiment in Rohilcund, and fighting the Bareilly sepoys and Mussulmans. No praise can be too high for Mr. Wilson's conduct at Moradabad. He has been as bold as a lion in this emergency. The last accounts of him were, that he had gone to Meerut with the Saunders, Campbells, and Cannons. I hope they have got there safe. They went well armed. The rest of the Moradabad people are here. The sepoys gave them two hours' warning."

At Moradabad, the 29th regiment of native infantry suddenly made their appearance on parade, on Sunday morning, the 31st of May, and announced to the officers their intention to join the king's forces at Delhi. Their behaviour was respectful; and they gave the European officers and their families two hours to prepare for flight, of which they fortunately availed themselves; a portion of them having reached Nynee Tal the day after the arrival of the fugitives from Bareilly. Others fled in the direction of Meerut, which they reached in safety. Beyond plundering the cantonment and forcing the officers' bungalows, the mutineers of the 29th do not appear to have committed any excesses; and their conduct, bad as it undoubtedly was, in a military point of view, contrasts advantageously with that of their more sanguinary and ferocious comrades.

Passing from these chequered incidents of wide-spread calamities, that were presently to be thrown into shade by accumulating atrocities in other districts, we turn from Bareilly and Moradabad to the military station at Shahjehanpore—a station about forty miles from the former town. At this place, advantage was taken by the sepoys of the 28th regiment, of the Europeans being assembled at church, on the morning of Sunday, the 31st of May, to break into open and sudden revolt. Surrounding the sacred edifice, their first victim was the Rev. Mr. M'Cullum, the chaplain to the station, whom they shot dead in the pulpit. The next who fell beneath their murderous aim was Dr. Bowling, who was struck down by a bullet while driving his wife and child to church. The officer in command of the regiment, Captain James, was killed while endeavouring to recall his men to their duty. Lieutenant Spans received a sabre-cut on the head and shoulder while kneeling in prayer. Captain Salmon was wounded while running to assist his brother-officers in the effort to quell the mutiny; and the resident civil magistrate, Mr. Ricketts, with other Europeans of the congregation, was massacred in the church. Some officers, who had managed to escape to Mohumdee, found protection and sustenance there for about a week by the care of the tehseeldar; but intelligence of their escape having reached Seetapore, two companies of the 41st regiment, then in a state of revolt, were dispatched, by the order of their subahdar and jemadar, to bring them away, or kill them on the spot. The following description of their subsequent treatment is by an eye-witness:—"Before the tehseeldar gave them up to the sepoys, the latter were earnest in their assurances of protection; but, on seeing Lieutenant Spans with his shoulder bound up, they coolly said to each other, 'What is the use of taking a wounded man with us? He had better be shot!' And, suiting the action to the word, the unfortunate gentleman, disabled by his wounds from offering any resistance, was

murderously shot by the cowardly wretches that gloated over his dying agonies. They then ordered the rest of the party to leave the village with them, on the way to Seetapore; but before they had reached a distance of four miles from Mohumdee, the party halted, and ordered the ladies, who had been placed in a carriage by the tehseeldar, to get out and walk. Upon this the officers remonstrated, that they would proceed on foot, but the ladies must remain in the carriage. The reply to this was a peremptory order for the ladies to get out, which they did; and as they alighted, they were shot one by one. Some of the children were bayoneted, others dashed on the ground and trampled to death. The sepoys, having completed this act of the tragedy, then faced round and killed the officers; and, leaving the bodies on the ground, marched back on their way to Seetapore. The police jemadar afterwards came up with his sowars, and finding the bodies of the ladies, children, and officers lying there, had a large hole dug, and buried them all in it."

LUCKNOW.—The vigilance exercised by Sir Henry Lawrence, chief commissioner in Oude, gave little opportunity for relaxation since the occurrence of the 3rd of May, which, owing to his promptitude and energy, was prevented assuming the serious character that had signalised the mutinous conduct of sepoy regiments at other stations. A comparative lull succeeded the agitation that had prevailed during the proceedings already detailed;* which was not disturbed until towards the latter end of the month, when some unmistakable indications of a gathering tempest once more excited serious apprehension for the continued repose of Lucknow. At this time the troops in cantonments consisted of the 13th, 48th, and 71st native infantry, the 7th light cavalry, her majesty's 32nd regiment, and a battery of artillery; together with a small detachment of irregular horse. On the 23rd of May, the telegraph informed the governor-general, that "arrangements for the defence of the several posts were completed, and that all was considered safe, except from external influences." On the 29th, the chief commissioner reported the apparent near approach of the expected movement, in the following message to the secretary to the government:—"All quiet, but great uneasiness at Lucknow; disturbances threatened outside. A tehseeldar killed in settling a quarrel. Tranquillity cannot be much longer maintained, unless Delhi be speedily captured." It was now becoming evident that the master-spirit which had ruled the storm at its first gathering, must be once more invoked before the tranquillity of Lucknow could be permanently secured; and but few hours had elapsed ere it was again found triumphantly careering amidst the elements of revolt and destruction. Daily, throughout the previous week, Sir Henry Lawrence had been informed, by confidential agents, that the regiments had determined to rise in revolt; and the hours of eight or nine at night were mentioned as the time at which the meditated outbreak would occur. Night after night, however, passed away without any visible appearance of the threatened evil; and when, on the morning of Saturday, the 30th of May, the oft-told tale of immediate danger was repeated to the commissioner, it was regarded but as the echo of former, groundless alarms, and no extra precautions were adopted beyond doubling the European sentries at the cantonments, and directing the officers to keep a watchful guard upon their men. The day passed over, as those immediately preceding it had done, quietly; but before the chimes that told the hour of nine had ceased to vibrate on the ear, a discharge of musketry was heard in the lines of the 71st regiment of native infantry. At that moment the chief commissioner was remarking to one of his attendants, that the last rumour had been as unfounded as those which preceded it; but, struck by the report from the lines, he immediately mounted, and rode to the encampment of the 32nd regiment, which he found already under arms, and awaiting his orders. Having given the necessary directions, his excellency proceeded, with a company of Europeans and two guns, to a point on the Lucknow-road that would enable him to check the progress of the mutineers, in the event of their marching upon the city. The remaining six guns were left in position on the encamping-ground, under a guard of her majesty's 32nd. The *émeute* had by this time become general in the native lines; the bungalows were in a state of conflagration on all sides, and the firing became more frequent. On the instant of the alarm being given, General Handscomb, in command of the brigade, rode up to the mutineers, hoping that his

* See *ante*, p. 52.

presence and arguments might have the effect of bringing the men to a sense of duty: but he was shot down by a sepoy of the 71st regiment, before he could utter a sentence. Lieutenant Grant, in charge of the cantonment guard, was attacked by the mutineers; and his men, instead of defending their post and their officer, disgracefully abandoned both; and the unfortunate lieutenant fell a victim to their treachery and cowardice. A shot from one of the mutineers brought Lieutenant Grant to the ground; and the subahdar of the guard concealed him under his charpoy. The sepoys then came up, and were told that the sahib had escaped; but they would not be satisfied without a search; and at last an havildar on the guard, belonging to Lieutenant Grant's own regiment, snatched the charpoy aside, and pointed out his wounded officer to the demons in search of him: the next moment the unfortunate gentleman was pierced by a dozen bayonets; and his person, while yet writhing in the agonies of death, was brutally mutilated by the assassins. The cantonment had now become one blaze of fire; but it was not deemed prudent to move the guns stationed on the Lucknow-road, lest the mutineers should attempt to find their way into the city, and repeat their outrages in that direction: the only means of checking them in their career at the cantonments, was by detaching parties of irregular cavalry to act against the incendiaries in the lines. Between these sowars and the mutineers there was some sharp firing, without much effect on either side. In one of these skirmishes, Lieutenant Hardinge, of the 13th native infantry, distinguished himself conspicuously. A sepoy had fired at him within a distance of three feet; and finding he had missed his aim, charged him with the bayonet, which went through the lieutenant's wrist, and had just entered his chest, when its further progress was stopped by a bullet from Lieutenant Hardinge's pistol, which was delivered into the stomach of his assailant, and sickened him of the contest.

The following telegram announced to government the fact of the actual outbreak:—"Lucknow, May 31st. An *émeute* at 9 P.M. Several bungalows burnt; and two or three officers killed, and as many wounded: Brigadier Handscomb among the former: no other loss incurred. Quiet in the city. I am in cantonments. It is difficult to say who are loyal; but it is believed the majority are. Only twenty-five of the 7th cavalry proved false. The effects of this *émeute* may be bad."—This state of outrage continued up to about two o'clock in the morning, at which time the fires began to abate, and two guns were moved from the cantonments to each of the gates of the residency; the buildings of which, having been protected by an havildar's guard of the 13th regiment, and a few sowars, had escaped destruction. At four in the morning the mutineers had reached the 7th cavalry lines at Moodkeepore, a short distance from the cantonments; and having set fire to them without resistance on the part of the sowars remaining there, the main body retraced their steps towards the cantonments, where Sir Henry Lawrence was now prepared to meet them. Leaving a company of Europeans, six guns, and a squadron of irregulars on the encamping-ground, Sir Henry marched towards the insurgents with 200 Europeans, the 7th light cavalry, and a few of the irregulars, with two guns. This force, as it passed in front of the native lines, was augmented by about 700 men from the 13th, 48th, and 71st regiments of native infantry, who had not joined the insurgents. The 7th light cavalry were sent on in advance; but, upon meeting the rebels, twenty-five of the sowars went over to them, and fired upon their late companions. Finding that preparations had been made for chastising them, the mutinous rabble turned, and fled with such rapidity, that, by the time the artillery had debouched from the lines, they were a thousand yards off, and could only be reached by round shot. Of this, one discharge only was sufficient to hasten their retreat, in which they were followed by Sir Henry Lawrence, with four guns, two companies of the 32nd foot, and 300 horse. In a pursuit of seven miles, only thirty prisoners were taken, owing to the apathy of the sowars, who, beyond moving on with the rest of the party, scarcely took any trouble to perform the duty they were engaged in. On reaching Moodkeepore in the pursuit, the force came across the mutilated corpse of a young officer of the 7th cavalry (Cornet Raleigh), who had only joined the regiment a few days previously, and, being too unwell to ride, had been left behind when the regiment was ordered into cantonments. The poor lad was found lying on his face, with the back of his skull completely blown away. At a short distance beyond Moodkeepore,

the Europeans halted with the artillery, while the cavalry were sent forward, but with very little result, either as regards killed or prisoners. After a brief rest, Sir Henry Lawrence was about to resume the pursuit with the main body, when intelligence reached him that an insurrection would certainly break out in the city that night; and, as his force, divided, would be insufficient to protect the latter in case of emergency, he was compelled, reluctantly, to abandon the chase. Leaving, therefore, 200 Europeans and four guns in the cantonments, he moved with the remainder of his force to the city, and dispatched the following report to the governor-general, dated "Lucknow, May 31st, 2 P.M.:"—

"Most of the houses in the cantonments have been burnt at the outbreak. The mutineers, consisting of half of the 48th native infantry, about half of the 71st, some few of the 13th, and two troops of the 7th cavalry, have fled towards Seetapore. We followed them seven miles, with four guns and two companies of her majesty's 32nd, and 300 horse. The latter evinced no zeal; and we could only get within round-shot distance of the mutineers. We took thirty prisoners. I wrote in great haste after return. All quiet. My anxieties are for Cawnpore and the districts."

The arrival of Sir Henry and his Europeans at Lucknow was absolutely requisite for the preservation of the city and its English inhabitants. The budmashes and evil-disposed persons of the town endeavoured to overpower the police and commence an indiscriminate plunder; and it required all the strength and energy of the force to prevent their committing a vast amount of wanton mischief. The appearance of the troops, and the decision with which they were prepared to act if necessary, had the effect of disheartening the rioters; and after two or three collisions with the police, in which the latter were victorious, the firing in the streets gradually abated, and towards midnight had altogether ceased. Intelligence of the restoration of order was communicated to government by the following telegram:—

"June 1st, 3 P.M.—Much excitement all day in the city. Yesterday an insurrection threatened. In the evening some skirmishes with police, which, under Captain Carnegie, behaved admirably, and beat off the rioters. The city guards were strengthened with a hundred Europeans and four guns. Colonel Inglis and I slept in the town. Night quiet at all points. The faithful remnants of three infantry regiments and 7th cavalry, about 700 men, encamped yesterday afternoon, close to the detachment of 200 of her majesty's 32nd, and four European guns. We are in much better position at Lucknow; but I fear the effects of the *émeute* in the districts. A treasure party came in safe this morning. It was in danger; but a hundred horse, sent out yesterday evening, saved it. It is now 12 A.M. All just returned from visiting post. All here looks brighter."

In strict accordance with the principle acted upon by Sir Henry Lawrence upon the occasion of the 3rd of May—namely, to punish treachery and insubordination with prompt and merited severity, and to encourage and reward loyalty and valour by the most public avowal of his approbation—the chief native officer (*kotwal*) of police at Lucknow, was promoted to the rank of bahadoor, and received a present of 1,000 rupees, with a handsome sword, in recognition of his services; while those of the men under his orders were rewarded by the sum of 5,000 rupees equally divided among them. A few days subsequently, the havildar who had betrayed Lieutenant Grant to the sepoy murderers, was pointed out, and immediately tried and hung up with a spy arrested in the lines of the 13th regiment. Eight of the mutineers, taken during the pursuit of the rebels on the 31st, were also tried by drum-head court-martial, and blown from the guns, in the presence of the whole remaining garrison:* and for several days

* It is remarkable, that in the immediate neighbourhood of Lucknow, more extravagant rumours had for a long time been in circulation (and were apparently believed) than in any other portion of the Oude territory. Among other causes of disquietude, industriously circulated by the agents of the insurrectionary movement, was a report that a great number of European regiments were marching up the country, and compelling the native troops, as they arrived, to use the defiling cartridge, and thus degrade them to Christianity. It was also declared, that the "Padres" (missionaries) had addressed a petition to the Queen, representing that, in former times, when there were Mohammedan kings in India, they forced their subjects to become Mohammedans; but that although for sixty years a Christian government had ruled the country, yet not one man had by force been made a Christian. It was further declared by the fabricators of the mischievous report, that the petitioners represented to the Queen, "That while Tippoo made thousands of Hindoos become of his religion, her majesty had not made one Christian. That under her orders were employed sepoys of all castes; and they therefore prayed her majesty to

continuously, Sir Henry Lawrence signalised the morning and evening parades of his loyal but diminutive garrison, by the execution of the rebels and their accomplices in the city. A large gallows was erected for the purpose outside the fort, and a couple of field-pieces, charged with grape, and with the portfires ready lighted, kept in awe the populace and budmashes of the city, who congregated in large numbers within view of the scaffold. The brother of the king of Oude, who had continued to reside at the palace, was placed under guard, with several of his principal attendants; and by the energetic measures thus adopted, quiet was for a time restored to Lucknow. The fugitive mutineers were meanwhile on the route for Delhi, obtaining accession to their numbers by the adhesion of the disaffected troops from Seetapore, Moradabad, and Bareilly.

GWALIOR.—The loyal and prompt assistance tendered to government by the rajah of Gwalior, and its grateful appreciation and acceptance by the latter, have already been recorded.* Of the fidelity of the maharajah himself, there could be no doubt; of that of his troops, there was far less assurance; and, on the evening of the 28th of May, the officers in command at the cantonments, having grounds for suspecting a contemplated outbreak against the European inhabitants, gave directions for the whole of the females at the station to repair immediately to the residency. The maharajah, on being informed of the probable danger, immediately in person brought a strong body of horse and foot soldiers, with which he surrounded the building, at the same time posting others to secure the road from the cantonments; but he requested that, on the following morning, the ladies and children might be brought to a mansion attached to his palace, where alone he could assure them of absolute safety. Through the measures taken by the officers, the alarm passed over without actual proof that any real cause for it had existed; and, on the following day, the families returned to the cantonment. The conduct of the maharajah was reported to the government, and elicited the following telegraphic acknowledgment from the governor-general, dated "Calcutta, June 1st, 1857:"—

"Convey my thanks at once to Scindia for his kind and thoughtful attention, as well as his energetic measures for the security of the ladies in the cantonment. It gives me the greatest pleasure to have to acknowledge these repeated proofs of his attachment to the British government."

On the 31st of May, Lieutenant-colonel Wheler, commanding the remains of the 34th regiment of native infantry at Barrackpore, reported as follows, to the assistant adjutant-general of the presidency division at Calcutta:—"A spontaneous reaction having now taken place in the minds of the men present with the regiment, apparently brought on by the 70th regiment of native infantry, it is my humble and sincere hope that they will prove as loyal and obedien to the government in future, as the disbanded men proved disloyal of late, and that this example will be followed by men of other regiments, whose minds are now wavering, and determine them at once in returning to their duty and allegiance."

The above communication was accompanied by "a petition of the commissioned and non-commissioned officers and sepoys remaining at the head-quarters of the 34th regiment of native infantry," dated 31st May, 1857; of which the subjoined is a translation.

"Some evil-disposed men of the regiment have deprived us of the reputation for loyalty which we have ever held; they have received the fruits of their conduct by being disbanded.† We that remain are willing to serve against the mutineers at Delhi, and are anxious to recover our lost name. We pray that the government will ever regard us as faithful soldiers."

The petition was laid before the governor-general in council; and, in reply, the secretary to the government was instructed to communicate to the major-general commanding the presidency division, for the in-

cause to be mixed up together bullocks' fat and pigs' fat, and to have it put upon the cartridges which the sepoys must put into their mouths; and after six months, to have it made known to the sepoys how they had thereby lost their caste; by which means a certain road would be opened for making many Christians." This absurd jargon, it was represented, had given great satisfaction to the Queen, who therefore had ordered the plan to be adopted, that "all her sepoys might thereby become Christians." Another story by which the blind credulity of the people was imposed upon, ran to the effect, "that in consequence of the war in which the Feringhees had been engaged among themselves, there were a great many widows in England, and that the Queen had commanded they should all be sent out to marry the native chieftains and talookdars of Oude. That their children were to be brought up as Christians, and would inherit all the landed property of their fathers, to the entire exclusion of his Hindoo progeny, who would become outcasts."

* See *ante*, p. 127.

† See *ante*, p. 53.

formation of the petitioners, "That although the offer of their services is very creditable to them, and the governor-general in council gladly acknowledges their soldierlike offer, it is at present necessary that they should continue to do duty at Barrackpore, from which place it is not convenient to move them."

By the latter end of May, the following European troops had reached Calcutta. About 380 men of her majesty's 35th foot from Rangoon; the 1st Madras European fusiliers, and a wing of the 64th foot, from Bushire; and the 84th regiment, with a company of artillery, also from Rangoon; 500 of the 37th regiment had also been forwarded from Ceylon; and the 78th highlanders from Bombay were also within a few hours' distance of the metropolis of Bengal. Of these troops, the 1st fusiliers, and a company of the 84th regiment, had been pushed on to Cawnpore by horse dâk, bullock-train, and steamers, in consequence of the subjoined communication from Sir H. Wheler, in command at that station, dated "Cawnpore, May 31st, 2.30 P.M."—"I would recommend Europeans to be sent up to this place as rapidly as possible; not so much for our own protection, as—to use the exact words of the major—'this place is the trunk, and the surrounding stations are the limbs; and if Cawnpore remains quiet, the other places will do so also.' We are all right as yet, and I hope may continue so." A subsequent message of the same date says—"We are quiet here; and accounts from Delhi received from the lieutenant-governor, are what might be expected; the mutineers purchasing gold even at enormous prices, and deserting to their homes."

The communication between Meerut and Agra, and between the former place and Cawnpore, had been entirely interrupted since the 20th of May by the loss of Allygurh, and the disorganised state of the country between Meerut and that place, consequent upon the revolt; which rendered the transmission of intelligence extremely precarious and irregular for a considerab period.

CHAPTER XI.

THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF AT SIMLA; DISTRIBUTION OF THE BENGAL ARMY; UNPOPULARITY OF GENERAL ANSON; THE NATIVE CONTINGENTS; A DEFECTIVE COMMISSARIAT; PANIC AT SIMLA; REPORT OF THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF ON THE STATE OF THE ARMY; GENERAL ORDER TO THE NATIVE REGIMENTS; CONCENTRATION OF EUROPEAN TROOPS AT UMBALLAH; ADVANCE TO KURNAUL; DEATH OF GENERAL ANSON; SIR PATRICK GRANT NAMED ACTING COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF IN INDIA; MAJOR-GENERAL SIR H. BARNARD TAKES THE COMMAND OF THE ARMY FOR DELHI; ADVANCE OF THE MEERUT DIVISION UNDER BRIGADIER WILSON; ACTIONS AT GHAZEE-UD-DEEN NUGGUR; JUNCTION WITH THE FORCE UNDER SIR H. BARNARD AT ALLIPORE; MARCH TOWARDS DELHI; DEFEAT OF THE INSURGENT TROOPS AT BADULEE KE SERAI; THE REBELS DRIVEN FROM THE HEIGHTS NEAR DELHI; POSITION OF THE AVENGING ARMY BEFORE DELHI ON THE 8TH OF JUNE; OFFICIAL DESPATCHES, AND PRIVATE CORRESPONDENCE.

HAVING left the rebel troops in possession of Delhi on the 12th of May, busily occupied in strengthening the defences of the city against the approach of the avenging army, whose speedy appearance was looked for with well-grounded apprehension and dismay—we proceed to trace the movements of the British troops, as they were gradually collected from distant parts of the presidency for the stern purpose of retributive justice.

The commander-in-chief of the Bengal army, General the Hon. George Anson, was, as we have already stated, at Simla on the 12th of May,* where he received intelligence of the outbreak and revolt at Meerut and Delhi, and immediately removed his head-quarters to Umballah, at which place he began to organise his resources for the suppression of disorder; but his position at the time was one of extreme difficulty and embarrassment. General Anson was literally, at this juncture, a commander-in-chief without an available army, artillery, or ammunition. The two regiments of native troops at Umballah could not be relied on; and his chief arsenal and

* See *ante*, p. 110.

magazines were in the hands of an accumulating insurgent force.

Of the European regiments attached to the Bengal presidency at this time, a large proportion were absorbed by two extreme possessions hardly forming part of India—namely, Burmah and Peshawur. Three regiments held the as yet profitless Burmese conquests; three more were cantoned, with a large park of artillery, in the Peshawur valley; while a fourth held the approach to that frontier at Attock and Rawul Pindee. The principal stations of the Punjab were well garrisoned with European troops; while in the Simla hills three regiments were distributed, one of which might properly be considered as belonging to Umballah, and two as forming a kind of reserve. The greater part of the European artillery was also in the Punjab; and Mooltan alone, of its chief places, was without a European regiment. In Oude there was but one British regiment; and in all the older provinces the want of Europeans was most marked, and prejudicial to the interests of good government in the crisis then rapidly approaching.

As regards the native army of the presidency, nearly the whole of the infantry were of one single class; namely, *high caste* Hindoos, whose sole profession was that of arms, and whose unvarying object was the maintenance of the peculiar privileges and indulgences conceded to them, as a distinct class, by the government. Attached to the regular army were but four or five regiments that did not belong to that class—viz., four of Ghoorkas, and two of Sikhs and Punjabees. The cavalry and artillery were of a grade somewhat different from the infantry sepoys, and contained a larger proportion of Mohammedans. The irregular cavalry were a superior class altogether, chiefly Mohammedans, and providing their own horses and arms. But of the Bengal army, as a distinct establishment, there were, with the exception of the troops in cantonments at Barrackpore and Dinapore (in Behar), only two or three regiments in Bengal Proper; the remainder being spread over the North-West Provinces and the Punjab, including also Oude, Rajpootana, and the Saugor territories.

The commander-in-chief had not troubled himself to seek popularity among the native branches of the service. Where the routine of duty necessitated him to review them, or to hold a parade or inspection, his remarks were principally confined to pointing out faults and irregularities, that certainly required correction in both officers and men; while the new drills and rules that he had introduced were irksome to the sepoys, because they obtained no extra pay for them. Thus it was openly acknowledged, that the native regiments throughout the presidency hated General Anson, and habitually attributed to his influence whatever grievances, real or imaginary, they considered themselves subjected to.

On the 15th of May, the commander-in-chief established his head-quarters at Umballah, where, in the course of three or four days, by dint of the most strenuous exertions, there were collected under his orders the three infantry regiments from the Simla hills, with the 9th lancers, two troops of horse artillery, and the 5th and 60th native regiments. It must, however, be explained, that owing to the original deficiency in numbers, the large depôts left in the hills, and the necessity for maintaining a protecting force at Umballah, the strength of the whole party, when they left that station *en route* for Kurnaul, did not exceed 2,000 European soldiers; and this number of men, with a portion of the troops at Meerut, was the whole available force at the commander-in-chief's disposal; for already, all the other European regiments in the presidency were fully occupied in watching the native troops in their respective localities.

While collecting this limited force, the commander-in-chief proceeded to take measures for the restoration of order. Those districts in which the insurgents seemed to possess facilities for spreading intelligence, as well as those actually in their possession, were placed under martial law. The native contingents were called for, and in most instances were promptly dispatched to the places assigned them. The rajah of Gwalior, as we have seen, evinced a most honourable sense of his relations with the Company's government, and desired, had his health permitted, to have himself led his troops into the field. Of his contingent, the grenadiers were stationed at Etawah, and the cavalry of his body-guard kept open the communications on the Delhi-road; part of the Bhurtpore contingent occupied Muttra, between Agra and Delhi; the remainder, under the Bhurtpore chiefs, marching up the valley of the Jumna. The rajah of Jhind dispatched

his cavalry, numbering 600 sabres, to Kurnaul, where it had been arranged to concentrate the main force under the commander-in-chief. The Simoor battalion, consisting of Ghoorkas from Nepaul, advanced to Meerut from Dayra, where it awaited further orders.

The force having thus been collected at Umballah, a question arose as to the facilities for moving it to the point required. The government incessantly urged an immediate advance upon Delhi, that the insurrection might be nipped in the bud; but there were no available means of conveyance for the troops. The chief commissioner of the Punjab, Sir John Lawrence, reiterated the wishes of the government, and strongly urged a rapid advance: and the local commissioner, and other authorities in communication with General Anson, joined in the pressure; but the latter was new to Indian command. His commissariat was lamentably defective; and he became distracted by a multitude of counsellors, who suggested measures it was impossible he could carry into effect, had he felt disposed to adopt their advice. His requisitions to the commissariat department were met by a plea of defective arrangements that rendered compliance impossible. The officer at the head of the department declared, "he would sacrifice himself, but would not sacrifice the army."—"What, then, can I do?" asked the general: "the commissariat officer says he can't, and won't move." The ready answer was—"In all emergencies the commissariat officers invariably knock up; you must trust to the civil authorities: an abundant harvest has just been reaped, and you will not want for food."—"But, then," rejoined the perplexed commander, "the medical officer protests against going without 1,500 dhoolies; and they are not to be had; and here am I, going against a fortified town. Suppose they shut the gates, and I can't get in, what am I to do? And suppose, in this frightful heat, the army falls sick—and cholera is already in the camp—where are any reserves?"—"It is all true," was the reply; "the rules of war are against you. You have no reserve; an inefficient force, few dhoolies, and a commissariat good for nothing: but it is a desperate emergency; you must take Delhi, or the empire is lost." There could no longer be ground for hesitation; a light siege-train was ordered to join from Phillour, under the escort of the Ghoorka battalion stationed at Simla; and the army only awaited its arrival to commence the march upon Delhi.

But while thus waiting, intelligence reached head-quarters, that the Ghoorkas had mutinied at Simla. Rumours quickly followed, that all the Europeans at Simla had been massacred by the Ghoorkas. The *élite* of European society in Bengal, consisting of some hundreds of ladies and children, the families of the staff officers, and a large number of valetudinarians, from Calcutta and other parts of the presidency, were at this time enjoying the refreshing breezes of this fashionable sanitarium, in full reliance on the loyalty of the Ghoorka battalion: and where there had already been so much of disaffection and mutiny, in quarters unsuspected of wrong, it was not surprising the intelligence should occasion much consternation and disquietude, even at the head-quarters of the army. For a short time great anxiety prevailed at Umballah; which was, however, removed before it became necessary to put the troops in motion for Delhi.

The facts upon which this groundless alarm was based, appear to have been as follows. For the purpose of escorting the siege-train from Phillour, a portion of the Ghoorka battalion was suddenly ordered out from Simla, without permission to take their families. The Ghoorkas insisted on taking with them their wives and children, of whom they are excessively jealous. A body of native police had also been ordered to supplant them in charge of the treasury; and this step further irritated the sensitive mountaineers, who considered that it implied distrust of their fidelity. They accordingly repaired in a body to the officer commanding the station, and demanded that the police force should be withdrawn from their lines. This was agreed to; and the difficulty about their women and children having been removed, the Ghoorkas expressed themselves satisfied, and resumed their accustomed subordination.

In the meantime, on the mere rumour that the regiment was in mutiny, a panic seized on many of the residents, who, without waiting to hear if the news was correct, betook themselves to instant flight down the ravines that intersect the hills in the vicinity of the station. Ladies and delicate children, half-clad and ill-provided for flight, were seen rushing down the broken bypaths towards the ravine; and many, of

both sexes, who the day previous would have been shocked at the idea of walking a mile, actually, in their flight, accomplished fifteen, thirty, and in some cases forty, miles! Old men, decrepid with age and shaken by disease, went off as best they could; and the road, from Simla to Dugshaie, was thronged with fugitives of all ages and conditions. Under a burning sun, with no protection from its rays, whole families were to be seen pouring along, half dead from terror and fatigue; and weak and helpless women bivouacked on the open ground, with little but the bare earth for a pillow. For twenty-four hours the panic continued to urge them forward. "On, on to Dugshaie!" was the cry; "the Ghoorkas have slaughtered all who were mad enough to remain at Simla, and they are in close pursuit to massacre us!" The panic at length died away from sheer exhaustion. By degrees the fugitives discovered that their alarm was groundless, and they returned to the indulgences of Simla, to laugh and be laughed at for their credulity.

On the 19th of May, the commander-in-chief transmitted the following intelligence from Umballah to the governor-general:—"All quiet here. Affairs do not go on well; the feeling of the native army may be a little improved, but none can be trusted. The two regiments here profess that they will go where, and do what, they are ordered; they express regret for having committed themselves for a moment. They have since behaved well; and however dangerous it may be to take them with the small force we have to Delhi [*sic* in orig.]—one regiment—they would quietly lay down their arms and go to their homes, and not turn against us. Our European troops will not act with the same confidence if they are with them; we cannot leave them behind without a sufficient number of Europeans to control them. Pray answer this. The country is very disturbed; the communication with Meerut difficult. I hope this will be remedied, having such a force at Kurnaul. We cannot move at present for want of tents and carriages; it would destroy Europeans to march without both, and we have no men to spare. I see the risk of going to Delhi with such small means as we have—perhaps 2,500 Europeans; for should they suffer any loss it would be serious, having nothing more to depend upon in the North-West Provinces; but it must be done. I have not heard from below Delhi, or from the lieutenant-governor: it would be important to have his views on the subject; for the troops should be brought from Persia, and those going to China should be stopped at Singapore. I hope we may hold on till the crisis is past. We must not omit any means of increasing our European strength. Since this message was begun I have heard from the chief commissioner of the Punjab. He recommends strongly that an order be issued giving up the new cartridge. I have adopted this advice, and sent it to you by telegraph. I hope the government will approve. If it is, you can publish it at once, and transmit it to all divisions in Bengal. It will be read to the native regiments here this evening."

The following is the general order referred to in the communication of General Anson, dated "Head-quarters, Umballah, May 19th, 1857:"—

"The commander-in-chief, on the 14th of May, issued a general order, informing the native army that it had never been the intention of the governor-general to force them to use any cartridges which could be objected to; that they never would be, either now or hereafter. The object in publishing that order was to allay the excitement which had been raised in their minds, although he felt there was no real cause for it. He hopes that this may have been the case; but he still perceives that the very name of new cartridges causes agitation; and has been informed, that some of those sepoys who entertain the strongest attachment and loyalty to government, and are ready at any moment to obey its orders, would still be under apprehension that their families would not believe that they were not, in some way or other, contaminated by its use. The rifle introduced into the British army is an improvement upon the old musket, and much more effective; but it would not be of the same advantage in the hands of the natives, if it were to be used with reluctance. Notwithstanding, therefore, that the government have affirmed that the cartridge is perfectly harmless, he is satisfied that they would not desire to persist in the use of it, if the feelings of the sepoys can be thereby calmed. His excellency, therefore, has determined that the new cartridge shall be discontinued. He announces this to the native army, in the full confidence that all will now perform their duty, free from anxiety or care, and be prepared to stand and shed the last drop

of their blood, as they have formerly done, by the side of the British troops, and in defence of their country."

The obstacles in the way of active operations still continued to perplex and retard the arrangements of the commander-in-chief; and on the 20th, he again communicated with the governor-general upon the difficulties that surrounded him. His excellency telegraphed thus:—"The three European regiments from the hills assembled here on the 17th. Four companies of the 1st Europeans, one squadron of 9th lancers, and two guns of horse artillery, went on the same night to Kurnaul; hope they have stopped the plundering in that quarter. I shall move on towards Delhi with the remainder of the European force, except a wing left for the protection of Umballah, and four guns, as soon as possible, but there have been great difficulties in procuring carriage. I have sent to Phillour for a few heavy guns, as with the small force at command, and no more Europeans to rely upon, it will be advisable to have every man as much as we can [*sic* in orig.] I expect to be able to move about the 23rd. I am anxious to hear from you, and have your views as to what should be done in this crisis. At the recommendation of the chief commissioner (Punjab), I have issued a general order giving up the use of the new cartridge, and every new cartridge entirely. —— says this must be done, or the irregulars may follow the example of the regulars. I have, therefore, taken upon myself this responsibility. We have two regiments of native infantry here, outwardly loyal, and I shall be obliged to take one with me, and leave one here. This is a great misfortune, as it shakes the confidence of the European troops; but they have been behaving well, and have not committed themselves. I hope to hear from you."

On the 23rd of May, the commander-in-chief transmitted to Major-general Hewitt, commanding the Meerut division, the following detail of his proposed arrangements for the movement of the troops upon Delhi:—

"My dear General,—I wish to place you in possession of what has been done and is doing here, and of my ideas with respect to the future movements of the force from Meerut, which will be required to join this column in its advance towards Delhi.

"The force from Umballah consists of the 9th lancers, one squadron 4th lancers, her majesty's 75th foot, 1st European regiment, 2nd European regiment, 60th native infantry, two troops of horse artillery. They are formed into two small brigades. Brigadier Halifax commands the 1st, composed of two squadrons of lancers, her majesty's 75th foot, 1st Europeans, 3rd troop 3rd brigade horse artillery of six guns. Brigadier Jones will command the 2nd brigade—2nd Europeans, 60th native infantry, two squadrons 9th lancers, one squadron 4th lancers, 2nd troop 3rd brigade horse artillery, six guns.

"Four companies 1st fusiliers, one squadron of 9th lancers, two guns, horse artillery, were moved to Kurnaul on the 17th, and arrived on the 20th. Six companies of 1st fusiliers followed on the 21st. Her majesty's 75th foot and 60th regiment native infantry march on the 22nd. One squadron, 9th lancers and four guns, will march on the 24th or 25th. The above will all be at Kurnaul on the 28th. The 2nd Europeans, 3rd troop 3rd brigade horse artillery, will probably follow on the 26th. The whole will be at Kurnaul on the 30th.

"I propose then to advance with the column towards Delhi on the 1st, and be opposite to Bhagput on the 5th. At this last place, I should wish to be joined by the force from Meerut. To reach it, four days may be calculated on. This would require your movement on the 1st or 2nd, according to circumstances. By that time it is hoped you will have made every preparation. Irregular detachments have been sent on the road to beyond Paniput to stop plundering, and to protect the well-disposed.

"The road has also been opened to Meerut. Captain Sanford arrived here with your despatches early on the morning of the 23rd, and found no obstruction. A detachment of 150 sowars of the 4th irregular cavalry will leave Kurnaul to-morrow; twenty-five will be posted at Shamlee, fifty will proceed to Moozuffernuggur, to restore confidence in that district, and to punish any villagers and marauders that may have been concerned in the plundering of that place. I have directed seventy-five to proceed direct to Meerut, and to place themselves at your disposal; they will be under the command of a European officer. You will then be enabled to secure carriage for your troops, if you still require it. You must ascertain whether there are any difficulties on the road from Meerut to Bhagput, and the best mode of overcoming them.

"It would be very desirable to push for-

ward some *reconnaissance* to as near Delhi as possible. It is reported here that a detachment of the mutineers, with two guns, are posted on the Meerut side of the river. They should be captured, and no mercy must be shown to the mutineers. On the 20th, I sent a detachment of the 2nd company of the 5th native infantry and a squadron of the 4th lancers, towards Saharunpoor. I have the satisfaction of having heard that they arrived just in time to save that place from pillage, and that confidence is restored there. I hope that the occupation of Moozuffernuggur will tend to tranquillise that district. Many of the 5th native infantry have deserted, but it is gratifying to find they have done their duty when detached. Two companies have been sent to Roopur on duty. The remainder, with light companies of the 2nd European regiment, will be left to guard these cantonments. If any families at Meerut would consider themselves more secure in the hills, they might go there with safety.

"A small siege-train has left Loodiana, and is expected here on the 26th. It will require eleven days to get it to Delhi. It may join us at Bhagput on or about the 6th, the day after that I have named for the junction of your force. I depend upon your supplying at least 120 artillerymen to work it. You will bring besides, according to statement received, two squadrons of carabiniers, a wing of the 60th rifles, one light field battery, one troop of horse artillery, and any sappers you can depend upon; and of course the non-commissioned European officers belonging to them. I wish to know whether you have any information respecting troops or guns coming from Agra, or the co-operation of any native states.

"I beg you will communicate this to the lieutenant-governor at Agra, and to the secretary to government at Calcutta—telegraph and letter. Any change in the above shall be communicated to you instantly.

"I remain, &c.—George Anson."

On the 25th of May, the commander-in-chief telegraphed from Kurnaul to the secretary to the government, as follows:—"Came to Kurnaul this morning (May 25th); all the troops, except two European troops of horse artillery, waiting for equipment of 9-pounders, have left Umballah. Great difficulty in getting what was absolutely necessary to enable the troops to march. The detachment that was at Kurnaul sent towards Paniput last night; but the tents were not come up; they follow to-day. All the force will not get away from Kurnaul before the 31st instant. The heavy guns will hardly be up by that time. Have sent 154 irregulars, which arrived here yesterday, part to Moozuffernuggur, and part to Meerut. Putteeala troops are not so many as reported. I heard about 600. If instructions from governor-general are to be followed—namely, advance to be made with a strong British force—it cannot be at Delhi before the 8th proximo."

The siege-train from Philoor (Loodiana) arrived at Umballah on the 26th of May, as anticipated; and about the same time a flying column, under General Reed, advanced from Jhelum *en route* to Umballah. The force detached from Meerut, consisting of part of the 6th carabiniers and 60th rifles, under Brigadier Wilson, had already marched in the direction of the Hindun; and a column, consisting of two troops of horse artillery, the 9th lancers, one squadron of the 4th lancers, her majesty's 75th foot, the 1st European Bengal fusiliers, and six companies of the second regiment of fusiliers, were concentrated at Paniput under the command of Major-general Sir Henry Barnard. The reserve of the Meerut division, which was ultimately to join the main body of the army at or near Paniput, comprised the remainder of the 6th carabiniers and 60th rifles, four guns of the horse artillery, one battery of 18-pounders, and the Simoor battalion of Ghoorkas; a flying column, consisting of two squadrons of her majesty's 14th light dragoons from Kirkee, the 19th and 25th Bombay native infantry from Poonah, the 4th European light field battery of artillery from Ahmednuggur, and the 3rd regiment of the Hyderabad contingent, had concentrated at Mhow, under the orders of General Woodburn, C.B.

Having made these arrangements for the guidance of the army of Delhi, the commander-in-chief had just learned the arrival, at head-quarters, of the siege-train from Philoor, when an attack of cholera put a sudden and fatal termination to his military anxieties, in the sixtieth year of his age, and the fourth of his chief command of the armies of India. The demise of his excellency was announced to the governor-general by the following communication from the adjutant-general of the army, to the secretary to the government, dated "Camp Kurnaul, May 27th, 1857:"—

"Sir,—I deeply regret to have to report, for the information of the governor-general in council, the death, at half-past two this morning, of his excellency the Hon. General George Anson,* commander-in-chief in India, from cholera. Major-general Sir Henry Barnard, K.C.B., is now in command of this force; and Major-general T. Reed, C.B., commanding in the Punjab, is the senior officer serving in the Bengal presidency. The head-quarters staff of the army will remain in attendance on Major-general Sir H. Barnard during the present operations, unless orders to the contrary should be received. A telegraphic message has this instant been received from Major-general Reed, in reply to the announcement of the commander-in-chief's demise, intimating his intention of joining this force.—I have, &c.,

"C. CHESTER, Colonel."

The information thus imparted appears to have been, from some cause or other, a considerable time in reaching the seat of government, or it was not thought to require immediate attention. On the 2nd of June, the lieutenant-governor of the North-West Provinces, writing from Agra to the governor-general in council, after expressing his regret at the sudden death of General Anson, concludes thus:—"The issue of an immediate nomination to the command-in-chief of the army, proceeding fast on Delhi, under General Anson's orders, is solicited. Indian ability and experience will be very valuable; but time is before all; every hour is precious."

This intimation was productive of immediate action; and at 1 P.M. of the following day (June 3rd), the telegraph at Calcutta transmitted the subjoined message from the secretary to government to the commander-in-chief at Madras.

"The governor-general directs me to acquaint your excellency, that General Anson, commander-in-chief in India, died of cholera at Umballah,† on the 27th ult.; and that the desire of his lordship in council is, that you should come to Calcutta by the earliest opportunity, to assume the office of acting commander-in-chief of the Bengal army."

On the 5th of June the official government notification of the death of General Anson, and the appointment of a successor to his important command, appeared in the following minute of the governor-general, concurred in by the members of council:—

"I propose that the melancholy event of the death of General Anson be publicly notified in the accompanying general order. It will be necessary at the same time to announce the appointment of General Reed, C.B., commanding the Peshawur division, to the post of provincial commander-in-chief. General Reed will hold this post until the arrival at the presidency of Lieutenant-general Sir Patrick Grant, commander-in-chief at Madras, whom it has been determined by the governor-general in council to place in the position of acting commander-in-chief in Bengal, pending the appointment of a successor to General Anson.

"As my honourable colleagues are aware, instructions have been already sent by telegraph to Major-general Sir Henry Barnard, to take the command of the force which the commander-in-chief was collecting against Delhi. Sir Henry Barnard's experience of India has been short; but this will not interfere with the success of an attack upon the mutineers in Delhi; and as he is at army head-quarters, or close at hand, the arrangement has the invaluable advantage of being the most saving of time.

"It will be right that Sir Henry Barnard's appointment to the command should be notified in general orders. Sir Henry Barnard has been directed to push on the operations against Delhi without waiting for the provincial commander-in-chief; and General Reed has been informed, that the

* General the Hon. George Anson was son of the first Viscount Anson, and uncle of the present Earl of Lichfield. He was born in 1797, and entered the army at an early age, serving throughout the Peninsular campaign, and in the closing fight at Waterloo. In 1830, he married a daughter of the first Baron Forester, who accompanied her husband to India on his appointment to the command-in-chief of the Bengal army; and had not long returned to this country, when his sudden death occurred. General Anson was clerk of the Ordnance, from 1848 to 1852, and sat in the House of Commons for Great Yarmouth, from 1818 to 1835; for Stoke-upon-Trent, from 1836 to 1837; and for South Staffordshire, from 1837 to 1853.

† It may be observed as singular, that although the announcement of General Anson's death, by the adjutant-general of the army, is dated from Kurnaul on the 27th of May, and the event is reported as having occurred at half-past two in the morning of that day, the government notifications invariably name "Umballah" as the station at which his demise took place. The distance between the two cantonments is about 50 miles.

command of the force is placed in Sir Henry Barnard's hands, to whom he is to give every assistance in his power."

The general order, dated "Fort William, June 5th, 1857," ran thus:—

"With deep sorrow the right honourable the governor-general in council discharges the painful duty of announcing to the army of India the death of his excellency General the Hon. George Anson, commander-in-chief of her majesty's and the honourable Company's forces in India. This sad event took place on the 27th ultimo at Umballah, after a short illness. In General Anson the army of India has lost a commander than whom none was ever more earnest and indefatigable in labouring to improve the condition, extend the comforts, and increase the efficiency, of every branch of the service committed to his charge. To the crown and the honourable East India Company, whom he has served so zealously, as well as to the troops who have been his unceasing care, General Anson's untimely end in the midst of arduous duties, will, the governor-general in council feels assured, be a source of the sincerest grief. The governor-general in council directs that, as a mark of respect to the late commander-in-chief, the flag of the fort shall to-morrow be hoisted half-mast high, and that seventeen minute-guns, according to the rank which he held, shall be fired from the fort. The same honours are to be paid to the memory of General Anson at each of the principal military stations in India on the receipt of this order. The governor-general in council further directs, that the officers of her majesty's and the honourable Company's army shall wear mourning for fourteen days from the day on which this order is received at their respective stations."

Another general order of the same date (June 5th), announced the following military appointments, consequent upon the death of General Anson:—

"The right honourable the governor-general of India in council, is pleased to direct that his excellency Lieutenant-general Sir Henry Somerset, K.C.B. and K.H., commander-in-chief of the Bombay army, the senior officer in India, shall assume the command of her majesty's and the honourable Company's forces in India until further orders. His lordship in council is pleased to make the following appointments:—Major-general T. Reed, C.B., her majesty's service, commanding the Peshawur division, the senior officer in Bengal, is appointed provincial commander-in-chief until the arrival at Calcutta of Lieutenant-general Sir P. Grant, K.C.B., commander-in-chief of the Madras army, whom it has been determined, by the governor-general in council, to place in the position of acting commander-in-chief in Bengal, pending the appointment of a successor to his excellency General the Hon. George Anson, deceased. Major-general Sir Henry Barnard, K.C.B., her majesty's service, commanding the Sirhind division, is appointed to take command of the field force proceeding against Delhi. Brigadier Sidney John Cotton to be a brigadier-general, and to command the Peshawur division during the time that Major-general Reed holds the office of provincial commander-in-chief."

Consequent on the arrangements of the late commander-in-chief, the force under General Reed had arrived at Goojranwalla, forty miles north of Lahore, by the 29th of the month, and the battalion of Ghoorkas, from Simla, reached the general rendezvous of the army of Delhi at Kurnaul, about the same time. The advanced division, consisting of the force from Meerut, under Brigadier-general Wilson, arrived at Ghazee-ud-deen Nuggur—a village situate on the Hindun, about fifteen miles from Delhi—on the morning of the 30th, and immediately detached two companies of the 60th rifles to take possession of the suspension-bridge, which at that place connects the Meerut and Delhi road, and formed the key to his position. The rebel forces having intrenched themselves at a convenient distance on the opposite side of the stream, a force, consisting of a squadron of carabiniers, with four guns, under the command of Major Tombs, was ordered to cross the river by a ford some distance below the bridge, with a view to turn the enemy's flank. Upon being discovered by the pickets of the mutinous troops, the alarm was given, and the heavy guns of the intrenchment immediately opened upon an advanced party of General Wilson's force, which was quickly supported by two more companies of the 60th rifles, with four guns of Major Scott's battery, the sappers, and a troop of carabiniers. At the same time, the insurgents came on in considerable force, with five guns; and a smart engagement immediately ensued; the front of the

enemy's column being met by the fire of the rifles; while the artillery and cavalry, from the ford, made a vigorous assault upon its flank. The guns of the mutineers, though well-handled at first, were speedily silenced by the greater accuracy and rapidity of the European artillery. The rifles, led by Colonel Jones, then charged in gallant style, and captured the five guns, at the same time inflicting severe punishment upon the enemy, whose columns had already began to waver. Unfortunately, at the moment of securing two heavy pieces of artillery planted on the causeway, an ammunition-waggon exploded, and blew up Captain Andrews and four privates of the 60th. Unable to resist the impetuosity of the European advance, the insurgents retired behind their intrenchments, through which they were pursued and cut up by the carabiniers under Colonel Custance. The retreat speedily became general; part of the rebel force rushing through a village themselves had previously set fire to, and in which many of them perished; and part taking to the open plain, where they were cut to pieces by the sabres of the dragoons. The loss on the side of the Europeans was comparatively trifling in point of numbers; and the following despatch from Brigadier Wilson to the adjutant-general, dated "Ghazee-ud-deen Nuggur, May 31st, 1857," presents the official details of the first regular engagement between a portion of the army of avengers and the troops of the king of Delhi:—

"Sir,—I have the honour to report, for the information of Major-general Sir H. Barnard, K.C.B., commanding the Umballah force, that, as reported in my brief despatch of last night, my advanced pickets were driven in at about four o'clock yesterday afternoon, and that I was attacked by a large force of mutineers, accompanied by heavy guns, from Delhi. I immediately sent off a company of her majesty's 60th royal rifles, with another in support, to hold the iron bridge; which is the key of my position, and I detached the four guns of Major Tombs' troop, supported by a squadron of carabiniers, right along the bank of the Hindun river.

"The insurgents opened upon these advanced parties with heavy guns. I ordered two more companies of the 60th to support their advance, and brought up four guns of Major Scott's battery, the sappers, and a troop of carabiniers to their support, leaving two guns and a troop of carabiniers to protect the camp. The first few rounds from the insurgents' guns were admirably aimed, plunging through our camp; but they were ably replied to by our two 18-pounders, in position under Lieutenant Light, and Major Tombs' troop, most admirably led by Lieutenant-colonel M. Mackenzie, who, raking them in flank with his 6-pounders, first made their fire unsteady, and in a short time silenced these heavy guns. On remarking the unsteadiness of their fire, I ordered Lieutenant-colonel Jones to advance his rifles, and attack. This was done in a most spirited manner. They drove the enemy from the guns; but in the act of taking possession of two heavy pieces on the causeway, close to the toll-house, I regret to say that Captain Andrews and four of his men were blown up by the explosion of an ammunition-waggon, fired by one of the mutineers.

"The insurgents were now in full retreat, leaving in our hands ordnance, ammunition, and stores, as detailed in the accompanying statement. They were followed for a considerable distance on the Delhi-road by Lieutenant-colonel Custance, commanding the carabiniers with the force. Where all behaved so well and showed such gallant conduct, it is almost invidious to particularise; but I wish to bring to Major-general Sir H. Barnard's notice, and through him to the commander of the forces, Lieutenant-colonel Mackenzie, 1st brigade horse artillery, who so ably led; Major Tombs, who so gallantly fought the 2nd troop of that brigade (the latter had his horse shot under him); Lieutenant-colonel Custance, commanding the carabiniers; Lieutenant-colonel Jones, who so gallantly led the 60th royal rifles; and Major Scott, who ably supported that regiment. Mr. Greathed, the commissioner, attended on me during the whole of the action. From this gentleman and four of my own personal staff—Captain Johnson, staff officer of the force; Captain O'Hamilton, officiating deputy-assistant quartermaster-general; Captain Russell, of the 54th; and Lieutenant Barchard, of the 20th native infantry; my orderly officers, and Lieutenant Waterfield, of the commissariat department—I received every assistance. The casualties may not be considered great under the advantages we have gained; but with my small force I cannot afford to lose men. I have applied to Major-general Hewitt, commanding Meerut division, for

a reinforcement, as I consider my present force much too small for the position I am placed in—liable to constant attacks from Delhi. Parties of horse have been seen from that quarter reconnoitring my position all the morning, and it is very harassing to the men to be kept so constantly on the alert.—I have, &c.—A. WILSON,

"Brigadier, commanding Field Force."

The loss to the Europeans upon this occasion was limited to eleven killed, nineteen wounded, and two missing; fifteen horses belonging to the artillery and carabiniers, also, were killed in the action.

Undeterred by the rough usage he had met with on his first encounter, the enemy, having been reinforced from Delhi during the night, ventured to make a second attack upon the European force in the afternoon of the 31st. Upon this occasion the rebel troops took up a position, about a mile in length, on a ridge within a short distance of the advanced pickets of the 60th regiment, and commenced the action with a spirited and continuous discharge of artillery, which was promptly answered by the guns of the horse artillery and two 18-pounders, while the rifles moved across the bridge, supported by two guns and a troop of carabiniers. For nearly two hours the action was chiefly confined to the artillery on both sides; but at length the enemy's fire slackened, and the British force steadily advanced. The mutineers, after the lesson of the previous day, had no appetite for close quarters. and speedily retreated, maintaining, however, a sharp fire with musketry, until their position was entirely carried, when they fled in hot haste to seek shelter behind the walls of Delhi. The English soldiers were too much exhausted by fatigue and heat to follow the enemy to any distance, and therefore returned to camp at Ghazee-ud-deen Nuggur, after destroying a village, from which the insurgents had subjected them to annoyance. In this the second encounter, Lieutenant Perkins of the artillery, one non-commissioned officer, and ten privates, were killed; and two subalterns, two non-commissioned officers, and eight rank and file, were wounded; twenty horses were also killed or wounded in the action and pursuit. The following is Brigadier Wilson's report of this spirited affair, dated from Ghazee-ud-deen Nuggur, June 1st:—

"Sir,—In continuation of my demi-official express of last night's date, I have the honour to report, for the information of Major-general Sir H. Barnard, K.C.B., and, through him, of the commander of the forces, that the insurgents attacked me again yesterday afternoon, at about one o'clock, in force. They took up a position extending fully a mile on the high ridge, on the opposite side of the Hindun, about a mile from my advanced picket, in front of the bridge, and commenced a fire with their guns from this long distance. The guns of the horse artillery, supported by a squadron of carabiniers, immediately moved forward to reply to the fire, and the two 18-pounders under Lieutenant Light moved to the bank of the river for the same purpose. The rifles, leaving one company in camp, moved forward to the support of the picket at the bridge, supported by two guns of Major Scott's battery and a troop of carabiniers. Perceiving that the horse artillery were exposed to a very heavy fire, I advanced two more guns of Major Scott's battery, under Lieutenant Davidson, to support them. For nearly two hours the action was one of artillery chiefly.

"The rifles clearing the village on the left of the toll-bar, and the fire of the enemy's guns slackening, I ordered a general advance, the insurgents retiring, but continuing their fire until we drove them from their position and crowned the ridge, from which we could see them in full retreat to Delhi.

"My men were so knocked up by the heat of the sun, by which many officers and men were struck down, that I could not follow them further, as I wished. I therefore withdrew the force into camp, after having first burnt a village on our right flank, from which the insurgents had given us much annoyance. All the force performed their duty well and to my satisfaction; and in addition to those officers whom I brought to notice in my despatch of yesterday, detailing the action of the 30th, I wish to report favourably of Lieutenant Elliot, of artillery, who supported the rifles with two guns of Major Scott's battery, in the most steady and determined manner; Lieutenant Light also did admirable service with his 18-pounders. The sappers and miners under Lieutenant Maunsell, whom I brought up in support of Lieutenant Elliot's guns, performed most efficient service. I have to regret the loss of Lieutenant Perkins, of horse artillery—an invaluable officer, and a great loss to me.

"I regret to say that the insurgents were enabled to carry off all their guns, which

appeared to me to consist of two heavy pieces, on the Delhi-road, and five light guns, most probably the remains of Captain De Teissier's battery; one of their ammunition-waggons only was destroyed.—I have, &c.,

"A. WILSON, Brigadier, commanding Field Forces."

After the affair of the 31st of May, no further attempt was made to disturb the position of Brigadier Wilson, who remained upon the field of his triumphs until his movement to join Sir Henry Barnard.

In the meantime, the main body of troops from Kurnaul was rapidly advancing, dispensing retributive justice on its route among those known to have been engaged in the treasonable outbreak. At this time the health of the men generally was excellent, notwithstanding the heat of the season, and their exposure to a burning sun in a treeless country. Excitement enabled them to endure patiently every form of discomfort that lay in their path, and they were only eager for the moment that should place them within reach of the treacherous and vindictive murderers of English women and children, and the cowardly assassinators of unsuspecting British officers.

On the 6th of June, Major-general Sir H. Barnard's force arrived at Allipore (one march from Delhi), and encamped; and here, at tw ' in the morning of the 7th, the Meerut division under Brigadier Wilson, joined it.

A letter from the camp, dated June 7th, describing the arrival of this gallant band, says—"The 60th rifles came in after their sixteen mile march, singing in chorus, and at a swinging pace." The writer also proceeds to say—"The mutineers have moved out and established themselves, with twelve guns and about 3,000 men, half-way between this and Delhi. They say they mean to attack us, which is not very likely, though they may possibly play at long-bowls with our pickets. If they would only come out in good force, we might be saved much trouble at Delhi. To-morrow we march to the cantonments at Delhi. We shall have to dislodge the mutineers from one or two posts *en route*, but do not anticipate much difficulty. We shall drive in their advanced posts at daylight, and then move on to cantonments. I believe they have eighteen guns outside, which ought to be ours before breakfast-time. An order was sent just now to the European regiments, that weakly and footsore men were to remain behind with the treasure, in case we have to move out to attack. In the 75th and 1st fusiliers, not one weakly man could be found, and hardly any in the 2nd fusiliers, after their long marches.

"The European regiments from the hills suffered from cholera coming down, and while at Umballah and Kurnaul; but since leaving the latter place sickness has entirely disappeared. * * * The siege-train came in this morning, making a double march with six companies of the 2nd fusiliers: the latter have made eight marches in five days, and are in high health and spirits."

From this time, during several successive months, the career of the avenging army was one of uninterrupted success. In every encounter with the insurgent forces, victory crowned the almost superhuman efforts of the heroic band, whose warmest aspirations were not more directed to the effectual suppression of revolt, than to the infliction of condign punishment upon miscreants who, with the name and in the honourable garb of soldiers, had covered the native armies of Bengal with infamy, by the perpetration of enormities it is impossible to recall to memory without feelings of indignation that no language is adequate to express the intensity of.

The capture of Delhi, towards which desirable consummation the advance of the combined forces of General Barnard and Brigadier Wilson was the first effective step, necessarily forms one, but *only one*, of the many distinctive features in the progress of this unjustifiable and unprovoked rebellion; while from the peculiar circumstances attending it, every minute detail connected with the achievement, possesses an interest that has not been surpassed in the records of modern warfare. The pen of the annalist can but faintly pourtray the difficulties, the fatigues, the losses that lay in the path of the destined captors; yet they were prepared to dare all, and to endure all, that the chances of a war, characterised by unparalleled barbarity, might present to them, so that the martyrs of their people might be avenged by the punishment of their brutal destroyers. Up to this time they fortunately were ignorant of the extent of the crimes they would be called upon to resent; or that the stoutest hearts among them would quail, and the flashing eyes of thousands of England's heroes would be dimmed, by the contemplation of horrors about to be unveiled to them.

On the 13th of the month, Lieutenant Norman, who had succeeded to the post of assistant adjutant-general upon the death of Colonel Chester, reported to the secretary to the government as follows:—

"Sir,—In continuation of letter of the 27th ult., to your address, from the late adjutant-general of the army, reporting the death of the commander-in-chief on that day, I am now desired by Major-general T. Reed, C.B., commanding the forces in Bengal, to request that you will inform the governor-general in council that the major-general having left Rawul Pindee on the 28th ult., reached the camp of the force under Major-general Sir H. Barnard, K.C.B., at Allipore, one march from Delhi, about 1 A.M. of the 8th inst., when the troops were on the point of moving to drive in the posts of the mutineers outside Delhi. Sir H. Barnard had been joined on the previous day by Brigadier A. Wilson with troops from Meerut, and on the 6th inst. by the siege-train with its escort; so that the total force in camp was as enumerated in the margin.* I beg to enclose copies of the major-general's two reports of the successful operations of this day, and am only to add that Major-general Reed entirely approves of the whole of the dispositions made, and cordially concurs in the approbation bestowed on the officers and troops engaged, and particularly on those who are more especially mentioned. The commander of the forces, I am to state, was unable, from severe sickness and fatigue, to accompany the troops, and in no way interfered with the arrangements of Sir H. Barnard, who was attended in the field by the head-quarters' staff. Major-general Reed desires to express his deep regret at the loss of the adjutant-general of the army, Colonel C. Chester, who was killed by a cannon-shot in the first advance on the enemy's heavy battery at Badulee Ke-Serai. The loss of this officer at the present juncture is deeply deplored by the commander of the forces.

"Since the arrival of the troops at Delhi, several affairs have taken place, in all of which the troops engaged have greatly distinguished themselves. The guide corps, under Captain Daly, arrived on the morning of the 9th inst., having marched from Murdan, in Eusufzaie, a distance of 580 miles, in twenty-two days. The engineer and artillery portions of the force have been actively employed in throwing up batteries, and in maintaining a fire on the city. The mutineers have mounted a very formidable artillery, and their practice is excellent, and usually well sustained; but the major-general trusts ere long we shall be enabled to strike a decisive blow at the place.

"In addition to the enclosures already referred to, I am directed to attach copies of Brigadier Wilson's reports of his two actions at Ghazee-ud-deen Nuggur.

"I have, &c.,

"W. A. NORMAN, Lieutenant."

Major-general Sir Henry Barnard's reports, referred to in the above despatch, were dated from the cantonments at Delhi, on the 8th and 12th of June respectively. The first-dated was to the following effect:—

"Sir,—The forces under my command marched from Allipore at 1 A.M. this morning; and on reaching Badulee Ke-Serai, found the enemy strongly posted in an intrenched position, which I have the satisfaction to inform you was carried after an engagement of about three-quarters of an hour, and proceeded to take up our present position, which we found to be over disputed ground the whole way; and finally, in a well-defended line of defence, from the Signal tower to Hindoo Rao's house. Our troops behaved with the greatest gallantry and persevering endurance; and after facing a very determined resistance, drove the enemy within the walls of Delhi: all this was accomplished by nine o'clock in the morning. Our loss has been comparatively trifling, only one officer being killed; but I regret to say that officer is Colonel Chester, adjutant-general of the army, who was esteemed by all for every qualification that can adorn the soldier. I have not been able to ascertain the particulars of our loss, or our capture of guns; but I fear I cannot estimate the former under forty to fifty killed; the number of guns taken to be about sixteen or eighteen. I do not, in this hurried

* Four guns, 2nd troop, 1st brigade; 2nd and 3rd troops, 3rd brigade, horse artillery; 3rd company, 3rd battalion, artillery, and No. 14 horse field battery; 4th company, 6th battalion. Artillery; detachment artillery recruits; head-quarters' detachment sappers and miners; her majesty's 9th lancers; two squadrons, her majesty's 6th dragoon guards; head-quarters and six companies 60th royal rifles; head-quarters and nine companies of her majesty's 75th regiment; 1st Bengal fusiliers; head-quarters and six companies 2nd fusiliers; Sirmoor battalion.

despatch, attempt to recommend any one; but I cannot pass over the assistance I received from Brigadier-general Wilson, whose cool judgment entitles him to an equal share of any merit that may be given to the officer in command. From the brigadier-general and staff of the army attached to me from the divisional staff I received every support; and from my personal staff, Captain Barnard and Lieutenant Turnbull, the most daring devotion. The conduct of the Ghoorka battalion, the sappers, and other native troops employed, was most praiseworthy; they vied with their European comrades in forward daring. The troops of the native contingents did equally good service, including those of the Jhind rajah; and I cannot close this without especial mention of many gentlemen attached to the army in civil capacities, who not only accompanied us into the field, but did every service the extended nature of our position rendered prominent in keeping up mutual communication. I hope to send you a fuller detail to-morrow. Our siege-train is up, and I hope to open on the town without a moment's delay.

"P.S.—I find the captured guns amount to twenty-six; and I desire to add to this, in justice to myself, special notice of the assistance I received from Colonel Congreve, C.B., acting adjutant-general of her majesty's forces in India; Colonel Becher, quartermaster-general of the army; and Colonel the Hon. R. Curzon, military secretary to the late commander-in-chief, who never left me; Captain Norman, assistant adjutant-general of the army, and on whom the important duties of adjutant-general devolved on the death of Colonel Chester; and Colonel Young, judge-advocate-general of the army, who accompanied me during the whole of the action."

The second report, dated June 12th, comprises a more detailed account of the action at Badulee Ke-Serai.

"Sir,—With reference to my hurried despatch of the 8th inst., I have now the honour, for the information of the general commanding the forces, to submit a more detailed account of the action of Badulee Ke-Serai, and seizure of the position on the ridge above the cantonments of Delhi, necessary to hold with regard to ultimate operations against that city. Having been joined by the force under Brigadier-general Wilson, I broke up the camp at Allipore without delay; and on ascertaining that the enemy had made preparations to oppose our advance, and had occupied a fortified position at Badulee Ke-Serai, made the following disposition of the forces:—Brigadier-general Grant, C.B., with the force as per margin,* was to gain the opposite side of the canal, and recross it below and in rear of the enemy's position, so soon as he heard the action commence, with a view of taking the enemy in flank. The 1st brigade, under Brigadier-general Showers, was to act on the right side of the main trunk road, along which the column was to advance; and the 2nd brigade, under Brigadier-general Graves, was to take the left; the heavy guns were to remain in position on the road; the rest of the artillery to act on either side. As soon as our advanced picket met the enemy these brigades deployed, leaving the main road clear. The enemy soon opened a heavy fire upon us; and, finding that our light field-pieces did not silence their battery, and that we were losing men fast, I called upon the 75th regiment to make a dashing charge and take the place at the point of the bayonet: this service was done with the most heroic gallantry; and to Lieutenant-colonel Herbert and every officer, non-commissioned officer, and man of the 75th regiment, my thanks are most especially due. The 1st Europeans supported the attack; and on the 2nd brigade coming up and threatening their right, and Brigadier-general Grant showing the head of his column and guns on their left rear, the enemy abandoned the position entirely, leaving his guns on the ground. The action lasted nearly an hour, and I regret to say, cost many valuable lives.

"Although the men were much exhausted, I determined to push on, under the impression that if I halted, a similar difficulty might be opposed to me the following day in gaining the requisite position; and on the road separating, it became desirable to act in two columns, sending one along the main trunk road, and taking the other to the left through the cantonments. To Brigadier-general Wilson, supported by Brigadier-general Showers' brigade, I confided the conduct of this column, which had to fight its way through gardens with high walls and other obstacles the whole way; and, taking the 2nd brigade, with Brigadier-general Graves, with myself, I

* Six guns, 3rd troop, 3rd battalion, horse artillery; four guns, 2nd troop, 1st battalion horse artillery; three squadrons 9th lancers.

proceeded to the left. I soon found that the enemy had posted himself strongly on the ridge over the cantonments, with guns in position, and under the range of which we soon found ourselves; upon which I determined on a rapid flank movement to the left, in the hope of gaining the ridge under cover of the cantonments, and taking the position in flank. This was happily successful; the enemy got their guns hastily into a position to meet me; and Brigadier-general Graves' brigade, consisting of the 60th rifles, under Lieutenant-colonel Jones, supported by the 2nd Europeans, under Captain Boyd, advanced gallantly, and, supported by Captain Money's troop of horse artillery, carried the position; and the enemy, finding himself taken in flank and rear, abandoned his guns, and we swept the whole ridge from the Flagstaff to Hindoo Rao's house, where I had the satisfaction of meeting Brigadier-general Wilson; and, the object of the day having been thus effected, the force was at once placed in position before Delhi.

"I have already mentioned to the commander-in-chief the names of officers to whom I am indebted, and whom I desire, in justice, to call to his notice, and to whose names I beg to add those of Major Ewart, deputy-assistant adjutant-general; Captain Shute, assistant quartermaster-general; and Captain Maisey, deputy judge-advocate-general; and beg to state that I fully concur in the merit of those recommended by my brigadiers.—I have, &c.—W. H. BARNARD,

"Major-general, commanding Field Force."

The following letters from officers engaged in the decisive actions of the 8th of June, supply some interesting details of the incidents that have rendered the day memorable in the annals of the Indian revolt. Our first extract, dated from the Delhi cantonments, June 8th, the day of the battle, says—"We marched at 2 A.M. from Allipore, knowing that there were twelve guns in a strong position on our road, about three miles off, and when we got near it, round shot came flying into us. We got off the road, extended our men and brought up our artillery to reply to them, which they did; but their guns were so well served that they did fearful work. Almost at the commencement of the affair, our adjutant-general, Colonel Chester, was placed *hors de combat* by a round shot,* and as it was impossible for us to stand the pounding they were evidently disposed to give us, the only way to prevent it was to take the guns into our own hands. The order was consequently given, and by a vigorous rush of the 75th, supported by the 1st Europeans, the position was carried at the point of the bayonet, and the guns captured with comparatively little loss to ourselves, the Pandys having an insurmountable objection to close quarters with our cold steel in front of them. We then pushed on to Delhi, and had to attack and take more guns, and again I had many escapes; however, it was daylight, and we did things better, and here we are. We took the heights and guns on them, and now are encamped on the old Delhi parade-ground; but though one o'clock, no tents up yet. We are occupying any buildings we can find. I am with the general and staff in an old hospital till tents come up. The mutineers, in their first position, had the commander-in-chief's head-quarter tents, which they had got out of the magazine."

In another letter, dated "Head-quarters, Delhi cantonments, June 12th," the writer says—"We are now encamped on the Flagstaff-hill, having dislodged the insurgents on the 8th. They fought most obstinately, and disputed the ground inch by inch; but British courage, and, I may add, ferocity, forced all before them. In the enemy's camp was found a European actually laying the guns! He was literally cut to pieces by the enraged soldiery. It is suspected that there are others in the city. Three hundred of the mutineers tried to escape by getting into a Seraè, but they were seen by some of our fellows, and a party went to dislodge them; they fired from the windows, when our fellows burst open the doors, and, rushing in, killed every one. Not one was left alive. We marched down to the lines by the Artillery-bridge, the centre one having been destroyed by the enemy. We were under heavy fire till we got beyond the canal, but not a single casualty occurred."

A communication of a yet later date, refers to the advance from Allipore thus:—"Where the two roads to Kurnaul meet, the enemy took up their first position, at a place called Badulee Ke-Serai, with sandbag batteries and about sixteen guns, some of them 24-pounders, and eight howitzers. We came on them on the 8th of June, and got a tremendous pounding for about half-an-hour, till we stormed them with the

* See *ante*, p. 196.

bayonet, when the mutineers fled. They are good behind guns, but poor creatures at close quarters. We then advanced unmolested, and took our position on a commanding ridge, the nearest point of which is about 1,200 yards from the Moree gate, pitching our camp on the parade-ground of the old cantonment, which is just out of reach of their shells. Our force was about 3,000 strong, and the pickets being more than 1,000, siege operations were out of the question. Only an assault remained; but General Barnard could not make up his mind to assent to it, and so we waited for reinforcements, and are now about 6,000 strong. But our guns are still, in number and calibre, quite unequal to a siege. We have two 24-pounders (captured), six 8-inch howitzers, nine 18-pounders, and six 8-inch mortars. The enemy have an enormous arsenal, with 32-pounders, 24-pounders, 10-inch howitzers in abundance, and are limited only in artillerymen; and our troops are so worked, that working parties cannot be procured."

Mr. Greathed, agent to the lieutenant-governor, writes from before Delhi, June 8th:—"We have made good our point to-day, and are now encamped on the parade-ground, with the heights between the cantonments and the city in our hands, and in a position to commence the siege at once. The enemy had taken up a strong position at Badulee Ke-Serai, which was carried, with the capture of all the guns. The pursuit was so sharp, that the gunners threw themselves off their horses and left the field-pieces standing in the road. The heavy guns remain in position. Twenty-six guns, in all, have been captured to-day, besides ammunition and intrenching tools."

Another letter briefly refers to the advance from Allipore, and the events of the 8th of June, thus:—"Marching from Allipore at one in the morning, the general found the enemy intrenched in a strong position, or line of positions, covering Delhi. By nine o'clock he had carried the whole of them in the face of a stubborn resistance, and had driven the mutineers within the walls of the city, upon which he was intending to open with his heavy artillery, without a moment's delay." The writer then proceeds to say—"Knowing the vital importance of the conflict to which our generals are committed, the smallness of the force under their command—which, even with reinforcements, will hardly, I imagine, reach 6,000 men—the great extent of the city (five or six miles from north to south), its populousness, and the fact that on the eastern or river side it is now entirely open to the mutineers to receive men or supplies from the Doab—we must not murmur against our chiefs if some days yet elapse before we hear that the place is taken. Already, in connection with the revolt, have appeared symptoms of this hasty and ignorant criticism. Poor General Anson was accused of culpable inaction till it was found that he had been waiting, and of course most wisely, for the siege-train from Phillour, having nothing but field-pieces with him."

Adverting to the delay that had occurred in collecting and bringing forward the troops since the early part of May, the writer observes—"Doubtless, the delay in the capture of Delhi has been unfortunate. It has led to the open mutiny of several rotten-hearted regiments—a fact in itself, perhaps, causing no great loss to the state, saving where European life was taken. But let it be remembered, that the game to be played out at Delhi is one of which it is impossible to over-estimate the value of the stakes, and one, therefore, not to be lightly taken in hand, nor to be conducted otherwise than in a cautious, if also in an alert and vigorous mood. I have no fear but that the blow will be struck soon enough for the security of the empire. And when the retribution has come—as come it surely will; when the puppet king of Delhi is taken or slain; when the streets of his capital are choked with dead, and every English bayonet is bent and bloody with the strife, then you will read the ghastly tale of the atrocities perpetrated in the accursed city, unsurpassed in kind, as will I think appear, by anything recorded in history of the cruellest sack of a captured town, and will rejoice that your murdered countrymen and countrywomen are fully, if fearfully, avenged."

Of the spirit that animated the army as one man on its advance for the recapture of Delhi, and the expulsion, if not utter extermination, of the treacherous and unmanly hordes of ruffians that defiled the streets of that city of slaughterhouses, and by their daring provoked the chastisement about to fall upon it and its people, we have an instance in the conduct of the 60th rifles, on their arrival at the camp of General Barnard.* With such spirits, and the energies

* See *ante*, p. 195.

called into activity by attendant circumstances, it could not be possible to doubt the result of the struggle to which such men were hastening, however protracted might be its duration, or however costly the sacrifices by which such result might be purchased for the country ennobled by their valour.

CHAPTER XII.

MUTINY OF AN ESCORT NEAR HATTRAS; SUCCESSFUL RUSE OF THE OFFICER IN COMMAND; OUTBREAK AT SEETAPORE; MURDER OF LIEUTENANT-COLONEL BIRCH; THE TOWN PLUNDERED; FLIGHT OF THE EUROPEAN FAMILIES; REVOLT OF THE POPULACE, AND MASSACRE OF EUROPEANS AT HANSI AND HISSAR; RECOVERY OF THEIR MUTILATED REMAINS; OUTBREAK AT AZIMGURH; SIR JOHN LAWRENCE'S ADDRESS TO THE SEPOYS; MUTINY AND MASSACRE AT NEEMUCH.

HAVING traced the disastrous occurrences associated with the progress of the revolt, to the end of May, we shall now follow its devastating career, until, in the month of June, 1857, it had reached a climax of horrors that are scarcely paralleled in the records of human depravity, and of atrocities that the pen hesitates to describe, and the tongue of the sufferer dares not reveal in the hearing of civilised man.

HATTRAS.—The close of May was signalised by a very gallant and successful exploit of Lieutenant Cockburn, an officer in command of a detachment of the Gwalior contingent that had been sent to the assistance of the lieutenant-governor of the Western Provinces, at Agra, by the maharajah.* Upon intelligence of the outbreak at Allygurh having reached Mr. Colvin, Lieutenant Cockburn was directed to proceed to that place with 225 men of the Gwalior cavalry, for the purpose of protecting such of the Europeans as remained, from the stragglers of the mutinous 9th regiment of native infantry. The men accomplished the distance of 176 miles in seven marches, and fortunately arrived just in time to effect the purpose intended, and to escort the European families from that station to Hattras—a town about thirty miles N.N.E. of Agra. Lieutenant Cockburn had scarcely reached Hattras with his charge, when about 100 of his troopers mutinied, and endeavoured to prevail upon those of their comrades who remained faithful, to join them, and massacre the English fugitives whom they had so far protected. The mutineers, finding expostulation of no effect, sought by example to gain accession to their numbers, and, separating themselves from the escort, they rode round the camp, calling upon their comrades, for the sake of religion and their king, to abandon the "Feringhees," and proceed with them to Delhi. Neither persuasion or menace availed them, and ultimately they rode off to endeavour to prevail on the villagers to join them in an attack upon their late comrades, and in the plunder of the fugitive party. Undismayed by his position with the important charge intrusted to him, and his reduced means for protecting it, Lieutenant Cockburn at once determined to act on the offensive, and thereby extricate the Europeans in Hattras from their hazardous position. The deserters had already succeeded in exciting the cupidity of the villagers, some 500 of whom assembled in the neighbourhood of the town, and were actively engaged in plundering and ill-using the inhabitants. Leaving about eighty of his men, in whom he had confidence, to protect the Europeans under his charge, he procured a curtained bullock-cart, similar to those in which females are accustomed to travel in that part of the country; and having let down the curtains, he placed behind them four of his men with loaded carbines, instead of the usual complement of female travellers. The cart was sent on in advance; himself, with forty of his troop, following at a convenient distance, and screening themselves under the shade of trees as they approached the tumultuous rabble. The cart was no sooner discovered, than the plunderers rushed towards it for the purpose of seizing the women whom

* See *ante*, p. 127.

they supposed to be within it; but, as the foremost of them placed their hands upon the vehicle, a well-directed volley from the carbines laid several of them upon the earth. Lieutenant Cockburn and his men instantly galloped up, and, dashing into the midst of the affrighted rabble, cut the insurgents down without mercy. The mutinous troopers who had instigated and been most active in the disorder, broke from the mass of their confederates, and fled, followed by the mob, which dispersed in all directions. Of the sowars, forty-eight were killed in the *mêlée*, three were wounded, and ten made prisoners, and afterwards hung for mutiny and desertion. The rest of the party were scattered about the country; and of the villagers, many of them, in the extremity of their terror at the impetuous and unexpected attack, threw themselves into the wells, and so perished while endeavouring to escape from a merited punishment. The result of this spirited affair was the safe arrival of the fugitives at their intended destination without further molestation on the way.

SEETAPORE.—At Seetapore (a military station in the territory of the Gwalior rajah), a wing of the 41st native infantry, the 9th and 10th Oude irregular infantry, and the 2nd regiment of Oude military police, comprising altogether about 3,000 men, were in cantonments; and, up to the beginning of June, nothing had occurred in the behaviour of the troops to excite apprehension of their loyalty, although, as it subsequently proved a mischievous influence had for some time been actively employed to seduce them from their allegiance. During the morning of Tuesday, the 2nd of June, a sepoy orderly communicated to Lieutenant-colonel Birch, of the 41st regiment, that the men were disaffected, and that a mutinous outbreak was at hand; but that they had resolved not to injure their officers if the latter would leave the cantonment and town quietly. By some extraordinary fatuity this timely information was disregarded, and no preparations were made in anticipation of the possible revolt, beyond ordering the European officers attached to the native regiments to remain with their respective companies. On the 3rd, the outbreak commenced by the men of the 41st regiment assembling on parade with their arms and ammunition, and thence proceeding to the residence of their colonel; who, on refusing to deliver over to them the treasure under his charge, they immediately shot, with one of their three lieutenants and the sergeant-major. The men of the 9th irregulars had not been idle spectators of the movement of their rebellious comrades, and they also broke into open mutiny; emulating the former in their work of blood by shooting their commanding officer, doctor, and sergeant-major. While these events were in progress, the 10th regiment was marched out to protect the civilians, having the military police drawn up on the left of their position for the same object. After a very brief interval of inaction, the men of the police force suddenly mutinied, and commenced firing upon the civilians who happened to be gazing at the unusual military demonstration. For some minutes the 10th exhibited a disposition to stand true to their duty and their colours; but upon the approach of the 9th and 41st regiments, they also left their ranks and joined the mutinous host. The men of the 10th did not, however, imitate the others in wreaking their vengeance upon their officers; one of whom, Lieutenant and Adjutant Burnes, describing the events of the morning, says—"I was standing in front of the centre of the left wing, exhorting the men to be faithful to their salt, and to the colours they had so lately and so sacredly sworn to defend. They listened with the utmost respect, and evinced no signs whatever of disobedience until the 41st and 9th came within 120 yards; when the light company broke their ranks, and seizing me, took me to the rear, begging of me to run and save myself, as they wished me no harm. Seeing my commanding officer and second in command going away, I followed with a heavy heart, little caring what became of me, and not taking much notice of the volleys the troops were treating us to."—The disorder now became general; a portion of the rebellious soldiery had already commenced shooting the inhabitants and plundering the town, while others had taken possession of the treasury, and were now occupied in firing the bungalows and lines of the cantonments. A few sepoys still, however, continued faithful, and earnestly besought the surviving officers to escape, and so avert the otherwise inevitable destruction of their families; as, in the event of their falling, the women and children would be without a chance of protection. Finding it useless to contend

with the circumstances by which they were surrounded, it was at length determined to follow the advice of the sepoys; by whose assistance, eventually, twelve of the officers, with six ladies and several children, and some families of Europeans in the civil service (numbering altogether about fifty persons), managed to quit the place, under the protection of twenty soldiers, by whom the party was safely conducted to Lucknow. Throughout the journey of fifty miles they were compelled to avoid the public roads, and to cross ravines and broken ground, that under other circumstances would have been considered impossible for ordinary travellers. Their flight was soon discovered, and a pursuit commenced; but by taking the unusual route selected by their protectors, the fugitives were enabled to keep sufficiently in advance of their pursuers to avoid personal harm, although upon one occasion, in which they had halted for an hour, they were nearly overtaken. The time occupied in this doubly hazardous flight extended over two days and a night, during the whole of which period they were without shelter, and but scantily provided with food. The outbreak at Seetapore was consummated by a massacre of about sixty of the European and Christian inhabitants of the town, and the partial destruction of the place itself. The cantonments were utterly destroyed by fire; and the Europeans who had saved themselves by timely flight, escaped with only the clothing they had upon them at the moment of their departure.

A letter from Lieutenant George Holmes Burnes, late adjutant of the 10th Oude irregular infantry, affords the following details connected with this outbreak, and its subsequent perils for those unhappily within the range of its influence. The communication is addressed to his brother, from the fort of Mitawlee, after an interval of several months from the period at which the mutiny broke out.

"I fear that for many months you must have mourned me as dead; and my escape has indeed been wonderful—very wonderful; for, since the 3rd of June (the date of the mutiny and massacre at Seetapore), I have been prowling in the jungle, exposed to sun and rain, and pursued by sepoys and a small party of irregular cavalry; but I have hitherto escaped, and hope yet to get off, as I am protected by a friendly rajah, who has fed me and those with me to this hour; and now that things seem bettering, I trust he will increase his care for us—so cheer up! God has been very merciful to me; and I yet hope to see you, dearest brother, again. Much have I to write, and but little space to put it in. On the 3rd of June the Seetapore troops, consisting of the 41st Bengal native infantry, 9th and 10th regiments Oude irregular infantry, and 2nd regiment Oude military police (in all about 3,300 men), broke out into open mutiny and shot their officers, and every European —man, woman, and child—they could lay their hands on. More of this hereafter. I cannot now dwell on the horrible scenes that ensued; so will relate briefly the part more immediately affecting myself."

Lieutenant Burnes then describes the conduct of the troops, and the position in which he was placed as one of the European officers, until constrained to leave the ground as already mentioned; and he then proceeds to relate the incidents connected with his final escape, as follows:—

"As soon as I had got quite clear of the tumultuous mass, I went to the house of Mr. Christian, the commissioner, where all the remaining people of the station had assembled. Behind the house flowed a small deep river, and beyond was a jungle of thick cypress and brushwood: all agreed to cross and hide in the jungle; the house was now being surrounded; the police were in the garden, and had occupied a small temporary bridge across the river, where they shot a number of men, women, and children. Some escaped by a ford; as for me, I followed in the rear, and came up with Mrs. Christian, the commissioner's wife, struggling to get on with her little child in her arms (a girl two and a-half years old), and her husband with her, carrying a boy about six months old. The nurse had run away, and the *sauve qui peut* feeling seems to have been too strong on the fugitives for any of them to help her. I took the child from her arms, and with the aid of Quartermaster-sergeant Morton, of my regiment, got it away safe and sound; all three escaping unscathed through the fearful shower of bullets sent after us as we crossed the river, and hid ourselves in the friendly jungle. We went some twenty miles that day, taking the child by turns: next day we met Sir M. Jackson, assistant-commissioner, and his sister, in the jungle; we went on together, and on the morning of the 5th reached Mitawlee, the fort of

Rajah Toonee Sing, with whom we have since been. I entered his fort by force, and claimed protection for the whole party, which was granted. I have since heard that Mr. and Mrs. Christian and the little boy were killed, so my poor little ward is an orphan; she is a very nice little child. I send this through an officer with whom I am totally unacquainted; but we sent in a French letter by a Brahmin to Cawnpore, and received an answer from Captain Gordon this day, which enlightened us as to what is going on in India. I could not communicate before, or, of course, should have done so. I lost all I had in the world, but regret most my poor mother's jewels. I thought of them, and tried to go into my house after leaving the parade; but the mutineers were there and fired at me, so I went off without an article I valued. God bless you, my father and brothers; write and tell them about me.

"P.S. I have since heard that Lieutenants Dorin and Snell, commandant and second in command of my regiment, were shot near the river."

Referring to the above calamitous affair, the *Friend of India*, of the 2nd of July, says—"There is a long list of brave and distinguished men missing, and most probably murdered, to which we dare not refer. We have thought, at times, that the worst ought to be told; but the task is too painful, and we put it off till a later day: the sense of honour has grown dull, and the day of vengeance seems far distant."

HANSI* AND HISSAR.—Contemporaneous with the events at Seetapore, the military stations at Hansi and Hissar, situated about eighty-seven miles to the north-west of Delhi, were also the scenes of military revolt and unprovoked massacre. The troops at these adjacent stations consisted of a battalion of the Hurreana light infantry, and the 4th regiment of irregular cavalry, who appear to have been excited to mutiny by some troopers that arrived at Hissar from Delhi; and, after a short parley, succeeded in persuading the men to rise and destroy "all the young and old of English parentage." The determination, once formed, was promptly carried into execution; and, of the whole European population at the station, only twenty-three grown persons, and twelve children, escaped a violent death at the hands of their ferocious assailants. One of these, a Dr. Waghorn, managed to reach Kurnaul, a distance of about fifty miles, where he gave an alarm; but there were then no spare soldiers that could be dispatched to avenge the butchery.

Details of this calamitous affair are unusually meagre, the official notification extending no further than the following bare announcement of the fact, that an outbreak had occurred:—"Hansi and Hissar. The Hurreana light infantry mutinied (date not known.) The officers, civil and military, appear to have escaped; some to Thannesur, and others to Sirsa."—Beyond this imperfect information, the authorities appear to have known nothing of the circumstances attending the outbreak, which was terminated by an indiscriminate massacre of the European officers and inhabitants, and the departure of the insurgents to swell the ranks of treason and revolt in Delhi.

From other sources we are, however, enabled to collect the following particulars of the outrage:—For several days prior to the attack, alarm had been felt by the inhabitants of Hissar, in consequence of an unusual number of villagers and Khanjurs having collected together in the vicinity of the place; and, as a measure of precaution, the gates of the city and fort had been kept closed, and vigilantly guarded. Nothing, however, occurred to increase the feeling of disquietude until the afternoon of the 2nd of June, when the servant of one of the European families rushed into the apartment in which her master was sitting, with information that some of the Delhi sowars were at the gate of the city, holding conversation with the sentries. A rumour of their approach was floating about the place early in the morning; but, as the gate was closed, and no communication suffered from the outside, the intelligence could not reach the unfortunate persons within the walls, few of whom escaped the vengeance of the infuriated rabble.

That the scenes enacted in this place were

* Hansi is a town in the Upper Province, situated about 87 miles N.N.W. of Delhi, on the Firoze Shah canal. The place has been occupied as a military station, and contains within a brick wall, a fort of considerable strength, and a good reservoir: cantonments for the Hurreana light infantry are in the vicinity of the town, which at one time was considered of importance. Hissar and Sirsa are other military stations of secondary importance, in the immediate vicinity of Hansi.

equal in atrocity to those at Meerut, Delhi, or any other of the slaughterhouses of the Bengal sepoys, there is ample proof in the facts disclosed upon the entry of the force of Brigadier Wilson, on its route to Delhi. It may suffice that here a wholesale massacre was perpetrated, and that women and children were victims to the turbulent ferocity of an insurgent mob. The following statement by one of the survivors, a gentleman in the civil service of the company, will afford some few particulars of an event which, in other respects, has little record beyond the agonized memories of the surviving actors in the tragedy. This gentleman says—"On the morning of the attack, Mr. Wedderburn (the collector) went to his office about ten o'clock; and about one, while Mr. Taylor and myself were at chess, we were startled by a servant rushing in to say, that some Delhi sowars were outside the city gate, and that Lieutenant Barwell had gone down to see what was wrong. I immediately took up my pistols and went outside the verandah, calling my wife as I passed her room. When Mr. Taylor and myself got into the verandah, we saw two sowars ride up to the sentry, and after giving him some instructions, turn round and dash off. Mr. T. and myself then went down to the gate, and I passed through the wicket. I then saw that Mr. Taylor had no arms, and told him to get his gun. He was then inside the wicket; and on turning, a volley was fired at us, one ball striking Mr. T. in the hand, another knocking my hat off. The wicket was immediately slammed-to by the sentry. On seeing the wicket closed, I entered the garden outside the fort, and endeavoured to get into the house by the garden postern, but found it locked. The two sowars (Dadree) on sentry at this gate drew on me; and their comrades, who were picketed in the garden, rushed to the spot. I gave up all hope of being able to effect my entrance into the house, where I might have rescued my wife. I accordingly made for the city wall, and had to shoot one sowar, which checked the others for a few minutes, during which I managed to scramble over the wall and dropped into the canal, over which I waded into a tank overgrown with rushes, in which I lay concealed till 8 P.M., when I struck through the Bheer for Jhind, which I reached the day after. I will give Mr. Taylor's escape in his own words:—'I ran from the gate through a volley of bullets, and thought I heard you fall close behind me, as we both turned on hearing the first shot from the guard-room. The last I saw of your poor wife was standing at the railing; she screamed as she saw a fellow jump out of the rabbit-house at me with a sword. I had just time to get into the house and seize either yours or Barwell's sword, and cut the fellow down; and going to the back of the house to get time to tie up the wounds on my left hand, from which there was a stream of blood, the brutes fired at me again from the top of the office steps, but a pillar of the verandah saved me. I was hid for three days in the Bheer, near Tulwundee; came to Thannesur in disguise, reaching the border of Putteeala the first night; came on to Umballah and joined the company of volunteers. Lieutenant Barwell entered the garden two minutes after me, and tried to get in by the garden gate; he was cut down by the Dadree sowars. The force in Hissar, at the time of the outbreak, was two companies of Hurreanas inside the fort, ninety-six sowars of the irregular regiment we were raising, picketed outside the fort, and about eighty Dadree and Jhujjur sowars, fifty of them being picketed in the fort garden. There was a guard at the Tehsel, as also at the Cutcherry. The treasure (one lac, 70,000 rupees) was in the magazine of the fort. I heard most of the particulars of the loot and massacre from the brutes who came down to bathe, about twenty yards from where I was concealed. They stated that sowars were out hunting for those who had escaped, who were to be brought in to be burnt in the houses.'"

Notwithstanding their search for victims, it appears from the subjoined list, that several persons did succeed in effecting their escape, and in reaching shelter at Rawul Pindee, after great difficulties, and avoiding many dangers.

Persons who escaped from Hansi:—Captain and Mrs. Stafford and child; Dr. Scott, Messrs. Tapsell, Vaughan, and two children; Mr. Rich, Mr. Blewitt, sister-in-law, and two children; Mr. and Mrs. Scarden and three children; Mr. and Mrs. Warren and three children; Mr. Jews; Mr. Hickey; Mrs. Tapsell, son, and daughter; Quartermaster-sergeant Mallowe.—The following persons were seen on the road some distance from the cantonments of Hansi, but not since heard of:—Mr. Skinner; Mr. and Mrs. Paul and six children; Sergeant-major

Murphy.—The following parties were left behind in Hansi, and were murdered:—Mrs. Milne and two children; Sub-conductor Fitzpatrick, wife, and several children; Mrs. Mallowe and two children.—The following escaped from Hissar:—Dr. Waghorn; Mrs. Daniels and child; Mr. Hallett, Sergeant Sheills, Mr. Taylor (arrived at Thannesur.)—The persons who were in Hissar, and whose fate was for some time unknown, were:—Mr. Wedderburn, wife and child; Lieutenant and Mrs. Barwell; Mrs. Hallett; Mr. and Mrs. Jeffries; Mr. and Mrs. Smith and six children; Mr. Thompson, and Mr. Daniels.

Of the unfortunate individuals mentioned in the above list as left in Hansi and Hissar, the subjoined particulars were collected from some survivors of the party, who returned to the place with the avenging army on its way to Delhi. These persons were able to point out to the soldiers the several spots on which they had seen men and women of their acquaintance shot down, or hacked to pieces, by the mutinous soldiers; and to collect relics of their slaughtered friends. Among other vestiges of the brutality of the rebels, found scattered about the place, was the skull of Mr. Wedderburn, yet exposed upon the ground where he had been murdered, and which, being identified, was decently interred. With this also were laid such portions of the remains of his wife and child, of Mrs. Barwell, and of another lady, as were removable from the spot, below the rampart, where they were cast down from their little room, of which the bloodstained walls yet testified to the butchery that had been perpetrated therein. Mrs. Smith, wife of an assistant in the Cutcherry, took refuge with her five children among some thick bushes in the garden of her house. The gardener knew her retreat, but did not disclose it, assuring the mutineers who attacked and sacked the house, that his mistress and her family had escaped to the fort; but a *chowkedar*, or policeman, who was under deep obligations to Mr. Smith for recent kindness, found out the place where the wife and children of his benefactor were concealed, and with his own hand slaughtered every one. Portions of bloodstained attire were still clinging to the bushes when the bones of the victims were collected and interred. Of Lieutenant Barwell's body no traces were found. It is scarcely necessary to state, that such of the prisoners taken by the European soldiers on this occasion, as were shown to have been concerned in the butchery, had no cause to complain of the delay of justice: their trial was brief, and the arm of the "avenger" did not fail to strike.

A young gentleman, resident at Hissar, in civil employ, whose wife was one of the victims of this sanguinary visitation, writes thus of his loss, and of his sufferings, in connection with the affair:—

"My dear father and mother,—Through the mercy of God I have escaped the awful fate of many of our countrymen out here. My poor Phœbe has, however, been murdered by these savages. I had heard some rumours of a rise in Delhi, and left on sick leave to Hissar, two days before the Delhi massacre. Mr. Thompson, Mrs. Thompson, and my two sisters were murdered in Delhi, and my brother-in-law at Hissar. I am quite sick of everything—my child in November [he alludes to the untimely death of his firstborn], and then my poor little wife: it is very hard. I am laid up with chronic bronchitis. It was very fearful—walking one hundred miles without a hat, in the blazing sun, and having to wade through water up to my neck. I trust I shall get over it; and then what next? When I was lying concealed in the rushes, and the sepoys were firing all round about to see if any one was concealed in the tank, I made a vow that if I escaped I would serve my God. You remember my reference before to my wish to enter holy orders. Well, I don't know how it is, but I feel persuaded that, do what I will, some day or other I am destined for this mission. I have often laughed at the way people talk of being 'called.' If ever a man was, I am. It is no good; do what I will, my heart and conscience always point the same way. I shall, as soon as this rebellion is over, save up, and as soon as I have sufficient to take me home and bring me out again, I shall come home, and endeavour to be ordained by Mr. Villiers to go out as a missionary. I am a beggar now; only two shirts to my back, and one hundred rupees sent me by the Lahore relief fund. Excuse more, as I have not heart to write. Holt and Ruth are safe in the fort at Saugor. God bless you all."

Another account of the affair states, that "the massacre at Hissar commenced upon the arrival of some sowars in green chupkuns. These men were no sooner admitted

into the fort, than the company of the Hurreana light infantry in charge of the treasure, attacked the Europeans, and commenced an indiscriminate slaughter. It appears that one gentleman alone escaped; he was attacked by a chuprassy, but cut the fellow down, and after hiding in a field for three days, he eventually succeeded in reaching Umballah."

From the deficiency of any connected detail of the revolt at Hansi and Hissar, it is probable that many of the circumstances connected with it will escape notice; although sufficient is recorded to show that it was attended by excessive cruelty and indiscriminating vengeance.

AZIMGURH.—Following the course of events as closely as possible in chronological order, we now come to the outbreak by the 17th native infantry at Azimgurh, the capital of a district in the province of Allahabad, about fifty-six miles north-east of Benares. The circumstances under which this mutiny and revolt were developed, appear to have been as follow:—On the morning of Wednesday, the 3rd of June, an escort party of fifty troopers of the 13th irregular cavalry arrived at the station with treasure, amounting to seven and a-half lacs, from Goruckpore, *en route* to Benares, at which place the presence of her majesty's 10th regiment was considered a necessary guarantee for its safety. The agitation that had prevailed in the adjacent districts, had induced the authorities at Azimgurh to adopt some precautionary measures in respect to the defences of the place, and they were at this time occupied in throwing up a breastwork round the Cutcherry and public offices, in case it should be necessary for the safety of the European families to seek protection from the probable effects of a popular tumult, which would inevitably follow any mutinous demonstration on the part of the native soldiers: the necessary operations for strengthening the position had, therefore, been commenced, but were not yet completed. After the usual halt of a few hours, the escort with the treasure resumed the march for Benares about six in the evening, at which time nothing unusual was observed in the conduct of the men of the 17th regiment, who were then in the cantonments. The place wore its accustomed aspect until about nine o'clock, when extraordinary agitation was apparent in the native lines, followed by violent shouts and firing of musketry. It was then ascertained that the troops had broken out into open mutiny; and having forcibly possessed themselves of their weapons, they had commenced a murderous attack upon some of their non-commissioned officers, two of whom, the havildar-major and quartermaster-sergeant, were sacrificed to their fury. The officer on guard at the Cutcherry, hearing the tumult, and having, as he believed, a body of trusty men on duty, ordered them to fall in, and at the same time directed the golundauzes to get ready the guns for service. The men at once, and unanimously, refused to obey orders, and told the officer they would neither themselves fire, or allow others to fire upon their comrades, if the latter came towards them. At the same time they declared it was not their intention to injure the officers or their ladies, unless provoked to do so by useless opposition; and that they were all at liberty to leave the place if they chose to do so. They further stated, that they required the guns for the pursuit of the treasure, which had already got more than three hours' start, and which they intended to secure for themselves. Remonstrance was of course unavailing under the circumstances; and as the mutineers had already began to fire the bungalows and plunder the unfortunate inhabitants, further stay in the town was merely inviting peril that could be avoided; and, consequently, the officers and their families, with several European residents belonging to the civil service (numbering altogether nearly one hundred persons, including children), sought safety in flight. During the hasty preparation for this exodus, some men of the 17th regiment took Major Burroughes, their commanding officer, under their protection, and escorted him a considerable distance on the road to Ghazepore, treating him on the way with their accustomed respect, and at length leaving him in a position that ensured his safety. Another party of the mutineers, with two guns, started off in pursuit of the treasure, with which they came up; and after a feeble show of resistance on the part of the troopers having charge of it, the whole party joined, and retraced their way to Azimgurh.

During their absence the work of destruction had been rapidly progressing. The sepoys left behind had occupied themselves by plundering the treasury and firing the bungalows of the officers in cantonment; but upon the arrival of the villagers and

budmashes of the adjoining district, the whole town was given up to pillage, and every inhabitant suspected of favouring the Europeans was subjected to brutal violence. The kotwal of the police was one of the earliest to fall beneath the blows of the excited rabble, who fired the houses, and wantonly destroyed the furniture that was useless to themselves. The prison was opened, and 800 offenders of various degrees of crime were let loose to swell the ranks of the plunderers, who, when there was no longer private property to "loot," destroyed the public gardens and baths, and effectually dismantled the whole place. The orgies of the night and following day were brought to an end amidst a scene of utter and hopeless desolation.

Of the European families that had happily escaped before the arrival of the villagers, a considerable number reached Ghazepore, a station about forty-four miles south-west from Azimgurh, on the road to Benares; while others fled in an opposite direction, and found an asylum at Goruckpore, about an equal distance north-east from Azimgurh, where they remained in safety till removed under the protection of a military party on its way to the reoccupation of the deserted town.

On the departure of the mutineers and rabble (who, laden with plunder and sated with mischief, had taken the road to Fyzabad, or returned to their homes), a European gentleman named Venables, residing in the vicinity of Azimgurh—near which he possessed an extensive indigo plantation, and gave employment to a great number of people—emerged from the necessary concealment he had sought during the heat of the tumult; and, gathering a few of his people whom he could trust, armed them, and placing himself in communication with such of the native authorities as were capable of action, rendered material assistance in restoring order, and in reclaiming the adjoining districts from the state of anarchy into which they were thrown by the marauding bands that prowled about, plundering and firing wherever they found property to destroy. In the town itself, he acted most efficiently in the absence of the civil officers, who had abandoned their post; and by the promptitude and vigour of his operations, effectually deterred the evil-disposed from repeating their visit to the miserable inhabitants.

The mutiny of the 17th regiment does not appear to have been occasioned by any immediate reference to the cartridge question, or to the occurrences at Delhi. It is just possible that, on becoming acquainted with the disturbed state of the surrounding districts, and adopting the prevalent idea that the rule of the "Feringhee" was near its close, a desire to obtain possession of the seven and a-half lacs might have suggested the act of mutiny as the only means by which their object could be accomplished; and that the murder of the non-commissioned officers at the cantonments, on the night of the 3rd of June, was rather a sudden and unpremeditated consequence of injudicious, because useless, resistance to the general will, than of any preconcerted design on the part of the men. Their treatment of Major Burroughes, and the forbearance shown towards their officers, certainly afford some ground for this extenuatory view of their conduct.

On the other hand, a very opposite conclusion must necessarily be arrived at, if we assume the following detail, which appeared in the columns of the *Calcutta Phœnix*, to be correct. In this statement, the tale of the mutiny is told without any circumstance of a palliatory nature; and the native soldier of the Bengal army is delineated as exhibiting a wanton ferocity, that is scarcely surpassed by that of the destructive animals which infest the jungles and topes of his native country. The author of the narrative referred to, says:—

"On the evening of the mutiny a parade had been ordered for the entire regiment. It appears that the sepoys had resolved to mutiny on this occasion, which they doubtless considered a very favourable one for cutting down or shooting their officers. The hour for parade arrived, and all the sepoys were on the ground, comporting themselves as quietly as if nothing was intended. The men fell in by companies, and took up their position in line, in the most orderly and soldierlike manner. Up to this time, however, not a single European officer had come on the parade-ground, neither had the sergeant-major. The only European present was the quartermaster-sergeant of the regiment, named Lewis. The regiment continued silent and in line for some time, expecting that the officers would come on the ground. The latter, however, appear to have had intimation of what was intended, and to have determined to remain away. Quartermaster-sergeant

Lewis, however, continued to stand his ground. At length one of the native officers, the subahdar-major of the regiment, stepped forward, and saluting the quartermaster-sergeant, asked if the officers were not coming out to parade. Sergeant Lewis answered, that he supposed they would come. The sergeant next broke the line in columns of companies at quarter distance. The movement was executed with great precision, and without the slightest display of bad feeling on the part of the native soldiers. A pause ensued, and the subahdar-major again stepped forward and asked a second time if the sahibs were not coming on parade? The quartermaster-sergeant answered, that they should have been out before, but he supposed something had delayed them. The subahdar then suggested that he should order the 'officers' call' to be sounded. The quartermaster-sergeant refused to do so; but after another interval, the subahdar again urged that the call should be sounded. Sergeant Lewis, however, again declined to order the call; but he drew his sword, and, as the only European present, assumed the command of the regiment. Some of the sepoys, on this, began to leave the ranks, but on being ordered back again, returned to their places. Sergeant Lewis then spoke to them, or rather to the company in front of the column, about the enormity of mutiny; telling them that they had better dismiss such thoughts from their heads, as the result of the mutiny would eventually be, that they would be all hanged or transported. But by this time the entire corps had set up a furious yelling; and the answer to the sergeant was—'Well, if we are to be hanged, we'll have the satisfaction of shooting you first.' The sepoys now closed round the solitary European, and several made a rush at him. Two or three men fired at the same time, and one man shot him in the side. The sergeant fell, and lay bleeding on the ground, expecting to be hacked to pieces by the fiends around him. They, however, seemed resolved not to dispatch him at once, but to regularly torture him to death. One sepoy proposed that his feet and hands should be cut off. Another was for some more horrible species of mutilation; while there were not wanting others who suggested nailing him hands and feet to a tree. Some species of horrid death would have assuredly been his lot, but for an old native officer, who threw himself on his knees, and begged the sepoys not to torture him, saying, 'He is wounded now, and if left where he is, he will die there. Let him die where he lies.' This advice was listened to, and the quartermaster-sergeant was allowed to remain where he was. In this condition he lay all that night, and for the greater portion of the following day, when he was removed by a European officer of the regiment, who took him up, and placing him in a bungalow, left him there. From the bungalow, however, he was subsequently removed by the natives as a prisoner to the quarter-guard. On the road to the guard, a chuprassy made an attempt to kill him with a sword; but the sergeant shot him with a pistol which he managed to retain. He was now, however, deprived of this, his only weapon, and thrust into the quarter-guard, where he lay wounded and bloody for days, exposed to the gibes and jeers of the natives, who hourly visited the place, for the diabolical pleasure of abusing the wounded man, and telling him the horrid torture he would ultimately be subjected to. In this condition the sergeant continued until released from confinement by Mr. Venables."

Nothing can possibly be more conflicting, as details of the same occurrence, than the sources from which the preceding narrative of incidents connected with the mutiny at Azimgurh has been derived; and the total absence of any official report on the subject, renders the fact either way uncertain, although, for the sake of humanity, it must be hoped, that the most merciful version may also have been the most correct.

GORUCKPORE.—A small detachment of the 17th regiment, whose mutinous proceedings we have just recorded, was stationed at this place, from which, as before mentioned, the treasure had been removed on the 3rd of June. Upon intelligence of the occurrences at Azimgurh reaching this station, with a report that two troops of the 12th irregulars were on the way to assist the men of the 17th to plunder the treasury, over which they mounted guard, the latter were desired to turn their charge over to the gaol burkandazes. The soldiers, affecting great indignation that their trustworthiness should be doubted, positively refused to obey the order of the collector, and threatened to shoot any of his people who should approach the Cutcherry. The whole city, already alarmed by the arrival of some of the fugitives from Azim-

gurh, became fearfully excited; and the anxiety of the inhabitants was not lessened by intelligence of an attempt, on the part of the prisoners at the gaol, to force the gates and commence the pillage of the town. The design was, however, rendered abortive by the decisive conduct of the guard at the gaol, who killed six and wounded eleven of the prisoners, and thereby deterred their companions from joining in the effort to escape. Beyond the first act of insubordination, the men of the 17th regiment did not commit themselves; and after some five or six days of intense anxiety, the inhabitants were relieved from any apprehension of a military revolt. The sepoys allowed the collector to open the cash chest, and remove sufficient for current expenses, but refused to surrender charge of the whole until relieved from their responsibility by military authority. These men continued faithful until after their removal from the station.

Whatever may have been the characteristics of English rule in India previous to the outbreak of this general revolt, it is quite clear that no measures of undue severity were adopted until all prudent endeavours to restore order by conciliatory means had proved unavailing. The dissuasive appeals and lenient proclamations of Mr. Colvin. the lieutenant-governor of the North-West Provinces, have already been noticed* as ineffectual for the accomplishment of the humane objects contemplated by their author; but even yet, after fire and sword had ravaged the plains and desolated many of the cities of Hindostan, efforts were still made, as well by the government itself as by its commissioners, to recall the Bengal army to a proper sense of its duty, and to keep open the doors of reconciliation and forgiveness to all who might be disposed to seek it. Among other proofs of the existence of this feeling, we may instance the following address of the chief commissioner of the Punjab, promulgated among the Hindostani soldiers of the Bengal army in the early days of June:—

"Sepoys!—You will have heard that many sepoys and sowars of the Bengal army have proved faithless to their salt at Meerut, at Delhi, and at Ferozepore. Many at the latter place have been already punished. An army has been assembled, and is now close to Delhi, prepared to punish the mutineers and insurgents who have collected there. Sepoys! I warn and advise you to prove faithful to your salt—faithful to the government who has given your forefathers and you service for the last hundred years —faithful to that government who, both in cantonments and in the field, has been careful for your welfare and interests; and who, in your old age, has given you the means of living comfortably in your homes. Those who have studied history know well, that no army has ever been more kindly treated than that of India. Those regiments which now remain faithful, will receive the rewards due to their constancy. Those who fall-away now will lose their service for ever. It will be too late to lament hereafter, when the time has passed by; now is the opportunity of proving your loyalty and good faith. The British government will never want for native soldiers. In a month it might raise 50,000 in the Punjab alone. If the 'Poorbeah' sepoy neglect the present day, it will never return. There is ample force in the Punjab to crush all mutineers. The chiefs and the people are loyal and obedient, and the latter only long to take your place in the army: all will unite to crush them. Moreover, the sepoy can have no conception of the power of England. Already, from every quarter, English soldiers are pouring into India. You know well enough that the British government have never interfered with your religion. Those who tell you the contrary, say it for their own base purposes. The Hindoo temple and the Mohammedan mosque have both been respected by the English government. It was but the other day that the Jumma mosque of Lahore, which had cost lacs of rupees, and which the Sikhs had converted into a magazine, was restored to the Mohammedans. Sepoys! my advice is, that you obey your officers; seize all those among yourselves who endeavour to mislead you. Let not a few bad men be the cause of your disgrace. If you have the will you can easily do this, and government will consider it as a test of your fidelity. Prove by your conduct that the loyalty of the sepoy of Hindostan has not degenerated from that of his ancestors. JOHN LAWRENCE."

Following out the principle on which the above address was based, Sir John Lawrence, in the subjoined telegraphic communication to the governor-general, recommends the discharge of such men of the regular native infantry as might desire it:

* See *ante*, pp. 129—137.

and after noting that the state of Peshawur was rather critical at that moment, he proceeds thus:—

"I suggest, that such men of the regular native infantry who desire it, may be paid up and discharged. We shall get rid of the bad, and the good will remain. At present the former are a source of danger. We are crippled in order to guard against them: should they break out, the irregular Hindostani cavalry will not act against them. When disbanded, they can do no harm, and we can hold the country securely without them—certainly more securely without them. This proposal not to include mutineers. Punjabee troops behaving famously."

Vain was the attempt to pour oil upon the troubled waters of Hindoo disaffection; futile the effort to hold forth the olive-branch of peace to the excitable and impulsive races, whom it was desired to conciliate rather than to crush. The fires of rebellion were now smouldering, or bursting forth in every direction, and the eye vainly sought repose from the lurid glare of its wide-spread conflagration. While the pen yet traced the bloodstained record of the mutinies at Hansi—at Seetapore—at Azimgurh—crimes of equal enormity, in other directions, were surging up on the memory, and crowding the already overcharged tablets on which they were too vividly inscribed.

At Neemuch—a cantonment 155 miles north-west of Mhow, and situated between Malwa and Newar, on the frontier of Rajpootana—the hydra of revolt raised one of its fearful heads also on the 3rd of June, under circumstances of extraordinary interest. The station had been for some time denuded of its proper garrison of Bombay troops, whose place had been supplied by the 72nd Bengal native infantry, the 4th troop 1st battalion horse artillery from Agra, and a wing of the Bengal light cavalry from Mhow. The elements of mischief were therefore concentrated in dangerous abundance; and the effect of the arrangement may be traced in the following details.

The massacres at Meerut and at Delhi were known at Neemuch very soon after their occurrence; and with the natural reliance upon the resources and energies of the government, the inhabitants of that place were looking anxiously for the news that should announce the restoration of the Moughol capital to its British rulers. Day by day, the excitement produced by unsatisfied expectation and feverish anxiety grew more oppressive; yet the desired intelligence came not. During the feast of the Eed, the Mussulmans congregated in formidable numbers, and the whole week passed in disquietude, the people of the bazaars leaving the town in shoals, and every species of carriage being engaged in conveying the timid inhabitants to the shelter of the adjoining villages, for safety from some anticipated but yet undefined danger. All sorts of reports were in circulation; and the panic was complete, notwithstanding the efforts of Brigadier Abbott and Captain Lloyd, in command of the troops, to restore confidence. An unusual and offensive demeanour by the sepoys, whose manners had suddenly changed from a respect bordering upon servility, to that of bold, saucy indifference, too plainly showed that the cords of discipline had become relaxed, and that the influence of the officers over their men had been dangerously shaken. Thus matters had continued for some days, when at length the expected crisis was precipitated by some mischievous fellows declaring aloud in the bazaar, that the *Ghoré log*—*i.e.*, European soldiers—were coming to attack them. The report occasioned a rush of people into the cantonments; and the sepoys, in wild excitement, tore open the bells of arms, and took possession of their weapons and ammunition. Colonel Abbott repaired as quickly as possible to the lines of the 72nd (his own regiment), hoping by his presence, and the influence he then possessed over his men, to avert the impending catastrophe. Fortunately he reached the lines before a shot had been fired, and for the moment succeeded in calming the excitement of the troops. At this moment, some sepoys of the 7th regiment of the Gwalior contingent, then stationed in the fort, manned the ramparts, and the sowars of the light cavalry prepared to mount at the command of a leader they had themselves chosen. The terror of the natives in the bazaar had now become excessive; and a report that a mutinous outbreak would occur at midnight, did not serve to allay it. On the night of the 30th of May, it was arranged by Colonel Abbott, that the officers of each corps should occupy tents in their respective lines among the men, himself saying to the 72nd—"You are so foolish and childlike in believing every absurd report, that I must treat you as my

children, and come and live among you." This precaution probably restrained the troops from breaking out that night, as the several corps had no time or opportunity to effect a useful combination for their purposes under the eyes of their officers; while the gallant conduct of the colonel, in unreservedly placing himself in the hands of his men, had for the moment a beneficial effect upon their temper. Some of the native officers entreated of him to have a sentry over his tent; but in the generous confidence of his brave heart, he answered, "I want none; I am among my own men, and I have already a thousand guards. I don't doubt a single man." This reliance upon their fidelity visibly affected the men; but evil influences were at work among them, and their better feelings speedily vanished. On Sunday morning, the 31st of May, service was performed as usual in the little church of the garrison; and there were many who offered up prayers for safety, with a presentiment that it would be the last time the congregation there assembled would meet together in an earthly temple. The day passed gloomily; a heavy feeling seemed to oppress every heart, and to check every effort that would divert the mind from a thought of impending danger. Shortly before midnight the dâk arrived, and letters announced the outbreak at Nusseerabad and other places. On Monday, June 1st, the excitement continued; the bazaar was almost deserted, and deathlike stillness cast a chill upon the senses. Towards night the golundauzes, on the pretext that the other troops were about to attack them, tumultuously demanded to have the waggons stored with ammunition; but Lieutenant Walker, their commander, succeeded in prevailing upon them to refrain from their purpose until he had reported their desire to Colonel Abbott; who, as a last resource, assembled the native officers and harangued them; and, after a long conference, the pundits were called in, and a solemn swearing by the officers, to exert their best influence with the men, took place; the colonel likewise solemnly affirming, that the government had no intention to force the cartridges upon, or to interfere with, the religious prejudices of any sepoy. It should be observed, that the objectionable cartridges had never been issued to the troops at Neemuch; so that, in fact, no real grievance could have been felt upon that score. Tuesday passed over without additional cause for uneasiness; and a few people returned to their usual occupation in the bazaar, and remained until the evening of the following day, when a panic again seized them, and they fled from the gathering storm. Three companies of the 7th infantry (Gwalior contingent) were at this time quartered in the fort, under the command of Captain Macdonald; the remaining five companies being stationed in a vacant hospital, about a quarter of a mile distant. The whole of Wednesday had passed quietly until towards nightfall, when the bazaar people again began to exhibit alarm and desert the place; no movement was, however, observed among the troops, and it was hoped that the apprehensions of the people were groundless. Matters continued thus until shortly after eleven o'clock, when the quiet of the night was disturbed by the report of a gun from the artillery lines—speedily followed by a second. This had been evidently a preconcerted signal for the commencement of the outbreak, and in an incredibly short time the bungalows were in flames in every direction. Lieutenant Gurdon, who was with the left wing of the 7th Gwalior regiment at the hospital, on hearing the guns, immediately turned out his men, and, with Lieutenant Rose, marched with them to join the companies in the fort. On the way, the latter officer had a narrow escape from the shot of one of the sepoys aimed at him, but fortunately incorrectly. Upon the arrival of the party at the fort, the whole of the men were placed along the ramparts, and ammunition having been served out to them, they were commanded to load, and obeyed orders with apparent cheerfulness, loudly and unanimously swearing to defend the place with their lives. This had scarcely been effected, when the 72nd native infantry, with the Bengal cavalry and artillery, in a state of tumultuous disorder, approached the fort from the cantonments, passing in their way the residence of the political agent, about 300 yards' distant, when two more guns were fired—the signal, apparently, for the Gwalior troops to commence operations, which they immediately obeyed. Ensign Davenport, the officer in charge of the gate, was overpowered; and, in defiance of his orders, the gate was opened, and himself and the other European officers were desired to leave the place. Remonstrance was useless; and upon the ensign hesitating

to leave without the colours of the regiment, he was informed, that if himself and his companions were not immediately off, they would be murdered by the sowars, who were then almost within view of the gate. These officers, fortunately, availed themselves of the opportunity, and escaped. Not so, however, many of the European residents, who fell a sacrifice to the savage fury of the mutinous soldiers, who, having joined at once, proceeded to liberate the prisoners confined in the gaol, and then commenced firing and pillaging the town, and murdering the obnoxious Europeans, without regard to sex or age. Fires were raging in all directions, and the streets were strewn with valuable furniture, glass, books, musical instruments, and whatever else could be found belonging to the European or Christian inhabitants of the place, who were themselves shot down, or hacked to pieces without mercy. The demoniac fury of the insurgents may be conceived from their treatment of the family of one of the European sergeants of artillery. This man, expecting to be on duty with the guns at the moment of the outbreak, if it should occur, had sought to ensure the protection of his wife and three children by barricading his house; and the wife, with a courage that should have been rewarded by a better fate, upon the approach of the rioters, shot one of the most active while attempting to force an entrance. This occurrence, probably, exasperated his comrades, who instantly forced an entrance, and butchered the unfortunate woman, whose dying agonies were increased by the fiendlike cruelties perpetrated upon her three children, who, despite their cries and tears, were crushed into a box, and thrown into the flames kindled for the destruction of the house, and in which both mother and children were consumed. The Mohammedans belonging to the artillery and cavalry were, throughout this affair, the most bloodthirsty and cruel; and the chief part of the outrages perpetrated were justly attributable to them, while their ferocity was equalled by their treachery. A Mohammedan subahdar, of the 72nd native infantry, persuaded the colonel and officers of the regiment, with their families, to take shelter in his house; but they had no sooner accepted his offer of protection, and placed themselves under his roof, than he fastened the doors upon them on the outside, and sent for the guns, intending to blow them to atoms. Happily for the entrapped prisoners, a Hindoo sepoy, who had remained loyal to his officers, overheard the project of the traitor, and breaking open the door, warned the officers of their danger in time for them to make their escape. Throughout the whole station only one bungalow was left standing; and the rebellious sepoys having sated themselves with the destruction of the place, quitted the scene of havoc, and proceeded to join their faithless comrades at Delhi.

The following official report of this affair, was transmitted by the superintendent at Neemuch to the agent to the governor-general at Rajpootana, dated "Neemuch, June 16th, 1857:"—

"I have the honour to submit a report upon the events preceding and subsequent to the late mutiny of the troops stationed at Neemuch, as per margin,* which has already been demi-officially notified to you. My daily demi-official communications will have acquainted you with the state of feeling which pervaded the troops after the occurrences at Meerut and Delhi became known; but, until the outbreak of the troops stationed at Nusserabad, the best hopes were entertained that those here would be restrained from following in the tide of rebellion. Every effort was made to preserve the confidence of the men, and to make that of the officers in them apparent. Colonel Abbott slept every night in a tent in the lines of his regiment, without a guard or sentry; and latterly all officers did the same, even with their families. One wing of the 7th regiment, Gwalior contingent, held the fortified square and treasury, and the other wing was encamped close to, but outside, the walls. Captain Macdonald, commanding the corps, resided entirely in the fort, for the purpose of better observing and controlling his regiment. Although it is not for me to comment on the actions of commanding officers, I cannot refrain from expressing my admiration of the firm and conciliating conduct of all officers in command of corps and detachments throughout this trying period, and especially of the tact and calm judgment exercised by Colonel P. Abbott, 72nd regiment native infantry, commanding the station, by whose management the outbreak was, without doubt, delayed by many days.

* 4th troop, 1st brigade, horse artillery; two troops 1st light cavalry; 72nd regiment native infantry; 7th regiment Gwalior contingent.

"On the morning of the 2nd instant, Colonel Abbott informed me, in his own regimental lines, that from the occurrences of the previous night, and from information he had received, he was of opinion that the outbreak could not be delayed more than a few hours. I left him to secure a few of my most valuable records, and endeavour to ensure a line of retreat for fugitives by the Odeypoor-road, by means of a detachment of police sowars. Meanwhile, Colonel Abbott undertook to assemble all the native officers of the force, and endeavour to bring them to a sense of their duty, and to remove the distrust in each other which, there was reason to believe, was one cause of the prevailing excitement. After some discussion, all took oaths on the Koran and Ganges water, that they now trusted each other, and would remain true to their salt. The commanding officer was requested to swear to his confidence in their faithful intentions, and did so, when the meeting broke up, all apparently being satisfied and loyally inclined. All continued quiet up to the evening of the 3rd, when some excitement was again apparently arising, as it was said, from a rumour of the approach of troops to the station. It is necessary to mention here, that for many preceding days the utmost panic had prevailed in the Suddur Bazaar, and great numbers of persons had removed with their property. The wildest reports were constantly set afloat by designing persons to increase the distrust, and the commonest occurrences were distorted into phantoms of evil intended against the troops. The move of the Kotah force under Major Burton, for the protection of Jawud, had been determined upon in consultation with Colonel Abbott, commanding the station. The troops of Neemuch had been told of the intended move some days before, and assured that no part of the force was intended to approach Neemuch. Kotah troops were ordered to Jawud, in view to preserving the peace in the district, and protecting the town from marauders. I believe there is no reason whatever to suppose that this movement precipitated the crisis, while subsequent events have proved it to have been a most fortunate and happy one for the interests of government.

"On the night of the 3rd, symptoms of violence were shown by the artillery, and Lieutenant Walker could only restrain them for about two hours, when some of them rushed to the guns, and, loading them, fired two off, evidently as a preconcerted signal. Upon this the cavalry rushed to join them, and, shortly afterwards, the 72nd broke from their lines also. The wing of the 7th regiment, Gwalior contingent, encamped outside the fort, had been marched inside by Captain Macdonald on the report of the signal-guns, and every preparation for defence made. To provide for this emergency, I had furnished Captain Macdonald with a written promise, on the part of government, of rewards to the following amount in case of a successful defence of the fort and treasury, but to be used only in case of an outbreak:—To each sepoy, 100 rupees; to each naik, 300; to each havildar, 500. Native commissioned officers to be rewarded in proportion, at the discretion of government; and a special reward of 5,000 rupees to be given to the senior native officer, or to the one who most distinguished himself in the defence and preserving the loyalty of the regiment. The promise was duly promulgated on the outbreak occurring; but, after holding firm for some time, the gates were ordered, by a subahdar named Heera Sing, to be opened, and the officers were told to save themselves, and eventually escorted to a place of comparative safety. Captain Macdonald and his officers remained in the fort to the very last, and only left it on the gates being forcibly opened, and their lives in the greatest danger, with no hope of being of the least use.

"I was roused on the report of the two signal-guns, and was quickly on horseback. I proceeded to rouse my assistant, Lieutenant Ritchie, and Assistant-surgeon Cotes, who resided in the next bungalow. While there, Lieutenant Barnes, artillery, galloped up, begging us to aid in bringing away Mrs. Walker and child, whose carriage had been fired at four or five times by mounted troopers. We immediately hastened to assist, and succeeded in getting out of the station upon the Odeypoor-road, and by this time fires were appearing in all directions. Having seen the party safe to the village of Daroo, Lieutenant Ritchie and I returned towards cantonments, in the hope of assisting fugitives. We met the officers of the 1st cavalry, but no others, and, after hovering about the burning station till daylight, we set out for Daroo."

A note from Moorum, a small town about eighteen miles east of Neemuch, dated the 6th of June, stated, that "all the officers of the 72nd, with their wives and children,

are safe and well; likewise Dr. and Mrs. Hockin, Captain and Mrs. Laurie, and Lieutenant Williams, of the 21st regiment. Captain Lloyd and Lieutenant Ritchie have also escaped. We *hear* that *all* the officers of the 7th regiment (Gwalior contingent) have also escaped; but the fate of the four officers of the 1st Bengal cavalry, and two officers of the Bengal artillery, is too melancholy to think of. We have two sergeants with us, Taylor and Horne. We are *en route* to Neemuch, with some Kotah troops under the command of Major Burton, and expect to be at Neemuch on the 8th. We hear that there is only one bungalow standing at Neemuch."

The subjoined narrative of Ensign Davenport, belonging to the 12th regiment of Bombay native infantry, who happened to be at Neemuch at this juncture, thus describes the circumstances attending the commencement of the outbreak, in a letter from Odeypoor:—

"About a week before the mutiny I volunteered to do duty with the Gwalior contingent (7th infantry.) I was ordered to take up my quarters in the fort, where Macdonald and I remained day and night with the right wing (three companies.) The left wing (five companies) was quartered in a vacant hospital, some quarter of a mile distant from the fort. On the night of the 3rd, Macdonald and I lay down in our clothes, but not to sleep, as we had reason to suspect that all was not right. At half-past 11 P.M., we were aroused by the report of a gun, which in a few minutes was followed by another. This was the signal for the row to commence; and many moments had not passed when we saw our houses blazing all round. Lieutenant Gurdon, who was at the hospital with the left wing, under the command of Lieutenant Rose, also at the hospital, was aroused by a subahdar telling him that guns had been fired, and the disturbance commenced. Lieutenant Rose and he got the men out of the hospital, and marched them to join us in the fort. A shot was fired on the way to the fort (it was said by a sepoy) at Lieutenant Rose. When they had joined us, we placed the men along the ramparts, served out ammunition to them, and ordered them to load. They obeyed all our orders with apparent cheerfulness; and one and all swore to defend the place with their lives. I was placed to defend the gate, with a subahdar of nearly fifty years' service, two European sergeants, and twenty picked men. We remained in the most anxious state of suspense for nearly four hours, during which time we saw cavalry men riding about and thrusting lighted torches, placed at the end of long poles, into the thatch of the bungalows, when we heard the 72nd Bengal native infantry, the Bengal cavalry, and artillery approaching. Just as they passed the political agent's house, about 200 or 300 yards from the fort, two more guns were fired. This was the signal for the Gwalior men to be up and doing. Immediately on these guns being fired, my old hero of fifty years' standing ordered his picked and brave men to lower the gate, which I did my best to prevent; and for my pains received a gentle intimation, that if I did not hold my tongue and be quiet, I should be treated to a little cold steel in the shape of a dozen or so of bayonets. I then asked them to let me go and report progress to the major: this they granted. I made my report; after which Macdonald, Rose, Gurdon, and myself went among the men, who were assembled in the courtyard fixing bayonets. Macdonald addressed the men to no purpose. We then tried to take away the colours, but this they would not permit. They then took us outside the gate and told us to go; and on our hesitating, said if the Bengal infantry, cavalry, and artillery saw us we should be murdered, and that they could not, and would not, try to save us. We then went away. Macdonald and myself, having lost our horses, had to walk to Baree beyond Duno, about thirteen miles from Neemuch, where we met several others in the same plight as ourselves. We had not been there long before the villagers in affright—it having been reported that the cavalry was after us—told us to take ourselves elsewhere. We started from Baree about 1 P.M. on June 4th, and after three hours' march under a broiling sun, reached Chota Sadree. Here we got a little to eat and drink, and were joined by a large number of women and children. After about two hours' stay at this place we were sent away, our party now consisting of about fifteen men, six women, and ten children. We travelled all night, getting to Burra Sadree at 6 A.M. of the 5th of June. We got nothing to eat till two o'clock; and after partaking of some kind of stew, got on our legs again, the villagers having

served us with notice to quit. We made a place called Doogla before nightfall, and established ourselves in a mud fort only forty yards square, within which we had a menagerie of men, women, children, bullocks, horses, and camels, and vermin of every description. On the fourth day of my residence there I was attacked by cholera. My recovery was almost a miracle. On the 9th, Showers, having procured an escort from the Rana of Odeypoor, joined us. Our party now broke up, Showers going in pursuit of the mutineers with the greater number of officers. I was too unwell to go with them, so I accompanied the party to Odeypoor, which consisted of all the women and children, and the following officers:—Walker, Bengal artillery; Lieutenant Rose and Ensign Davenport, Bombay infantry; Lieutenant Gurdon, Bengal infantry; and Drs. Clarke, Cotes, and Gane. On our arrival at Odeypoor on the 12th of June, the Rana gave up one of his winter palaces to us, and we lived there till the 22nd, receiving every kindness and attention from his majesty. On the 22nd, the women and children, Lieutenant Walker, Drs. Clarke and Cotes, started for Mount Aboo; Lieutenant Gurdon, Ensign Davenport, and Dr. Gane went the same day with Dr. Annesley, with an escort furnished by the Rana, and arrived at Kairwarrah in safety on the 24th of June."

The occurrences immediately subsequent to the outbreak, are described by an officer of the 72nd regiment, thus:—"At half-past 11 P.M. of the 3rd, my servant rushed into my room, and bade me dress quickly, a signal-gun of the artillery having been fired. I dressed quickly, and found Ritchie likewise ready; our ponies were saddled, and presently Lloyd came over on horseback, followed by eight or ten sowars. No time was to be lost, as it was said the sowars had sworn on the sacred water to kill every European they met. Shortly after starting I missed my companions, and struck out for Sadree—a walled town, ten miles distant. As I was walking along I met the sergeant-major of the cavalry, who, being a great favourite with most of his men, was allowed to escape, and had his horse and pistols given him before the firing of the signal-gun. He accompanied me, and so did two servants on a camel. I had no mishap, through God's mercy, save the loss of the last 100 rupees I possessed, by the camel-driver, instead of coming into Sadree, breaking the rope; the camel running away, and, of course, the driver after it; so that I was horseless and penniless. We paused from time to time to watch the blazing of the numerous bungalows. The destruction of property is immense, and must be the utter ruin of many. I learned from the Gwalior officers, who joined us at Sadree during the day, after having been hunted from village to village by the bloodhound cavalry, that, at two o'clock, at a signal from the artillery, one of the chief subahdars ordered the drawbridge of the fort to be lowered; and, in spite of every entreaty that could be used, forced away the officers, while the regiment marched out to join the ——— mutineers in the cantonments, with their colours unfurled. They had the generosity, however, to aid their officers in escaping, and cautioned them against the cavalry. I will not attempt to describe our separation at Sadree, that we might not compromise the safety of the whole party; and our march to this place (Odeypoor), without food, tents, or supplies; the natives ready to strip us—death and starvation dogging us at every step. The faintest picture of our suffering would fail to be realised by an English mind ignorant of this country and its people. I can hardly finish this letter from exhaustion. The political agent has placed us under the protection of the Rana, who has us in his winter palace, and paid us the unusual compliment of a visit yesterday morning. He has sent clothes to cover the naked. Fortunately no one died, though we had cholera on the road."

A letter from Dr. Murray, attached to the 72nd native infantry, says—"The night of the 3rd was one of the loveliest I have ever seen. The moon shone bright and clear, and not a cloud was seen throughout the whole expanse of heaven. About eleven o'clock I had my bed brought outside, as usual, where the sentry was pacing up and down, and lay down in my clothes, having merely changed my coat for a dressing-gown. I had not been half-an-hour on my bed when two guns were fired, at intervals of a few seconds, by Walker's battery: this was evidently a preconcerted signal, for immediately after several shots were fired in the direction of the cavalry lines, and bungalow after bungalow was set on fire. I assembled my night-guard at once, and wanted them to accompany me to Captain Laurie's house, where I expected to find some ladies, whom I intended to escort

towards the fort or fortified square. The *naik* (or corporal) said there was no use in going, that we should be killed by the cavalry, and strongly advised me to retire. I was going over myself, when I saw the naik of Captain Macdonald's guard running towards me; he was in a great state of excitement, and, taking hold of me by the arm, begged me not to go that way; the *mem log* (ladies), he said, had all fled, and the place was now filled by the mutineers. I saw some natives running about wildly, and presently several shots were fired not far from where I was standing. '*Chullo sahib, golee chulte*' ('Come along, sir, the balls are flying about'), said the naik, who now entreated me to leave the place, or I should be killed. Seeing that the affair had at last become serious, I desired my *syce* (or groom) to saddle my horse and bring him over to the fort. The naik said, 'For God's sake, sahib, don't go to the fort—fly at once into the country.' I asked him what he meant. He answered, 'All the fighting will take place in the fort.' 'All right,' I said, 'I am going to fight too.' Upon this he insisted on going with me, and called out to two sepoys of the guard to follow.

"I arrived at the fort just as the left wing, under Lieutenant Rose, was entering; the right wing, under Captain Macdonald, had already lined the ramparts and bastions, and presented a somewhat formidable appearance. The whole regiment being now inside, the gate was ordered to be shut, the drawbridge taken up, and a strong party, under Lieutenants Gurdon and Davenport, was planted to guard the entrance. I went on the ramparts, where I found Captain Macdonald encouraging the men, and telling them that the artillery could do them no harm, as they had no shells. Lieutenant Rose was also on the ramparts, doing his best to encourage the men. I was sorry to learn from him that he had been fired at by a sepoy of the regiment immediately after he had given the order for the left wing to march to the fort. I looked upon this as a bad sign, for I had all along felt confident that the greater part of the regiment would stand by us. The fact of their not attempting to seize the mutineer who fired at Lieutenant Rose shook my faith in them very much.

"Shortly after we were all in the fort, and while the work of destruction was being carried on outside by the mutineers of the other regiments composing the force—troop of horse artillery, wing of 1st light cavalry, and 72nd regiment of native infantry—Captain Macdonald got out the colours of the 7th, carried them himself along the rampart, and unfurling them on the right front bastion, called on the men to protect them. This they declared they would do.

"From time to time I walked along the ramparts, talking to the sepoys and encouraging them to hold out. I explained to many of them the high reward that Captain Lloyd, superintendent of Neemuch, had guaranteed to every individual among them who assisted in protecting the treasure and fort; and that, if they behaved well, and remained 'true to their salt,' the government would certainly reward them handsomely. Several of the men assured me, they would die rather than surrender: others said, they would hold out against infantry and cavalry; but if artillery attacked them, they would be obliged to give in. It was a magnificent but lamentable sight that presented itself to our view as we stood for nearly three hours on the ramparts, expecting an attack every moment. Upwards of forty bungalows and innumerable haystacks were blazing away before us, the flames shooting high up in the air, brightening the whole cantonment and fort, and throwing a lurid glare round the country for miles.

"About a quarter to three A.M. four men of the grenadier company came up to me and said, 'Doctor sahib, it is no use holding out any longer; we are not now under the orders of the major; we are commanded by Pirthee Sing, subahdar of the grenadier company. If you don't believe us,' they continued, 'come and see for yourself.' I went with them to the left rear bastion, where I found a large body of the regiment (at least 150), and Pirthee Sing at their head. One of the sepoys said to him, 'The doctor sahib has come.' He had just then been addressing some of the men, and turning round to me, said, 'You had better all leave the fort before it be too late.' Another sepoy, standing close by, said aloud, 'We are now under Pirthee Sing's orders.' I went back to report the circumstance to Captain Macdonald, but meeting Lieutenant Rose (second in command), I reported it to him. He said, 'It was a bad business, and he would go at once and tell Macdonald.' A few minutes after, the artillery commenced firing again, and hear-

ing a row at the gate, I hastened down, and found that the party under Lieutenants Gurdon and Davenport had mutinied, and were forcing their way through the gate. Captain Macdonald, Lieutenants Rose, Gurdon, Davenport, and myself, with Sergeants Nesbitt and Lane, tried all we could to prevent their leaving, but to no purpose; most of the men had their bayonets fixed; and presently the whole regiment, nearly 700 strong, left the ramparts and bastions, and slowly but steadily forced their way out of the fort. We (the officers) were taken on by the tide, and got separated in the crowd. Two sepoys of the grenadier company, who were with me all the time, insisted on my going away before the cavalry came down upon us. They said, 'Your lives are safe among your own men, but we cannot answer for the artillery and cavalry.' Seeing it would be madness to remain any longer, I and Dr. Gane left them.

"Just as the day began to dawn, we arrived at a village, which we afterwards found to be Kussaunda. Although we had not walked above five miles, yet, the ground being heavy, we were quite tired, and half dead with thirst. We knocked up one of the villagers, an old man, and asked him for some water. He immediately brought us to a well, where there was a cistern quite full; and we both sat down, and had a regular libation. I verily believe our guide thought we would never leave off drinking. I gave him a rupee (2s.), which pleased him mightily, and asked him to show us the head man of the village. This he did at once. We found him in a small fort, surrounded by some half-dozen men. I told him we wished to rest there for an hour or so, and asked him if we could do so. He said, 'Most certainly,' and received us with great civility, had a place cleared for us immediately in his own house, and begged we would make ourselves comfortable. He sent for milk, chupatties, dâll, rice, and mangoes, and entreated us to eat. After partaking of some refreshment, we lay down and had a nap. We were not destined, however, to remain long at rest. About 9 A.M., a party of the 1st light cavalry, who were scouring the country, arrived at Kussaunda, and insisted on having the sahibs out, in order that they might *saf kuro* them (polish them off; kill them.) '*Mar dalo Feringhee*' (kill the Europeans) was their cry. Dr. Gane and I would have stood no chance against these scoundrels; and we were indebted for our lives to the gallant conduct of the Rajpoots of the village, who swore they would stand by us to the last. They said, 'You have eaten with us, and are our guests; and now, if you were our greatest enemy, we would defend you.' They put us in a small dilapidated shed on one of the bastions, and when the troopers demanded us, declared we were not there. After much altercation, the troopers threatened to attack the village if we were not given up. The Rajpoots warned them to be careful. They said, 'Kussaunda belongs to the rana (the rana of Odeypoor.) We are his subjects; and if you molest us, he will send 10,000 soldiers after you.' They went away in a great rage, threatening to return with the guns in the evening and blow us to pieces.

"About one o'clock we were agreeably surprised by seeing an artillery sergeant (Sergeant Supple, an active and gallant soldier) walk into our little fort: we thought at first he was being pursued by the cavalry; but he informed us that he was in search of the brigade-major. He told us also that Captain Lloyd, Captain Macdonald, and several officers of the 7th Gwalior contingent, were at the village of Daroo, only three miles off. This was good news. He said he would gallop off and bring us assistance; and soon we were glad to see him put his horse out at full speed, and scour across the country in the direction of Daroo.

"Hour after hour passed away, and no assistance arriving from Daroo, we began to think that our friends there were in as great a fix as ourselves; and such we afterwards discovered was really the case. In consultation with our Rajpoot friends, it was decided that we should go on to Chota Sadree, a distance of about sixteen miles, that same night. They were afraid that the cavalry would be as good as their word, and return with the guns. Accordingly, we left Kussaunda shortly after sunset, escorted by several Rajpoots, and arrived at Chota Sadree about ten o'clock. Our route lay through dense jungle, and, being on foot (for my horse was stolen by the mutineers), we were a good deal knocked up by the time we arrived there; and, to our disappointment, we were told that all the Europeans had left an hour before for Burra Sadree, sixteen miles further on. Our reception was cold in the extreme;

they did not want us to remain there a moment, and would scarcely give us even a drink of water. I sent two men to inform the kumashdar that we wanted to see him; but they came back, saying it was too late; he would not see us, but advised us to hasten on after the other sahibs. There were lots of horses and camels picketed about, a couple of which we wanted to hire, but they refused to let us have them; they said they would sell them to us, but not hire them. Considering the state of our finances, buying was of course out of the question. Nothing remained now but to quit this inhospitable place, and push on for Burra Sadree. Our escort from Kussaunda left us, and in their place we got two Bheel guides; so, after remaining about twenty minutes in Chota Sadree, we pushed on for the next stage. In about an hour and a-half we reached a small village in the heart of the jungle, called Bheeliya Kegaon. Here we received very great kindness; the Bheels seemed to vie with each other in their hospitality; they spoke to us of the benefits they received under British rule, and abused the mutineers in no measured terms; the women were thoroughly indignant, and expressed a hope that vengeance would speedily overtake the traitors. We remained with the worthy Bheels about an hour, and having procured a couple of ponies, started for Burra Sadree, which place we reached about nine o'clock next day, and were delighted to meet all our friends of the 7th Gwalior contingent, 1st cavalry, and artillery. At Burra Sadree we parted with our Bheel guides, to whom we gave a few rupees, and in place of the pony I was fortunate in getting the loan of a spare charger, and Dr. Gane succeeded in getting a gharry. The whole party started from Burra Sadree about 2 P.M., and arrived at Doongla about 7 P.M. Here we remained two days, when we were joined by Captain Showers, political agent of Meywar, who hastened from Odeypoor with a strong force of the rana's choicest troops, and determined on giving chase to the mutineers at once."

The wife of an officer who happened to be resident at Neemuch at the time of the outbreak, furnished the subjoined details of the occurrence, in a letter to her brother in England, dated June 17th. The husband of this lady had been for a short time stationed, with a detachment of his regiment, at Rotain, and was consequently away from his family at the crisis: two of his sons were with him, and also escaped the peril of the night of June 3rd. This lady writes:—"About three weeks since, reports of coming danger and mutiny among the three regiments here began to spread, fires at night took place, false alarms were constantly raised, the natives fled from the bazaars, and a repetition of the horrors of Meerut and Delhi was hourly expected. We dared not go to bed at night, and our days were full of anticipated horrors. At last things wore so gloomy an aspect, that I sent off an express to my husband for his advice. Another express was sent by the authorities here, urging him to lose no time in collecting all the forces under his command and come to Neemuch for the protection of the inhabitants. He did so, and set out with cavalry and infantry and a couple of guns —altogether 1,500 men, marching ninety miles in three days, with a burning sun and hot winds blowing. In the meantime a timely notice was given to my boys that the mutiny would soon take place, and the coming storm seemed so near that we left our home just as we were on the point of sitting down to dinner, with merely a change of clothes in our hands, and went off to a place about ten miles distant, where our eldest son had the care of a small fort. We arrived there late at night with a couple of very frightened friends, whom we protected on the way; and, though we did sleep on the ground, we thought ourselves fortunate in having comparatively safe ground to lie down upon. One day of rest and then came the storm; all Neemuch in flames, and all terror-stricken. My boys guarded the fort by night and by day. We were every hour expecting the people of the city (Jewud) to rise and destroy us, when early in the morning there came to the gates fifteen officers, six ladies, and three young children. They had all run for their lives. We let them in. They had run all the way, with only the clothes on their backs. We fed them, and tried to give them that hope and comfort of which we ourselves were destitute. An hour afterwards, and a bright gleam of sunshine! Who should arrive to our help but my husband and two boys! They had come on sixteen miles ahead of the little army, which was too knocked-up to proceed. This was real joy for the time, but was soon damped; for not many hours passed before the intelligence came that all the mutineers,

with their guns, were on their way to attack Jewud; and as we well knew that the fort could not resist guns, we all, with our companions in misery, made a clear start to my husband's camp, sixteen miles off, which we reached, jaded, terror-stricken, and all very dirty. Again we all slept on the ground, my husband and boys doing everything for everybody; and the following day we took our little army to do battle with the insurgents; but they had heard of Charles and his force, and started off another road. The cowardly rascals had sent their messengers into Charles's camp, and offered 1,000 rupees for his head, and 500 for each member of his family; and this, we have since learned, was done through the medium of two men, who have for the present escaped hanging, whose bad conduct at Jeypore had caused their imprisonment in the gaol at Neemuch. The mutineers had broke open the gaol, and these men joined them. Well, we returned to Neemuch, and found not more than half-a-dozen people left—ruin and desolation in every direction. None of us escaped with more than one change of garments, some not even that; and all here are alike beggars. Our house, like all others, is a ruin, a shell, without one article left us. Our beautiful books, either torn or burnt; our furniture broken up, chopped in pieces, or carried off; not a cup, plate, or glass left; carpets torn up, or carried away; not a single garment of any kind; our silver dishes gone; doors, windows smashed; trinkets and curiosities, of which I had a goodly store, all taken away or destroyed—even the pictures and punkahs, and the chimney pulled down to see if anything had been hidden in it. We have now nothing left. The shopkeepers have lost everything, so that we have not the means of buying common clothes. Charles has lost property to the amount of 14,000 rupees. Our own servants assisted in the plunder, and they loaded four of our horses to carry away the most valuable part of our property. Luckily, we had camels and horses with us on our flight, or these also would have been taken.

"I will say no more now; but this is but a small portion of our woes. Last night I slept on a couch. It is the first time for fifteen nights that I have had so good a bed, and last night I took off my clothes; for thirteen nights I dare not do this for fear that we should again have to fly. Our boys have behaved most bravely and nobly, and their conduct has been justly admired by all. My husband has the proud satisfaction of knowing that he saved (through the mercy and guidance of God) not only the lives of his own wife and children, but of his brother-officers and their families; and all belonging to Neemuch; and this all most gratefully acknowledge. Had he not come to our rescue when he did, every soul of us would have been murdered. We are not yet out of danger. It hangs over every white face in this portion of unhappy India; and I ask your prayers and those of all my dear brothers; we need all your prayers to God on our behalf. E. J. B."

The occurrences at Neemuch having given rise to some unpleasant remarks in a portion of the Bombay press, in the course of which the conduct of Colonel Abbott, of the 72nd regiment, was severely commented upon, the chief political superintendent at Neemuch addressed the following note to Colonel Carmichael, secretary to the governor of Bombay.* The gallant officer writes thus:—"Having just been informed that the Bombay newspapers contain some very severe strictures on the conduct of Colonel Abbott (72nd regiment), commanding at Neemuch, I venture to add—and trust my doing so may not, under the circumstances, be deemed out of place—that throughout the trying time preceding the mutiny, the colonel's conduct was the admiration of every officer at Neemuch; and there can be no doubt, but that his admirable tact and management, and the influence he possessed over the men, delayed the catastrophe by several days. To avert it entirely was impossible; but I trust it will be believed that every possible effort was made to do so."

* Parl. Papers, 1857.

CHAPTER XIII.

DISQUIETUDE AT BENARES; ASPECT OF THE HOLY CITY; ARRIVAL OF LIEUTENANT-COLONEL NEILL WITH MADRAS FUSILIERS; DISAFFECTION OF THE 37TH NATIVE INFANTRY; PREPARATIONS FOR DISARMING THE REGIMENT; INSUBORDINATION ON PARADE; THE OUTBREAK OF THE MUTINY; DEFECTION OF THE SIKHS AND IRREGULAR CAVALRY; ATTACK AND DISPERSION OF THE REBELS; DESTRUCTION OF THE NATIVE LINES; OFFICIAL REPORTS AND PRIVATE DETAILS; OUTBREAKS AT JUANPORE AND SULTANPORE.

AVERTING our eyes for a short time from the contemplation of pages necessarily filled with continuous details of fanatic cruelty and of human endurance, unsurpassed, in extent and heroism, even by the trials to which the early martyrs of our faith were exposed, or by the courage that has borne the meekest of our species to a triumphant death in the face of accumulated terrors, we shall for a moment turn from the gloom that overwhelms this subject, to introduce a brief sketch of the city of Benares, preparatory to describing the incidents of the first mutinous outbreak by which it was agitated. The district of which the city of Benares is the capital, comprises an area of about 12,000 square miles, between 24° and 26° N. lat. The city itself, 460 miles N.W. from Calcutta, is situated in 25° 30′ N. lat., and 81° E. long., on the northern bank of the Ganges, which, flowing beneath the walls, varies in breadth from 1,500 to 3,000 feet. From the river, the view of Benares (*Cashi*, or *the Splendid*), for ages regarded as the holiest of the holy cities of the Hindoos, is exceedingly fine: "in its front the Ganges forms a bay, the river-front of the city having a semicircular outline. The immense mass of houses rising, at successive elevations every few yards, from the river bank, and extending far inland, with their overtopping pinnacles, and minarets of temples and mosques, glittering in the sun, and gracefully intermingled with the foliage of majestic trees; the numerous ghauts, with their apparently never-ending flights of steps, and the life and bustle amongst the crowds performing their ablutions in the sacred water at their base, form, combined, a scene of striking beauty and interest."* Benares—which may be considered the Hindoo, as Delhi was the Mohammedan, and Calcutta is the British, capital of India—has always formed the grand depository of the Brahminical religion and learning of the country, and, consequently, the number and variety of its temples and other pious foundations, is exceedingly great. Its resident or stationary population has been estimated at 600,000; but at certain festivals, the number of people resorting thither for worship, is almost beyond computation, pilgrims coming from all parts of India, as well as from Thibet and Burmah. The principal temple, called Visweswar or Bisesar, is dedicated to Siva (the destroyer), of whom it contains a sacred image, before which the bloody sacrifices of idolatry have been offered for ages. A college for the instruction of the Hindoos in their own literature, was established by the British government in 1801; and some remains of an observatory, erected by the emperor Aurungzebe at the close of the seventeenth century, still exist. On the site of a magnificent Hindoo temple, purposely destroyed by that emperor, a splendid mosque was erected by his orders, whose golden-topped minarets crown the holy city. The houses of Benares are chiefly built of brick or stone, and many of them are five or six stories high, with small windows next the street, and terraced roofs. The thoroughfares generally are narrow; and whatever anticipations of pleasure may have been excited by a distant view of the city, the filth by which its streets are polluted, renders a close acquaintance with its intricacies anything but agreeable. The European community chiefly reside in the suburb of Seroli, about three miles from the city, where are some very neat edifices, surrounded by gardens and grounds, laid out with considerable taste. To die at Benares constitutes the chief aim and felicity on earth of a Hindoo, as he then feels assurance of immediate admission into heaven, through immersion in the Ganges at the moment of dissolution, by which act all his transgressions are obliterated. Should he be far distant from the holy city and the sacred stream, the Brahmins en-

* Roberts's *Hindostan.*

join that he should think intensely of the Ganges at the hour of death, that he may not fail of his reward. To die within sight of the stream is pronounced to be holy; to die besmeared with its mud, and partly immersed in the river, holier still; and even to be drowned in it by accident is supposed to secure eternal happiness. Hundreds of living children have been annually cast into the stream to propitiate Siva, and atone for the sin of their souls. This species of infanticide was, however, suppressed by Lord Wellesley,* during his first administration of the Indian government. Several of the native Hindoo princes still keep agents at Benares, whose sole duty is to offer sacrifices on behalf of their patrons. The city was ceded to the East India Company by the nawab of Oude; and, in 1799, the resident (Mr. Cherry), with three other English gentlemen, were there treacherously murdered by Vizier Ali, an illegitimate son of the deposed nawab.† Since that event, until the present time, Benares and its inhabitants have enjoyed almost uninterrupted tranquillity. The European residents consist chiefly of government officials, the officers attached to the native regiments, and members of the circuit court, &c. The palace of the rajah of Benares is situated at Ramnuggur, on the opposite side of the river, and consists of a large, straggling, castellated edifice, parts of which rise abruptly from the water's edge, with terraces, temples, and a pretty detached harem; the whole being protected by a strong embattled wall, mounted with guns for its defence.

We resume our narrative of the mutinies. Up to the latter part of May, the conduct of the troops at Benares, consisting of the 37th regiment of native infantry, a regiment of Sikhs, and a portion of the 13th irregular cavalry, was most satisfactory. A telegraphic message from Brigadier Ponsonby, the officer commanding at that station, after informing the secretary to government of the dearness of provisions at that time (May 20th), says—"While the present emergency lasts, I beg to recommend that the troops at Benares be allowed full batta. I would be glad to be able to give this grant out to my men and the Sikhs, to show that, in return for their excellent behaviour, I have of my own accord taken care of their interests. I have already guaranteed to the 13th irregular cavalry that they shall not be put to any annoyance by their move into Benares, where grain and grass are very dear. In this I have the support of the commissioner."—That no encouragement might be wanting for the satisfaction of the men, the telegraph of the same day from Calcutta conveyed back the following message: —"Government approves of your having guaranteed to the 13th irregular cavalry that they shall not be put to any inconvenience by their move with respect to grain and grass for the horses. Extra batta cannot be allowed to the troops at Benares; but the regulations admit of compensation when the price of provisions forming their diet exceeds three rupees eight annas a month. This should be explained to the men; and they should be informed that government has learnt with much satisfaction that their behaviour has been so good. A general order has just been issued, authorising officers in command to promote very meritorious men; under that order you may be able to reward the good conduct of the regiments at Benares."

The daily reports, forwarded to the governor-general, maintained the same favourable tone. That of the 23rd of May says—"Everything perfectly quiet, both in the lines and city of Benares, and in the whole Benares division; and likely, with God's blessing, to continue so. I am quite easy and confident."—A message of the 24th was to the same effect; and, on the 31st, the confidence of the officer in command was yet unshaken, and appears to

* Montgomery Martin's *India*, p. 511.

† The turbulent and dangerous character of Vizier Ali, the rival candidate for the dominion of Oude, rendered it advisable to remove his residence from Benares to Calcutta. The youth remonstrated strongly, but without effect; and while visiting, by appointment, the British resident, Mr. Cherry, he spoke in violent terms of the hardship of the threatened coercion. The resident is represented to have behaved with much moderation; but Vizier Ali, giving vent to rage, started up and made a thrust at him with his sword—an example which, according to Eastern custom, was immediately followed by his attendants. Mr. Cherry was killed while attempting to escape through a window, and two of his companions shared his fate. The assassins, apparently in the hope of heading a general insurrection, hurried to the residence of the English magistrate, Mr. Davis, who, after sending his wife and family to the terrace on the top of the house, seized a long spear, took up his position on a narrow staircase, and delayed their ascent until a party of horse arrived, and put them all to flight.—(Martin's *India*, p. 385.)

have continued so until noon of the 3rd of June, if the subjoined message may be relied on.

"Benares, June 3rd. 12 noon.—All quiet throughout the Benares division." At 4 P.M. of the same day another message was transmitted, announcing the arrival of Colonel Neill and a small party of the Madras fusiliers, on their way up the country; but no mention is made of any appearance of discontent or insubordination whatever.

The result of the outbreak at Azimgurh had the effect of scattering a portion of the mutinous soldiers from that station in the direction of Benares; and then, for the first time, apprehension began to be entertained as to the fidelity of the 37th regiment. The events that succeeded the arrival of a party of the mutineers, are briefly glanced at in the following official report, forwarded by the Indian government to the court of directors:*—"On the news of the mutiny at Azimgurh reaching Benares, a rising of the 37th native infantry was anticipated, and the authorities determined to disarm that corps. Accordingly, the European troops and battery were paraded and marched on the lines of the 37th. The regiment of Loodiana (Sikhs), and the irregular cavalry, one squadron of the 13th, were also under arms. On the Europeans approaching the 37th, that corps opened fire on them, which was returned by the European infantry and artillery. As the regiment of Loodiana was advancing, the resaldar of the irregular cavalry rode up to the corps, and called out that his men had mutinied. Some shots were fired by the irregular cavalry, on which the Sikhs paused and turned round, some firing towards the cavalry, others towards the Europeans; on which the guns were turned on the Sikhs, who soon dispersed. The 37th, in the meantime, had been dispersed, and their lines were set on fire. The men of the 37th, Sikhs, and irregular cavalry, passed through cantonments, and took the road to Juanpore. Some of the Sikhs remained faithful, and protected the treasury, while others protected their officers. Some of the irregular cavalry also proved faithful. The district and town appear pretty quiet, and matters appear satisfactory up to the latest date, the 18th."—So much for the official skeleton of history: we must endeavour to put flesh upon the bones before us.

During the night of the 1st of June, the residents of Benares were aroused by an alarm of fire that had broken out in the cantonments, a short distance from the city. Upon investigation, there appeared grounds for believing that the conflagration had been purposely occasioned by some men of the 37th native infantry, with a view to draw away the few European soldiers who had charge of the guns, and thus furnish opportunity for them to take possession of the artillery. The *ruse* was unsuccessful. The Europeans were immediately under arms, and stood by their guns; and the 37th, to their great mortification, were ordered to extinguish the fire, which they proceeded to do with evident chagrin and reluctance.

Upon due consideration of the circumstances attending this incendiary attempt, it was resolved by Brigadier Ponsonby, on the advice of his officers, to disarm the men of the 37th regiment as early and as quietly as circumstances would admit. The necessity for this step became more apparent when, in the course of the day, intelligence reached Benares that the native regiment at Azimgurh had broken into revolt, and seized the public treasury, amounting to about seventeen lacs (£170,000), and that the men were then probably on their way to the sacred city. This report had spread among the sepoys even before it reached the ears of the authorities, and it had the effect of greatly exciting the whole body, which did not conceal its satisfaction at the occurrence.

It happened opportunely, that on Wednesday, the 3rd instant, Colonel Neill, of the 1st Madras fusiliers, had arrived at Benares with a detachment of his regiment, accompanied by twenty gunners, with three 9-pounders. The garrison, thus reinforced, consisted of 150 men of her majesty's 10th regiment, the 37th native infantry, a Sikh regiment, commanded by Colonel Gordon; about seventy men of the 13th irregular cavalry, under Captain Guise; a battery of 9-pounders, with thirty gunners, and Colonel Neill's fusiliers.

Upon the unsatisfactory state of the 37th regiment being reported to Colonel Neill, he resolved upon disarming it without further delay, in opposition to the plan of Brigadier Ponsonby, who desired to postpone the operation until the following morning: the colonel was, however, inflexible; and ultimately a parade of the European force, with the Madras fusiliers, was ordered at five o'clock in the evening of the 4th; the 37th regiment being required to

* Parl. Papers, 1857.

appear on the ground without arms. Simultaneously with the promulgation of this order, the bells of arms were secured; and this operation being observed by the disaffected men, added greatly to the excitement already prevailing among them.

At five o'clock the troops were paraded. A few men of the 37th had obeyed the order to appear without arms; others refused to do so, and some confusion necessarily arose from the insubordination that prevailed on the ground. Meanwhile the greater part of the regiment which had not turned out gathered round the bells of arms, and as soon as they became aware of the object for which the European force was paraded, they burst open the doors, and seized their weapons, with which they now repaired to the parade and joined their comrades, who had remained standing in groups, without making any other offensive demonstration. With a view of intimidating the disaffected men, the whole of the troops, including the Sikhs and irregulars, had been drawn up in front of the position left vacant for the 37th regiment, with three guns ready shotted and prepared for instant service. In the arrangement of the forces, the Europeans were stationed within musket-range, the Sikhs and irregulars being at the extreme verge of the ground.

On noticing these preparations, the men of the 37th found the time for action had arrived, and they immediately opened fire upon their officers and the European troops, at the same time retiring towards their lines. For a time the Sikh regiment remained passive spectators of the outrage; but upon their colonel giving the order to load with ball, an ominous change came over the men. At the same moment the irregular cavalry advanced, but presently broke into confusion. The Sikhs now joined the 37th in firing upon the Europeans; several officers were wounded, and two men of the 10th regiment killed. The guns immediately poured a shower of grape into the ranks of the mutineers; and after a faint attempt at resistance, the 37th broke away from their position, followed by the greater portion of the irregular cavalry, and sought safety behind the huts of the cantonments. At the commencement, Captain Guise, of the irregulars, was shot at by a rebel sepoy of the 37th regiment, whom he pursued; and his horse falling, the assassin had time to reload and fire before the unfortunate officer could extricate himself. The second shot was aimed with precision, and Captain Guise fell to the ground a corpse. Several of the mutineers halted in their flight to look upon their murdered leader, but no indignities were offered to his remains. The sepoys still kept up a smart fire upon the little body of Europeans, who, as they advanced to dislodge them from the huts, laboured under the disadvantage of having to deal with an enemy effectually sheltered. The European officers of the 37th regiment* took post with the 10th, and were exposed to a smart fire from their own men, which continued for some twenty minutes, when, as our soldiers began to drop rather fast, the order was given to charge the huts. The operation was speedily performed; and the mutineers having been driven from their shelter, the whole of the buildings were set fire to and destroyed. While these matters were in progress, the irregular cavalry and Sikhs became bewildered, and began fighting at random. Three times the latter charged the guns, and were repulsed, with considerable loss; above one hundred of the mutineers were killed upon the ground, and more than twice that number lay wounded. The lives of the civilians and of the officers' families in cantonments, were saved through the instrumentality of a Sikh prisoner, Soorut Sing, who prevailed upon the Sikhs of the treasury guard to remain tranquil after they were informed of the conduct of their comrades on the parade. At a late hour in the evening the ladies were conveyed to the Mint, a fortified house between the city and the cantonments, where they could be effectually protected: the transit was not, however, unaccompanied by danger, the party being repeatedly fired at on the way by straggling parties of

* The majority of the officers of the 37th had fallen back at once upon the European column. Major Barrett, however, indignant at the way in which men whom he believed to be good sepoys had been dealt with, resolved, as he told them, to share their fate, and, along with the European sergeant-major, remained for some time exposed to the fire opened from the half battery, as also from the European musketry upon the huts. But the sepoys' worst blood was up, and several of them fired upon their confiding officer, others attacking him with their fixed bayonets. He was, consequently, compelled to flee for his life; and a guard of faithful sepoys (principally of the grenadier company), having formed round his person, they, with considerable difficulty and risk, conducted him in safety to his bungalow in the cantonments. The sergeant-major also was saved by the same friendly escort.

the irregulars, some of whom managed to send three balls through the turban of a native coachman, while conveying ladies to the rendezvous; fortunately, both the driver and his charge escaped unhurt. Upon the restoration of order, a handsome subscription was raised among the European families, for the purpose of presenting Soorut Sing with a splendid case of fire-arms, in acknowledgment of his generous and timely protection.

The following report from Lieutenant-colonel J. G. Neill, to the adjutant-general of the army, dated "Benares, June 6th, 1857," gives the official detail of the occurrence we have narrated:—

"Sir,—I have the honour to report, for the information of his excellency the commander-in-chief, that I arrived here on the 3rd inst. with a detachment of the regiment under my command (1st Madras fusiliers), and found sixty of my men and three officers, who had preceded me here. A company of men were about two days in rear, and three more were following up by bullock-train. I had arranged to start with a detachment of the regiment for Cawnpore on the afternoon of the 4th; but on that afternoon intelligence was received from Lieutenant Palliser, in command of a detachment of fifty sowars of the 13th irregular cavalry, sent out to escort treasure from Azimgurh to this, that the 17th regiment had broken out into open mutiny, and, joined by the city people and gaol prisoners, had left the station and attacked his party and captured the treasure, his infantry escort acting with them. On this intelligence reaching Benares, Brigadier Ponsonby consulted with me about taking the muskets from the 37th, leaving them their side-arms. He proposed waiting until the following morning to do this. I urged its being done at once, to which he agreed, and left my quarters to make his arrangements, directing me to be present with the Europeans, as per margin,* at 5 P.M. The Sikh regiment, in which Lieutenant-colonel Gordon placed much confidence, and a party of about seventy of the 13th irregular cavalry, who were dispatched, were to join the Europeans in their demonstration. Brigadier Ponsonby came on parade at the hour appointed; but I observed that he appeared far from well, and perfectly unable to act with energy or the vigour required on the emergency. We moved up the Europeans and guns towards the 37th, the Sikhs advancing upon the other flank of that corps, followed by irregular cavalry. On approaching the bells of arms of the 37th, the sepoys of that corps seized their arms, loaded them, and opened fire upon us, which was immediately returned with considerable execution by the artillery and Europeans, the Sikh regiment not having yet come up. At this time several of our men fell wounded, and the brigadier was on his back on the ground, seemingly struck by a stroke of the sun, and declared himself quite unfit for anything, and begged that being the next senior officer, I would at once assume command, which I accordingly did, and directed a dash on the lines with the Europeans and Sikhs in line on each flank of the artillery. I was on the right of our men in the lines when an alarm was given, and I found the Sikhs had suddenly halted, wavered, and eventually gone about and dispersed, having first, however, fired at and tried to shoot their commanding officer and adjutant, and fired upon and wounded several other officers, and fired upon the squadron of irregular cavalry drawn up in rear of them. I believe, from all I have observed and been told, that with a few exceptions, the Sikhs were supposed to be quite stanch; they seemed in the greatest spirits and anxious to be led against the 37th. The cause of their sudden panic and extraordinary conduct is supposed to have been the turmoil caused in their rear by a sowar of the 13th irregular cavalry having fired at and attempted to cut down the brigade-major, Captain Dodgson, on his riding up to assume command of them by the brigadier's order (their own commanding officer having been killed before reaching parade by the men of the 37th native infantry.) On hearing the shot and shouts, the Sikhs turned round and fired on their officers and our men: one man who had fired at Colonel Gordon was immediately shot by one of his havildars.

"The artillery, on observing the disaffection of the Sikhs, opened upon them with considerable effect; they broke and ran, as did the irregular cavalry. After this, I completed the expulsion of the 37th regiment from their lines, and burnt them, and withdrew my men and guns into position

* Three guns of No. 12 field battery and 30 men, under Captain Olphertz; her majesty's 10th, 150 men and three officers; Madras fusiliers, 60 men and three officers.

in the barrack, securing myself for the night. Early next morning I sent out parties and brought in the arms, accoutrements, and colours of the 37th that had been left in their lines, as also some of the Sikhs. I also arranged with the civil authorities to remove the treasure from its most insecure and unmilitary position in the civil lines, and detached a party, consisting of one hundred men of her majesty's 10th and Madras fusiliers, and twenty-five sowars, irregular cavalry, under Lieutenant-colonel Gordon, and had it all brought up and secured in the barracks.

"On my arriving here, I had observed and expressed my opinion on the insecurity of this treasure, under charge only of a native guard of Sikhs, who, however, stood firm, and deserve the greatest credit for their loyal conduct. I consider the peril in which this treasure has been placed has been for some time imminent; and I feel assured that had the steps taken against the 37th been deferred until the following morning, the outbreak would have taken place that night when unprepared, and no efficient assistance could have been rendered by the troops to the European families in cantonments, who would have been left to the mercy of the miscreants let loose on such an occasion. I had a party of Madras fusiliers at a building called the Mint, and arranged with the brigadier before going on parade, that, should any disturbance occur, all the families should go there for protection. This was carried out, the party of Europeans there giving confidence and acting as a check to plunderers; the mutineers, who broke and fled, deserted cantonments rapidly, many of them throwing away their arms. I now hold the barracks and Mint-house, between cantonments and city, with my Europeans, and have some native guards of trustworthy men as pickets in different parts of cantonments, and feel the cantonments are all safe; and when a few more European troops come up, I intend planting a picket at the church, when all the houses in cantonments may, I consider, with safety be again occupied. About ninety of the irregular cavalry remained faithful, and are now doing duty, patrolling and keeping off the 'budmashes' from the city from entering cantonments. About 190 of the Sikh regiment, who were on treasure and other guards, are still with us, and remain faithful. A few of them I have promoted for their good conduct when the regiment broke and fled. A further report will be made on this subject, as well as regarding some men of the irregular cavalry I have also promoted for loyalty and good conduct.

"I beg to state that we have lost several officers and soldiers on this unfortunate occasion, as follows:—

"*Killed.*—Captain Guise, commanding irregular cavalry, murdered by 37th men; one apothecary, her majesty's 10th, ditto; two men, her majesty's 10th, shot on parade. *Wounded.*—Shot on parade. Ensign Chapman, 37th regiment, native infantry, dangerously; Ensign Hayter, 25th native infantry, doing duty, 37th, dangerously; Ensign Tweedie, 4th native infantry, doing duty, 37th, severely; eight privates, her majesty's 10th; Quartermaster-sergeant Maidman, 25th native infantry, doing duty with Sikh regiment, severely.

"All ranks behaved as British soldiers; the hard work and exposure to the sun was most cheerfully borne. I beg to bring to notice, particularly, the assistance I have received from Lieutenant-colonel Gordon, commanding the Sikhs; Lieutenant-colonel Spottiswoode, 37th; the brigade-major, Captain Dodgson; Captain Olpherts, commanding the artillery; and Lieutenant Gosling, adjutant, Madras fusiliers.

"I have, &c.—J. G. NEILL, Lieut.-col.

"P.S.—I have strengthened Chunar by a small detachment of her majesty's 84th, with three officers of the 37th, and dispatched to Allahabad by Garee horse dâk this evening fifty men of Madras fusiliers, the same number following to-morrow, and as quick as I can spare them, to that post and Cawnpore."

The following extracts from a letter of Brigadier Ponsonby, dated from Benares, June 13th, somewhat differs in its personal statement from the report of Lieutenant-colonel Neill, who had superseded him in his command; and it is only due to both officers, that it should also appear in these pages:—"I dispatched my last letter on the 3rd inst., and on the 4th most important events occurred here. The troops consisted of the 37th regiment of native infantry, some 700 or 800 strong; the Sikh regiment, one-half that number; the 15th irregular cavalry, 700 strong; and about 200 Europeans of her majesty's 84th and of the Madras fusiliers, with three guns manned by European artillerymen. Colonel Gordon, my second in command, an excel-

lent officer, came to me, and said he had been informed, that the men of the 37th were plotting with the bad characters in the city. We agreed to go to the commissioner, Mr. Tucker, who recommended our going to Mr. Frederick Gubbins, the judge here. It then transpired that the men of the 37th were much implicated, and Gordon advised the regiment should be disarmed at once. After some discussion, I agreed. We had no time (it being between 4 and 5 P.M.) to lose, and but little arrangement could be made (fortunately.) I had a long drive, and ride also, through the sun; and such a sun! I marched the Europeans and guns in front of the lines of the 37th, who were taken by surprise, with Brigadier Handscomb's fate fresh in my mind. I halted the Europeans, and went up to the men of the main guard, 37th, told them they were only required to lay down their arms, and no harm should occur to them. They refused; said they had committed no fault; they shouted to their comrades, who ran for their arms, and began to fire on us. I then, having joined the Europeans, ordered them to open fire, and a sharp fusillade on both sides ensued. The Sikhs proved traitors, as did the irregulars; but a few rounds of grape from the guns, and the sharp practice of the Europeans, sent them all flying in terror, throwing away their arms and accoutrements, and escaping as they best could. Captain Guise, the officer commanding the irregulars, was shot by a man of the 37th, who some days ago began to boast publicly in the city of the exploit; the police seized him, and he was tried and hanged with several others. Some of the 37th, of the Sikhs, and of the 13th irregulars, did not join the mutineers, and are with us. We have had two officers wounded, one I fear mortally; Ensign Hayter, poor fellow! one foot has been amputated, and a ball is unextracted from his hip. The Sikhs fired on him and several officers of the 37th. Had we not acted so sharply and decisively, there is now little doubt we should have been murdered in our beds, as I am sorry to say numbers have been at the stations all around us. A great number have been murdered by the 6th native infantry at Allahabad, and yet that regiment volunteered to be led against the mutineers at Delhi! They received the thanks of the governor-general, and the next day or two slaughtered every European they could meet with. With the exception of a few killed and wounded, all here are unscathed. Women and children, and inhabitants of cantonments, all safe and unhurt; not a house plundered but one, that of the adjutant of the Sikh regiment; while at Lucknow and Allahabad not a house scarcely is left standing. We struck such terror by the suddenness of our attack, although we were fired upon first, that the mutineers give Benares a wide berth. These mutineers have no object but plunder and murder, where murder may be committed with safety to themselves. They spare neither women nor children. I have omitted to say anything of myself hitherto. From the driving and riding in the sun, and the excessive fatigue I underwent on the 4th inst., I had something very like a *coup de soleil*, and was obliged to make over the command to the next senior officer; but not until everything was quiet. I have been ill ever since, but am now much better, and am looking anxiously for the rains to mitigate this fearful heat (thermometer 93° or 94°), when I hope to gain strength."

On the 5th, the treasure that had been kept at the Mint was removed to the cantonments under an escort of Europeans; the Sikhs, who had been placed in charge of it, remaining faithful to the last, and accompanying it to a place of safety. The mutineers, driven from their lines, had no alternative but flight or submission, and chose the former; some taking the road to Jaunpore; the others to Allahabad, where the 6th regiment of native infantry, recently complimented in general orders for its loyalty, and thanked for its offer to march against the rebels, was stationed. An officer of the 37th regiment, who had a full share in the exciting occurrences of the day, narrates, in the subjoined statement, the chief incidents connected with the insubordination of his men, and the defection of the Sikhs and irregulars. After describing the commencement of the disturbance, and the retreat of the mutineers to their huts, as already stated, he proceeds thus:—

"The movement upon the huts being decided upon, we (officers of the 37th) retired and took our place beside the Sikhs, who, we understood, were to take part in the charge. They form an irregular corps, and have only two officers attached to them—viz., a commandant (Colonel Gordon) and

an adjutant. As both of these were mounted, there was need of our services in the ranks. Here I remained for about ten minutes, in the momentary expectation of the charge being ordered. The brigade-major, Captain Dodgson, then galloped across the parade-ground, and, placing himself at the head of the irregular cavalry, informed them that their commandant, Captain Guise, had been killed, and that he had been sent by Brigadier Ponsonby to supply his place. They flashed their swords in reply, giving vent, at the same time, to a low murmur, which struck me as somewhat equivocal. Captain Dodgson had scarce ceased addressing them, when one of their number fired upon him with a pistol. The bullet only grazed the elbow of his sword arm, just at that point where the ulnar nerve, passing over a process of bone, is so easily irritated as to have gained for that piece of bone the common name of 'funny bone.' The consequence was complete paralysis of the hand and arm; his sword dropped powerless across his saddle, and the rascal who had fired the shot rushed upon him to cut him down; but another of the troop interfered to rescue him, and being well mounted, he succeeded in escaping from the *mêlée*.

"But while all this had been going on, I had had something else to do than watch the conduct of the irregulars. Just as they were flashing their sabres in reply to Captain Dodgson's short address, I was horrified by noticing about a dozen of the Sikhs fire straight forward upon the European soldiers, who were still kneeling and firing into the 37th. The next moment some half-dozen of their muskets were staring me in the face, and a whole tempest of bullets came whizzing into me. Two passed through my forage-cap, and set my hair on fire; three passed through my trowsers, one just grazing my right thigh; but none properly hit me. I rushed headlong at one of the fellows whom I had noticed more especially aiming at me; but had scarcely advanced three paces, when a second volley of bullets saluted me. One of these (and I assure you their name was legion) entered my right shoulder about one-sixth of an inch to the outside of the armpit, and, passing diagonally through the shoulder, came out in my back. This was the 'severe' wound. It brought me to the ground for about fifteen seconds; and, in the course of that short time I had the pleasure of seeing every one of the Sikhs dash across the parade-ground and charge the Europeans. Knowing full well that in a few seconds they would be repulsed by the latter, and sent helter-skelter back towards where I lay, I made what haste I could along the parade-ground towards my bungalow. But the irregular cavalry were scattered about in every direction; and thus the chances of my ever reaching my bungalow seemed to me very slender. But the worst-disposed of the irregulars were engaged in assisting the Sikhs; and those whom I met were fellows who contented themselves with rendering the 'sahibs' no manner of assistance, without personally seeking to molest us. They, therefore, with one exception, rode leisurely past me; although, had any of their number felt inclined to cut me down, I was so entirely helpless and faint from loss of blood, that they might easily have done so. And yet, when one fellow charged towards me with his sword in the air, I was most mercifully preserved. I threw my sword at him with my left arm; but just as the weapon left my hand, I fainted from the pain produced in my wound, and fell quite unconscious. But by that time the Sikhs had been repulsed with great slaughter, and were fleeing across the parade-ground, with a mere handful of Europeans at their heels; my assailant thought it high time, therefore, to make himself scarce, so that, on recovering my consciousness, I found the coast clear, and met with no further opposition in gaining my bungalow. But even then my circumstances were the reverse of enviable; for besides the intense pain which I was suffering, I knew not whether my wound was mortal or not, and was in momentary expectation of being murdered in cold blood by a party of mutineers. Thus I lay until about two o'clock on Friday morning.

"The Sikhs had no sooner been dispersed than the lines of the 37th were charged, and every sepoy driven out. The soldiers were then fully occupied in going the rounds of the cantonments, and escorting the terrified ladies and civilians to the Mint. During the whole progress of the affray on the parade-ground (a full hour), the cantonments had been at the mercy of bands of armed sepoys. These were assembled from different sources; such as the various guards which had been posted, as usual, throughout the cantonments; the

treasury guard, for instance; the hospital guard, bazaar guard, mess-house guard, and so forth. On the outbreak of the row, these respectable and conscientious fellows set to work (with one or two honourable exceptions) to plunder their several trusts; and that accomplished, dispersed themselves among the various bungalows, as much bent on bloodshed as on booty. Many a hairbreadth escape was made that night, and I could fill whole sheets with a detail of the wonderful Providence to which defenceless women and children owed their lives. The bungalows were, of course, abandoned for such lurking-places as the outhouses could afford; and in several instances these were ransacked by the murderous sepoys. Of course, it would have been quite miraculous had none of us been hurt. But it is truly remarkable, that Colonel Gordon, his adjutant (Lieutenant Glasse), and Captain Dodgson, mounted as they were on huge chargers, were not riddled with the perfect shower of bullets with which they were pursued. The 'casualties' were:—Killed on the spot, Captain Guise; died of his wounds, Ensign Hayter, of the 25th native infantry, but doing duty with the 37th until the arrival of his regiment, *viâ* the river, from Calcutta. Poor fellow, he has been in the country a still shorter time than you and I. It was in consequence of a fever which attacked him shortly after his landing in Calcutta, that he was sent by Gharry dâk to Benares, there to await the arrival of his regiment, which, had it not been for that fever, he would at this moment have been accompanying up the Ganges. To save the pain of a wounded ankle-joint, though without the slightest hope of saving his life, one of his legs was amputated above the knee. He was wounded besides in his abdomen; and this in itself was in all probability a mortal injury. For nearly a week he lingered, sinking gradually, and not very painfully, into his grave.

"Three were wounded—viz., Ensign Chapman, of the 37th, 'very dangerously,' myself 'severely,' and Dodgson 'very slightly.' Poor Chapman was shot through the face, the bullet entering at one cheek and going out at the other. His speech, along with the sight of one eye and the use of one ear, is hopelessly gone. It is with the utmost difficulty and pain that he can swallow even the fluids which constitute his sole sustenance, and hence his limbs are little else than skin and bone. His life, however, is not supposed to be in any immediate danger; and as soon as he can travel, he will be sent home to his parents, round by the Cape. Both he and Hayter were shot by the Sikhs. But all this is a digression; for I was speaking of the civilians. The bolder of them emerged at last from their lurking-places, and made their way to the Mint, a large building, previously agreed upon as the general asylum. On their way, whole volleys were poured in upon them by parties of sepoys; but not even one of their horses or syces were touched. I told you that the sepoys were let loose from different sources upon the cantonments. I have mentioned only one of these sources, viz., the various guards; secondly, a still greater number came straggling into the cantonments from the lines of the 37th; the temptation to plunder the 'sahibs' bungalows being still stronger, in their instances, than the love of 'potting' the sahibs themselves upon the parade-ground. Thus the number of sepoys who continued to fire upon us to the end was not very great, and included only the stanchest and most determined spirits of the corps. At last, as I have said, the Europeans drove them headlong from their lines; and in the course of a few minutes not a sepoy remained in the cantonments, the Sikhs having been driven in one direction, and the 37th in the other.

"A party of soldiers now made the rounds of the cantonments, and escorted to the Mint such of the ladies as were still lurking in their compounds. They who had seen me fired upon felt sure that I must be dead; and, accordingly, while I was suffering the extremity of pain in my bungalow, parties were roaming the parade-ground in search of my remains. At last it occurred to them that I might, after all, have reached my bungalow; and about two o'clock in the morning (as I have already, I think, mentioned) I was conveyed, bed and all, to a camp which had been fortified on the parade-ground, in expectation of a return of the mutineers. But the mode in which these had been dismissed was not such as to invite a speedy return, and we saw no more of them, excepting such as have fallen into our hands and been hung. I lay in this camp for a couple of days in a very sorry plight, having no manner of

shelter either from the burning sun and hot Benares winds, or from the tempests of dust which were drifting about; and yet the surgeons thought this exposure preferable to the risk of fever, &c., which I should have run by going into the crowded hospital. At last, the surgeon in charge of the Mint took pity on me, and housed me in his bungalow, visiting me several times a-day. I would, of course, have gone to my own bungalow; but our surgeons said that unless I remained beside them they could not attend me. We have had an anxious time of it in Benares ever since. People now spend the day in their bungalows; but, with few exceptions (of whom I am one), retire at night to the Mint. This is a very large building, with a flat roof, and no end of battlemented terraces, well calculated to stand a siege. Our Europeans, consisting of the 78th highlanders, the 84th, and 64th, are stationed partly in the church, partly in the camp and small barracks on the parade-ground, but mainly in the Mint compound. We have a full battery of artillery, and will doubtless hold our own. Some few of the Sikhs remained faithful, or seemed to do so. These are employed as outposts and sentries; but very few of them are trusted with firearms. Some of the 37th also stuck to their oath; and these have been sent with Major Barrett to Chunar, a place distant about fifteen miles; the rest of the 37th's officers are quartered not very luxuriously in the camp. On recovering from my wound I mean to volunteer to go up the country with any of the Queen's regiments that may then be passing through Benares, which has become quite a depôt. I have made a most wonderfully rapid recovery, partly owing to the closeness of the person who shot me, so that the bullet went slick through, carrying out with it every fibre of cloth, and bruising the tissues less than if it had come from a greater distance—just as a sharp weapon makes a more favourable wound than a blunt one."

The Rev. James Kennedy, a clergyman of the establishment, stationed at Benares, has forwarded the following graphic detail of the proceedings between the 3rd and 11th of June:—

"During the 4th, news arrived that a native infantry regiment at Azimgurh, some sixty miles from this, had mutinied, and seized some £170,000 of treasure. The news somehow reached the sepoys as soon as it did the authorities, and greatly excited them. The new brigadier resolved to disarm the 37th at once. A parade was hastily ordered. The bells of arms, as they are called—the little houses in which the arms are kept—were suddenly locked. No sooner did the sepoys see this, and also that the European soldiers were under arms, than they rushed to the bells of arms, burst open the doors, and seized their weapons. Besides this regiment there was here a Sikh regiment, which was much trusted, and likewise an irregular cavalry regiment, so well thought of, that at the beginning of these troubles it was called in from Sultanpore, twelve miles distant, to defend us. Many spoke highly of the loyalty of these regiments, and, among others, their own officers; but others doubted them, and the doubters have turned out correct. All the troops were near at the time. No sooner did the 37th seize their arms than the Sikhs fired at their own officers, who had been speaking in such high terms of them. Before the engagement was well begun, the commander of the irregular cavalry fell. Captain Dodgson, the brigade-major, rode up to the cavalry, and called out, 'Your commander is dead; follow me.' Immediately one of these troopers fired on him, and the ball grazed his arm. Another trooper—a loyal one—immediately turned on the rebel and cut him down, thus saving Captain Dodgson's life, as the rebel was rushing on him with his sword; and Captain Dodgson was for the moment disabled. It was evident, that while the 37th was thoroughly mutinous, there were loyal men among the Sikhs and the cavalry; but in the strife it was impossible to distinguish them, as they were mingled together. The rebel fire was, of course, returned by the European soldiers, and then the guns opened, mowing down numbers of the mutineers. The Europeans were a mere handful compared with the native force arrayed against them, but they had the advantage of having three guns, while the others had only muskets. In such circumstances the mutineers could rush at once on the guns and capture them; but this is not the native fashion. On the opening of the guns, all the rebels ran for shelter behind trees and huts, from which they tried to keep up the contest; but soon their only concern was to get entirely beyond the reach of the feared and hated white soldiers. The heavy firing continued for nearly two hours, but skir-

mishing continued for several hours longer. How many of the mutineers perished it is impossible to say, but it is certain that many have fallen. On our side there were four killed and twenty-one wounded, of whom several are sure to die. There were only 200 Europeans altogether; while the number against them, including the mutinous cavalry, was about 2,000. As the rebels first fired (and they were near), if they had taken deliberate aim, scarcely one of the Europeans would have escaped. How the residents all escaped is a matter of wonder to many, and ought certainly to be a matter of heartfelt thanksgiving. These men, maddened by defeat and thirsting for blood, as they retreated, streamed through many of the compounds in cantonments, and fired as they passed, but happily fired so much at random, that no person was hurt. Several of the English took refuge in stables and outhouses. Others, like the commissioner and his family, who were exposed to the most imminent peril, got to the roof of their houses, and hid themselves behind the parapets. My house is out of cantonment, and therefore. in the first place, we were less exposed than others. We had just finished dinner, about 5 P.M., when our watchman rushed into the house and exclaimed, 'Flee, sahib! flee, the regiments have mutinied!' How he had known so soon I do not know; for by that time a shot had not been fired. I suppose he had heard of the soldiers gathering, thought there was to be mischief, and ran to tell us. He had just spoken when we heard the sharp rattle of the musketry, and then the boom of the cannon. We thought it was full time for us to move with our four children. The gharry was ordered; and according to a plan formerly arranged, in the event of a disturbance, we hastened as fast as our horse could take us to the house of a Mr. Gordon, on the banks of the Ganges, close to its principal ferry at Benares. As that is a great thoroughfare, and it was possible enough a party of mutineers might come that way, it was deemed prudent to engage boats and ferry ourselves out into the middle of the river till news should reach us. Consequently, the Buyerses, Ballantynes, ourselves, and some others got out on the river, and awaited tidings with intense anxiety. By this time the heavy firing had ceased, and the rattle of the musketry was so irregular, that it was evident the battle was well nigh over; but on what side the victory was we did not know. The whole city was covered with smoke, which led us to fear there was an immense conflagration; but it turned out there had been only a part of cantonments on fire. At length we heard the authorities were victorious. We returned to Mr. Gordon's house, intending to remain there for the night, when Captain Dodgson, notwithstanding his wound, accompanied by several others, galloped into the compound, and told us that, although the mutineers were routed, they were about in great numbers, and that it was absolutely necessary for safety to proceed to a large building called the Mint, in the middle of cantonments, which was put into a state of defence. Most providentially, at that very time, a party of English soldiers, seventy in number, were reported as having arrived at the *ghat* (ferry); and so, escorted by them and a small portion of the irregular cavalry, who had remained faithful, we proceeded to the Mint, where we arrived at midnight. What a scene of confusion and tumult was there! All in front bands of English soldiers, ready to act at a moment's notice; men, women, and children, high and low, huddled together, wondering at meeting together at such a time and at such a place, not knowing where they were to throw themselves down for the night, and altogether looking quite bewildered. As to sleep, that was out of the question. I felt drowsy for a few minutes between three and four, when I heard one say to another, 'The magistrate has just been sent for. The city is rising.' In answer to the demand for aid, all the information given to the native magistrate in the city was, 'Do your best; we cannot spare a man.' Rioting did break out in the city, but it was suppressed; and the city has since remained astonishingly quiet.

"The 5th (Friday) was, as you may suppose, a day of intense excitement. No person ventured beyond the compound of the Mint, except he were heavily armed or strongly escorted. It was believed that the mutineers were near in numbers, and might venture again on the combat. Our strength was divided between three places—the treasury, a full half-mile distant; the barracks, in another direction nearly a quarter of a mile; and the Mint, the most central place of the three. The treasure, however, was removed to the barracks under a strong escort, without a blow being struck;

the stations of the European pickets, some of our friends strongly advise us against the measure. In the immediate neighbourhood of the city all continues so very quiet that I do not myself anticipate the smallest danger. The news from the out-stations is, however, very distressing. Azimgurh, Juanpore, and Goruckpore are in the hands of the rebels. Several of the officials have been killed, and others have been too happy to be able to flee with their families. The night before last word was brought in that two officials—one a military man and another a civilian—had been killed at Juanpore; that the rest of the few European inhabitants had fled, and were in hiding some twenty miles distant. Immediately a party was formed for their rescue, and the whole were brought in last night in a pitiable state. They had nothing but the clothes on their backs. Their houses had been first plundered and then burnt; they themselves had a wonderful escape; they lay down on the floor of the court-house, with the balls whistling over their heads, and they succeeded in getting away at last, simply because the mutineers were so busy with the treasure they had seized that they had not time to attend to them. Among the fugitives were our very worthy friends Mr. and Mrs. Reuther, of the Church Mission, with their family. Their children are now arrayed in the garments of ours. The whole party had been five days concealed by a native and fed by him, though, of course, not with dainty fare. He declared he would rather give up his life than betray them. In large districts around us government is for a season suspended, and there is, of course, a threatening of frightful anarchy. The rising has been entirely a military one; but where it has had temporary success the gaols have been opened, the villains in them have been let loose on society, officials have been either killed or scattered—no acknowledged authority has remained; and you may well suppose what would be the result of such a state of things in our own land in any of its crowded districts, notwithstanding our boasted superiority to others. The people generally are certainly not against us, at least in this part of India, and I believe the majority are at present trembling lest our days here be numbered, as they anticipate nothing but misery if we go.

"Thursday, June 11th.—We have to-day ventured to our home, and here we are in peace and, I believe, in safety. We are so thankful and happy to be in our own house again; but we must not remain here. For some time to come we expect to be required to sleep within the line of the English pickets. This day week we were obliged to make our hasty flight. What a memorable week it has been! We thought ourselves as safe here as we could be in our native land, and as suddenly find ourselves exposed to the greatest danger. A white face was before a positive advantage; since this outbreak has commenced it has been a mark for the assassin. The sepoys were our sworn and paid defenders; whoever might fail us, it was thought they would stand by us to the last; and the result of this confidence reposed in them is, that they have nearly overthrown British rule in Northern India. They have been all along mercenaries, but it was thought they were inseparably bound to us by the ties of interest. Now they look as if maddened against us. The landholders, merchants, shopkeepers, artisans, and, indeed, all the well-doing classes, are to a man against the movement. What the result may be is known only to God."

Another writer, dating from Benares, June 9th, says—"The clouds which just showed on the horizon have gathered around us, and one has burst over our heads; but I must not anticipate. Let me go back and relate each day's events as they occurred to me. Tuesday, the 2nd, passed quietly over, B—— and his friend C—— staying at my bungalow; but on Wednesday a rumour came that 500 disbanded sepoys were on our side of the river, opposite Benares, on their way up, and were burning and plundering as they came; so we called a council of war, and resolved that there was no example in history of three men resisting 500 with any success to speak of, especially in a thatched bungalow, so we sent two sharp fellows to spy out the enemy, and packed up the office-papers and drawings, and sent them to the fort, then dined, made ourselves happy with a pipe, and rode on heavily armed. Thursday morning, after a quiet night at the Padre's, my men came in with news that the 500 men were a myth—only think; however, as we were in, and all the office-papers locked up, I resolved to make a holiday, and stay in the station. Mr. C. was in a hurry to get to Benares, so we sent him off in an *ekka* (a horrid native pony carriage); but just as we were sitting down to dinner, about 8 P.M., he came back again

with a scared face, and told us he had met two men in a buggy, who had left Benares at 5 P.M. in full fight—grapeshot, officers killed, &c.; slightly confused, and rather awful. This time the intelligence was pronounced trustworthy, and we felt our work was going to begin. We sent notes to the officers, and held a council as to whether we should disarm the eighty or ninety sepoys in Chunar Fort. The Padre and all the unmilitary men said, 'Certainly, disarm them;' but the officers said, 'No, we will not show them that we mistrust them.' These words which I have quoted have been the death-sentence of hundreds of the bravest Indian officers. In station after station the same feeling has prevailed of conciliating the blackguards by appearing to trust them, and the appearing has gone on till they fire at their officers without warning. You may be sure we made every use of these arguments, but in vain; so we prepared for a stormy night. In the meantime, as I thought my Benares friends might fly this way, I sent out a horse to meet them half-way. We kept watch and watch, and the evening and the morning made it Friday, when I started at 4 A.M. to Benares to see what it was all about. Three miles down the road is Sultanpore, the head-quarters of the 13th irregular cavalry; only fifty men and a jemadar were there, and they turned out as I came along, and told me to give their salaam to the brigadier, and say they were then ready to obey orders, and did not know exactly what to do. I promised to take their message, but said if they wanted immediate instruction they had better turn out a dozen men and come down with me. You see, an escort of cavalry would rather have suited me just then; but they did not seem to like it, and said they had sent a picket on, whom I might catch if I chose to ride for it. So on I went, found my second horse all right, and caught the picket about five miles from Benares, and joined company with them. As we went we asked everybody for news: as we got towards the place we met another cavalry man coming from Benares, and, after some private talk with him, my picket tried to shirk me; and, finding they could not easily do so, one of them came to me and said they had orders to join the regiment privately, and therefore must leave me. I did not like it at all; but there was no help for it, so I rode on alone. However, I got in safe, and saw some soldiers and English officers before me, and galloped up to them as fast as I could. From them I learnt the particulars of the fight, and that the English were all assembled at the old Mint, a large building capable of standing a very fair siege. And now wait a little till I sing my song concerning the battle of Benares, which was fought on Thursday, the 4th of June, 1857. Imagine a square, the north side formed by the huts of the 37th native infantry; west, Sikh regiments; south, the irregular cavalry; east, 300 English and three guns, the hope and last resource of Benares. Enter English officer; rides up to the 37th's lines, and orders out the troops; they come out, and form line in front of their huts; then each officer explains to his company that they are to disarm for the present till less stormy days. One officer (G——, my informant) actually shook hands with the chief men of his company, and then ordered them to step forward and lay down their muskets. Their answer came in the shape of eighty musket-balls all round him; but not one hit him, nor were any of the other officers killed in this first discharge. The men then fell back into their huts, and commenced loading and firing under cover of them at the English. Major Guise, of the irregulars, rode in among the huts, and was killed almost immediately. The English guns took up a raking position, and peppered the huts with grape at 250 yards. One of our officers came forward with a few men, and fired the roofs, so the sepoys got rather astonished. Meantime the Sikhs left the east side of the square, and formed a line parallel to and between the sepoys and cavalry,* and facing the former. The cavalry said they wanted an English officer to lead them, and Dodgson of the 37th, who had just escaped the first fire of his own corps, came forward, and was immediately received with one or two rifle-balls from the cavalry. Upon this the Sikhs faced round and fired a volley, but whether intended for the officers or the cavalry is not told. Certain it is, they shot down three of the former and none of the latter. When the other officers found themselves thus between two fires, they galloped out and joined the Europeans, and made them turn their guns on Sikhs and cavalry alike, until these two gallant regiments found out their mistake, and once more turned their fire on the 37th. Was not this a nice battle? The sum total was, that the 37th were

utterly smashed, and the Sikhs and cavalry frightened out of their wits, and made sensible that they were mistaken. Many of the officers are furious, and say we have been shedding innocent blood, and the whole thing was a blunder. But the cavalry fired at a party of ladies who were going in their carriages to the Mint, and would certainly have murdered them if they had not been beaten off by a small force of Europeans. So much for the battle. I found everybody at the Mint, which several had only reached after many adventures, and we bivouacked in the large rooms, and slept on the roof—ladies, children, ayas, and punkah coolies; officers lying down dressed, and their wives sitting up by them fanning them; gentlemen in the most fearless *dishabille*, sleeping surrounded by ladies. In the compound or enclosure below there is a little handful of Europeans—perhaps 150 altogether; others are at the barracks half a mile off. There is a large collection of carriages and horses; little bedsteads all over the place; and two circular quick-hedges, with flower-gardens inside, are falling victims to the sheep and goats which have been brought in to provision the place; add to this a heap of more beer boxes than your English imagination can take in, and throw over all the strong black and white of a full moonlight, and you have the Mint as it looked when the English of Benares had sought refuge in it. There was a picknicky, gypsified look about the whole affair, which prevented one realising that the small congregation were there making a stand for a huge empire, and that their lives were upon the toss-up of the next events. On Saturday, Sunday, and Monday our fears diminished progressively, and we ventured out more and more. Yesterday morning news came that Allahabad had mutinied, and all who were not in the fort were murdered, including ten officers. Oh for my friends in Allahabad! Mirzapore is said to be fighting; and oh for my friends in Mirzapore! This is my cry, and this is the cry which is going up all over India, and will be echoed at home in half the families in England; but, instead of friends, the word will be, my son, or my brother, or my husband, and, worse still, my sister or my wife! But do not think that people as a rule are showing sad faces. The English here are so essentially people of action, that they are kept cheerful by it; and you see among them no grimace, no affectation of sorrow. It is a time like this you should take to judge of the Indian English, and then you may be proud of them."

The following is addressed from Benares, June 13th: the statements of such eye-witnesses require no comment to give them effect:—

"We have been expecting the outbreak here for the past three weeks. It came on the 4th. We got an express from Azimgurh to say that the 17th native infantry had mutinied and plundered the treasury, killing every European; but this was subsequently modified. On hearing this I knew our time was up, but as I hoped to have twelve hours' start before the information got out, I went and engaged two gharries, one for Harriet and the other for Mrs. Captain Dodgson, to send them off at once.

"While these gharries were coming, I went off to the judge to explain why I sent Harriet away, to guard against future remarks, and to offer myself for any service that might be needed for work so near at hand. I then went to the commissioner, to offer a seat in the gharry to any female member of his family. It was accepted for a sister-in-law. After dispatching the ladies, I was to go and reside with Tucker and his family. I had hardly returned home ten minutes, when bang, bang went the cannon—knew all was up. Saw crowds running for the life. Had my buggy at the door; bundled Harriet and our little boy, two guns, a revolver, and a pistol and sword into it, and drove to Mr. Tucker's, the commissioner's. He had never fired a shot in his life, and had not a weapon of any kind in the house, which I knew; but as his house was a *pukka* one (built of brick, with a stone roof), and capable of defence, I drove there instead of to the Mint, which was the rendezvous. In the house there were Mr. Tucker, Miss Tucker, four little children, and a sister-in-law of Mr. Tucker, with my guns only. Got them to the terrace of the house, and covered them up with straw, and made every preparation we could. In came Captain Watson with two ladies, but without any weapon. All this time the cannon were banging away and a rattle of musketry going on, and the whole of the sepoy lines were on fire. The rascally sepoys were flying in squads past the house, with terror depicted in their faces, and very many of them had thrown away their muskets, ac-

coutrements, &c., and were cutting like fun. Seeing this, and fearing that they might make an attempt at the house after the firing had ceased, I determined to go to the bridge near my house and try and make a stand there, so as to stop the sepoys flying any more to our side. Got upon Mr. Tucker's horse and galloped off, followed by Mr. Tucker, having left Captain Watson in charge of the ladies with my battery of guns. Immediately we came to the bridge, the sepoys, instead of coming our way, made a rush down the sides of the bridge leading to the banks of the Burna. There were at the time fifty sowars of the 13th irregulars stationed opposite my gate. We begged of twenty-five of them to follow to cut off these vagabonds; but not a man would stir, on the plea that it was the collector's *hookum* (order) not to budge from the treasury, which was held by a hundred Sikhs. The array, however, helped us to frighten the sepoys. The runaways decreasing in number, I swept over the bridge to find out how things were going on at the Mint, where Mrs. Dodgson was, and who had been placed under my care. Mr. Tucker led this time. 'Ping' went a bullet at him, but missed. I had three shots with my revolver on the bridge; but just as I came to the narrow part, just three or four yards before me, I saw one of these rascally runaways ramming home a cartridge. Bang went the musket at me; but 'twas a bad shot, for instead of hitting me he slightly wounded the horse. Away we flew; but midway we came upon fifty sowars of the irregulars. One fellow came with a pistol cocked at me, and said that they had no officer and no commands, and what were they to do? I asked them (twenty) to follow me; but the fellows hesitated, and Mr. Tucker advised me not to trust myself to them. We left them and went to the Mint, and met fifty European soldiers, and sent them off to protect the other ladies. We had hardly been gone fifteen minutes when these fifty sowars bolted, after firing a volley into the Europeans we had just left. Galloped back as fast as we could to our dear ones. The firing had by this time ceased, and thinking the worst was over I put off my sword, &c., and ordered dinner. Hardly a dish had reached the table when bang, bang went the guns again—this time at the Sikhs, who had joined the 37th. The same scene of flying sepoys; for you must know we had two 4-pounders pounding the rascals with grape, which they could not stand. Shortly after, in came Colonel Gordon with thirty European soldiers, and carried us off to the Mint. It was a fearful time, and enough to sober one for life; such a scene met us at the Mint, which was choked with refugees. Every one had some one to inquire for; but no one could say where any one was. It was a long and anxious night. With dawn more courage was plucked up. The panic among the mutineers, however, had been so great that not a man could be heard of, and even the thieves and budmashes had made off; for, notwithstanding every bungalow had been left to take care of itself, not a pin had been stolen, or even a thatch burnt. Every refugee was busy removing valuables, and all got something. Our treasury was safe. The treasure was removed by twelve o'clock at noon to the artillery barracks; but not a man budged out for the next twenty-four hours; yet the fear of peril had been so wholesome that all our property remained untouched. On Saturday, seeing all quiet, we determined to spend the day at home, but all of us returned to the Mint at night. How long these things are to last God knows. I see no chance of any amendment; but must hold on till more European soldiers come in, and the weather less hot—100 degrees in-doors.

"We had long known that the 37th were mutinous, but were waiting for more soldiers to disarm them. The mutiny at Azimgurh, however, precipitated matters. On the news reaching us, a parade was ordered for the evening. The hour came; the fellows smelt a rat. Instead of obeying orders, they began popping at the soldiers (viz., the 37th native infantry did.) The Britishers went at them. The blackies retreated into their lines, and from that shelter kept up firing. The 4-pounders were then brought to play, and graped them. The lines were then set fire to to drive them out, which was done. All this time the Sikhs stood spectators, drawn up in open parade. They then wavered, first attempting to murder their commandant, Colonel Gordon, who was saved by one of his own men receiving the ball in his arm; he was immediately removed to the Mint. The Sikhs then sent a volley at the gunners, who wheeled their guns round and hammered them with grape; they were mowed down like rotten carrots, and bolted

like the 37th. Meanwhile Captain Guise, in command of the 13th irregulars, called upon his troopers to charge, and went off at a gallop. Not a man stirred. Captain Guise was shot by the 37th, and it is said had his head split open afterwards by some of his own troopers. Two other officers of the 37th, youngsters of only sixteen and eighteen, were desperately wounded; one given up since. A third was wounded severely. Ten or twelve rank and file were killed and wounded, of whom we have buried three.

"It was a providential thing that we took the initiative, for otherwise they would have risen at night, as afterwards discovered, and perhaps very few of us would have been alive to tell the tale. God has indeed been gracious to us, and by visible signs shown His presence and protection to us. It is said the whole thing was precipitated; but if so, it only shows that it was not man's judgment or foresight which saved us."

An officer, who appears to have had greater faith in the loyalty of the 37th regiment than was compatible with prudence or safety, after describing the arrangements of Lieutenant-colonel Neill on the evening of the 4th, says—"It is not wonderful that such deadly preparations should have filled the sepoys with alarm and disaffection, even supposing them to have remained up to that moment true to their colours. Although, no doubt, in the 37th there were many disaffected spirits, yet I believe that the regiment as a whole was sound, and that the disarming might have been effected in perfect peace and quietness, had it been gone about in a less abrupt and threatening manner. But Providence often turns our mistakes still more signally than our wisest measures to our advantage, and so it was on the 4th of June; for there can be no doubt that our safety depended on the dispersion and panic of these rascally sepoys; and even if some 'good men and true' were involved in the fate of their fellows, the sacrifice was an inevitable one in an emergency like the present. Therefore, I say, although the sepoys might have been quietly disbanded, the mistake that provoked a row was a most fortunate one. Well, then, on seeing themselves hemmed in with musketry and artillery, the sepoys (many of them, no doubt, with a guilty conscience) naturally suspected that they were to be blown to pieces, and all the assurances of their officers proved ineffectual to keep them composed. They were ordered to put their muskets into the little stone buildings called *kotes*, or bells of arms. The majority of their number obeyed at once, and European soldiers were then marched towards the bells of arms with the view of securing them from any attempt which the sepoys might make to recover them. But the sepoys were beforehand with them, and making a sudden rush at the bells of arms, recovered their muskets and fired at once upon their own officers and upon the advancing Europeans, retiring at the same time within their lines, and thence keeping up a brisk fire upon the Europeans."

Another writer, describing the foregoing events in a letter from Bangalore, says—"I told you how gallantly our Madras fusiliers, from Y——'s regiment have behaved; 100 of them, under Colonel Neill, killed 650 mutineers. I saw a letter from one of the officers yesterday. He says, that no imagination can depict the scenes he witnessed when he arrived at Benares. All the troops were in a state of revolt. They saved Benares. The whole of the Bengal officers were paralysed with terror and astonishment; so Colonel Neill assumed command, and proceeded to the most summary measures, cutting off whole regiments. All the ladies were crowded into one room, with wounded and dying men, and from the window the sight that greeted our eyes was a row of gallowses, on which the energetic colonel was hanging mutineer after mutineer, as they were brought in."

A corporal of her majesty's 10th regiment gave the following interesting details of the mutiny, in a letter to some friends in England. Dating from Benares, June 24th, he says—"A detachment of my regiment, consisting of 150 men, under the command of my captain, was sent up to Benares. We left Dinapore on the 22nd of May, by steam, and arrived on the 31st. Everything remained quiet until the afternoon of the 4th of June, when word was brought that the sepoys were going to give us a clipping that night. We were ordered to load; and, shortly after, we fell in on the parade-ground with the artillery and thirty men of the 1st fusiliers, who were the covering party for the guns. We marched down the 37th native infantry lines. The moment they got us about fifty yards to their lines, they opened fire on us, killing

four of my company and wounding ten: but they suffered for it; for never did a body of men in the British army fire so quick and with such precision: we were well applauded by every officer on the ground. The Sikh regiment turned on the artillery; but you never saw such a sight in your life; they were mowed down, and got several rounds of grapeshot into them when out of our range. Well, the next job was the cavalry; but they killed their officer, Major Guise, before we got any chance of touching them, which we did in gallant style. I'll just tell you the number of European fighting-men on that evening—merely 200, fighting against 1,300 sepoys; and that accounts for their showing such courage in murdering women and children. But I am happy to tell you no European was injured in Benares, except the men who were engaged. We went round the station, and fetched in all the ladies and children. The only murder committed—which I was nearly forgetting—was our apothecary, Jackson; who was coming down from the hospital with a box of implements for the doctor, when he was knocked over by a dozen bullets. The affair with the sepoys lasted from half-past four to half-past seven o'clock P.M.; but we got no rest that night. I was nearly catching it myself after escaping on the plain. I went on to the main guard belonging to the 37th native infantry. We brought out all the killed and wounded sepoys of the guard, and threw them on the plain. We thought everything was quiet in the guard-room; but one of my sentries cried out, that there was a sepoy under one of the cots. I went to where the cot was, turned it over, and saw a 37th sepoy lying there. I asked him who he was, in his own language; 'Toom Koon, hi sepoy,' says he. I then says, 'Koonpultan, what regiment?' and he said, 'Burrel, ka pultan,' at the same time cocking his piece; but I was not to be got easy, so I gave the contents of my piece to him, and he died almost instantly, heaping curses on the Gorah soldiers in the country. Well, the next affair we had was on July 6th, with a body of the mutineers encamped about five miles from our intrenchments. You must know that Benares is a holy city, one that never was besieged. We were the first who ever fired a shot in Benares in anger. Well, a body of us went out with two guns, and gave them another beating. We set fire to the village, and took forty prisoners, whom we tied together, and a company was ordered up to them, who shot and bayoneted every one of them. We came off without any loss. This disturbance will cause us to remain a few years longer out. The duty is very hard; the men get two nights in bed; but the non-commissioned officer don't get one. You come off day guard, and you are named for night guard. With sixty rounds on your back and a loaded musket, in the hot season, is not very pleasant, I can assure you."

The lifelike tone of the following descriptive sketch of the circumstances connected with the mutiny at Benares, will atone for the length of the communication, which is from an officer whose arrival in India had immediately preceded the occurrences mentioned, although he had not reached Benares until the 22nd of the month. The letter is dated from the Mint, Benares, June 26th, and runs thus:—"I arrived here after a very pleasant journey of 350 miles in carts without springs, drawn by bullocks; and when these animals could not be got, then by natives, of whom there usually were eleven or twelve to each cart. We travel during the night (to avoid the heat of the day), starting at about five or six o'clock in the evening, and halting at seven or eight in the morning, resting during the heat of the day in the bungalows. These are halting-places built by the government for the use of travellers; and in each are kept two or three servants to cook our victuals, consisting for the most part of chickens and bad bread. We generally accomplished from twenty-five to thirty miles a-night. We were twelve days in performing the journey from Calcutta to Benares. We were quartered in the church here till last night, when we removed to the Mint. Troops are coming into this city so fast, that they are obliged to make use of every building in the place. I expect the detachment I am with will be sent off either to-night or to-morrow night. We are all moving up to Allahabad, about seventy or eighty miles from here. There a column is to form, which will be joined by the forces coming down from Delhi; and then it is supposed all will proceed to Lucknow, and scour the whole province of Oude. I should think, that before long there will not be such a thing as a sepoy left. We are getting the upper hand of them.

"I dare say, that by the time you get this letter, you will have read accounts of some of the atrocities and enormities committed by the mutineers; but you may rest assured that you have not heard of the worst, by a long, long way. A description of the outrages will never appear in print. They are of too harrowing and barbarous a character for that. They have not appeared in the papers here. The female portion of their victims have been treated in a more horribly brutal way than has ever been seen or heard of. You may some day hear a recital of some of the worst of the outrages perpetrated on our poor countrywomen, but you will never see them in print.

"From the last station before reaching Benares we brought fifteen of the villains. They had been captured by the native police of the station. I arrived there just in time to see them examined. They had each got from 200 to 400 rupees' worth of gold and silver ornaments, such as nose rings, ear ornaments, armlets, and anklets; as well as forty-one rupees each in money. The nose rings are made of the purest gold, and about three or four inches in diameter, and set with diamonds and other precious stones. These are worn by the women through the septum of the nose, and hang over the mouth. These and the ear ornaments had evidently been torn out of the flesh of their victims. One of them had seven pairs of gold armlets, worth about fifty or sixty rupees a pair. The chief evidence against them was their possession of a cap ornament belonging to the 11th native infantry, the first regiment that mutinied; and then a quantity of women's and children's clothing, saturated with blood.

"The night after my arrival here we had a little diversion in the shape of a turn-out. As our major, a lieutenant, and myself were sitting enjoying our cigars over a cup of coffee after dinner, about nine in the evening, a corporal came in hastily, and told us we were to get under arms and go down to the bridge immediately. Within ten minutes we were marching down to the spot. This was sharp work, considering that nearly all the men were asleep when the order came. The 78th were also ordered out, and we were at the bridge twenty minutes before they got there; and the artillery with the two guns were half-an-hour after us. There were from 500 to 600 men out that night. We were all loaded, and the artillery had their portfires burning ready for work. After standing there about an hour, the officer in command thought the men might as well lie down till they saw some sign or heard some sound of danger. The men grounded their arms, and lay down beside them. We did the same. We all lay there till about three o'clock in the morning, having been amused during the night; first by a storm of dust, and then a shower of rain. The cause of our being called out so suddenly, was a report that reached us, that 2,500 of the revolted sepoys were marching upon Benares, and were within five miles of it; and as the bridge was the only way by which they could get to the cantonments, that was the reason of our being posted there. As the road from the bridge is quite straight for a considerable distance, our guns would have given the rascals a most delightful peppering. But they did not show themselves, and I think acted wisely. They know better than to attack us fairly. The only chance we shall have of touching them will be by marching right upon them. All the ladies and gentlemen (English) of Benares come to sleep in the Mint at night, and go home again in the morning.

"Benares is a very large city. It has a great number of very fine temples, several of which got shattered during the tumult. According to the ideas of some races, this city is the most sacred in India. The natives come hundreds of miles merely to bathe in the Ganges here. The scenery in coming up from Calcutta, particularly after the first 120 miles, is most magnificent. The jungles are of immense extent, and the roads, in some parts, abound with tigers, leopards, and deer of every kind. It is now dreadfully hot. The rains which, according to observation, ought to have begun to fall on the 10th inst., have not yet visited the soil. Many apprehend a famine; for till the rains come the seed cannot be got into the ground. But the most disagreeable of all things to bear are the hot winds. There is no getting rid of them, except by keeping in the house, and shutting all the doors and windows as close as possible. We are obliged to keep the punkah going night and day, and use kuskus tatties. These are made of the kusks, a scented grass, made to fit the doors, and kept constantly wet by three or four natives throwing water on them. From the excessive heat, we all get what is called the

'prickly heat,' the skin being covered all over the body with little pimples, and these in time run on to boils. I am now almost unable either to sit or lie from this cause. I was obliged to leave nearly all my things in Calcutta. The only articles of uniform I brought with me were a shell-jacket, foraging-cap, and sword; and the sword my servant managed to drop into the Hooghly at starting. I carry a Colt about with me instead. Revolvers, while there were any in Calcutta, sold for £14, £16, and £18 a-piece. At present there is not a firearm of any kind, pay what you will for it. They have all been bought up long ago. I have got a tulwar from one of the rascals we brought from Nowbutpore. I should like to send it you home; but there is no chance of doing so at present, for all the luggage-carts are being used for carrying troops, and not a single parcel can be sent either way."

The Rev. Mr. Kennedy, to whose graphic pen the history of the mutiny in India is much indebted for many valuable and interesting reminiscences of the period, says, in a letter from Benares, of the 29th of June—"We have had many ups and downs since I wrote last;* but, thanks to the Divine goodness, we are still in safety; and though it is well nigh impossible to have a feeling of security, we think our position is daily improving. The country in the immediate neighbourhood is settling down into quietness. For several days, so far as we know, there has been no plundering or murdering within several miles of our city. For this comparative impunity, when the greater part of the country is in a blaze, we are indebted under God to several things. 1. We have no native soldiers worth naming to keep us in dread; while we have a very considerable body of European troops, to whom daily additions are made. Not a day passes without several arriving. They are being constantly posted on, and yet we have from 600 to 700 always here, with six large guns. The dread of the European soldiers has fallen remarkably on the people since the engagement on June 4th. They think them demons in human form; and to this opinion our safety is in a degree traceable. 2. We have an officer of great vigour in command of the station, in whom all have confidence. 3. Our judge is a man greatly feared by the people; and during this crisis he has done most excellent service. For daring vigour he has few equals; his name is a proverb for swift, stern justice. There are, of course, thousands in this city set on mischief; and the dread of this one man has done more to keep them quiet than anything else. The result is, that the city, notwithstanding its well-known turbulence in even peaceful times, remains astonishingly quiet. Many of the people are petrified with fear of our soldiers being let loose on them. Our head magistrate, also, is well spoken of by the community. 4. The gibbet is, I must acknowledge, a standing institution among us at present. There it stands, immediately in front of the flagstaff, with three ropes always attached to it, so that three may be executed at one time. Two additional gibbets were erected, with three ropes to each; but they have been taken down. Scarcely a day passes without some poor wretches being hurled into eternity. It is horrible, very horrible! To think of it is enough to make one's blood run cold; but such is the state of things here, that even fine delicate ladies may be heard expressing their joy at the vigour with which the miscreants are dealt with. The swiftness with which crime is followed by the severest punishment strikes the people with astonishment, it is so utterly foreign to all our modes of procedure, as known to them. Hitherto the process has been very slow, encumbered with forms; and such cases have always been carried to the supreme court for final decision. Now, the commissioner of Benares may give commissions to any he chooses (the city being under martial law), to try, decide, and execute on the spot, without any delay, and without any reference. The other day, a party was sent out to Gopigang, some thirty miles distant, to seize a landholder who had proclaimed himself rajah, and two men said to be his ministers. The three men were surprised and taken. They were tried on the spot by a commission composed of five military and civil officers. After a short trial, the three were condemned to be executed then and there. The rajah and the others protested they were innocent, and appealed to the *suddur* (the supreme court.) They were told there was no appeal to the suddur in these days. To their utter amazement and horror, preparations were made for their execution before their own door; and before the sun

* See *ante*, p. 230.

went down they were executed. Whatever may be thought of such doings, one thing is certain, that these executions have struck terror into the hearts of the marauders in this district, and have done much to awe them into better conduct. Roads near us, in which people were hourly plundered a fortnight ago, are now quite safe."

Order being restored at Benares by the energetic conduct of Lieutenant-colonel Neill, that officer, on the 9th of June, proceeded, with a detachment of his fusiliers, amounting altogether to six officers and 157 rank and file, to Allahabad; where, on receiving intelligence of the occurrences at Benares, the troops had burst into open revolt, and committed the most scandalous outrages. Lieutenant-colonel Neill, as before observed, had assumed the command of the station on his first arrival, thereby virtually superseding Brigadier Ponsonby, whose state of health incapacitated him for an active discharge of the important duties required of him. On the departure of the former officer, he had delegated the command to Lieutenant-colonel Gordon, pending the approval of government. The consequence of this irregular, but obviously necessary proceeding, was to place the actual command in a state of uncertainty, that could not fail to be detrimental to the military arrangements of the station at such a crisis; and on the 12th of June, the following telegram was forwarded, from the officer commanding at Benares, to the secretary to the government:—"Is the command of Benares to be made over to each senior officer in succession, on arrival, or to be retained by one officer; if so, the officer to command had better be named by government? An early reply is requested, Lieutenant-colonel Reid, said to be senior to Lieutenant-colonel Gordon, having arrived at Benares. Major Renaud, 1st Madras fusiliers, an experienced judge-advocate, has been appointed to act as such at Benares; I request that this be sanctioned; and as there is a great deal of court-martial work on hand, that I be permitted to detain him at Benares, on the departure of the rest of his regiment to-morrow afternoon towards Allahabad; there are plenty of officers with the 1st Madras fusiliers, and Colonel Neill made no objection to my appointing Major Renaud deputy judge-advocate-general."

To this application, forwarded at half-past 11 A.M., the following reply was telegraphed from Calcutta at half-past five of the same day:—"Lieutenant-colonel Gordon is appointed to command the Benares district, in the room of Brigadier Ponsonby. More by post. The command is not to be made over to any senior officer who may arrive at the station. You are authorised to detain Major Renaud, of the 1st Madras fusiliers, who is appointed to act as deputy judge-advocate-general at Benares." A message from Allahabad on the 16th, announced the safe arrival, at that place, on the 11th instant, of Colonel Neill, with his reinforcement.

An officer, writing from Benares on the 24th of June, reports the state of the place at that period thus:—"All right. On Monday night the Mint was crowded with panic-stricken ladies and civilians. I saw no reason for changing my quarters, but took the precaution of loading two pistol barrels and a musket in presence of my host's numerous khitmutgurs, lest they might think of violence. These my bearer saw me array, along with my sword, by my bedside; and I need hardly add, that saving by an unconscious musk rat, my slumbers were undisturbed till the morning. The day passed quietly along, and, the inconveniences of the crowded Mint beginning to tell, three ladies and an infant resolved to spend the night in this bungalow, rendered confident by its close proximity to the church, where a guard of about a hundred soldiers are always quartered. We had scarcely retired to rest when the officer in command at the church abruptly entered my room, and advised me to hurry off the ladies to the Mint, as an armed force was close upon Benares. With all haste I got the terrified ladies packed into the buggy, and drove to the Mint, where every person was in a state of excitement. The troops were all got under arms; and my arm, fortunately, was strong enough to permit me to take my place beside them. The civilians manned the terraces with their rifles, and would no doubt have done good service had an enemy appeared. But all remained perfectly quiet, and is likely to do so until the end of the world. We are now in our bungalows; and, the 'fatal' 23rd being over, many a one is more comfortable than when its fancied horrors lay before them. The rains are about to commence—indeed, we have had several showers. Cholera has made its appearance to a slight, but sometimes fatal, extent among our troops. The

rains, it is expected, will at once put a stop to this."

The exact strength of the gallant little band with which Lieutenant-colonel Neill saved Benares, was as follows:—Artillery—3 guns, 1 officer, 30 privates; her majesty's 10th regiment—3 officers and 150 privates; Madras fusiliers—3 officers and 60 privates: total—3 guns, 7 officers, 240 privates.

Matters continued quiet at Benares for some time, and energy was beginning to flag for want of excitement; when, about the 22nd of June, information was received at head-quarters, that a number of the rebels were encamped in a position some thirty miles from the city; and it was immediately resolved to dislodge them. Consequently, at seven o'clock in the evening of the 26th, a detachment of troops, consisting of 200 of the 78th highlanders, the whole of the Loodiana regiment, and 30 sowars of the 13th irregular cavalry, left Benares in search of the rebels. The result of the expedition is thus described in a letter from Benares of the 29th of June. After noticing the object of the expedition and the arrival of the troops at the rebel camp, the writer says—"The rascals, of course, fled for life on the approach of the gallant highlanders. You will, however, be gratified to learn, that 24 of the rebels were cut up by the cavalry and infantry, 23 caught and hung on the spot, 20 villages razed to the ground, and from 40 to 50 villagers flogged, in order to cool their thieving propensities. A few days before the detachment left, the magistrate offered a reward of 1,000 rupees for the head or person of the leader of the rebels, who is well known to the natives; yet such is their hatred towards us and strong propensity to plunder, which perhaps in many cases overrules the former, that not one would give him up. The troops, fortunately, got scent of the rascal, and caught him in a village yesterday; he was questioned about the plunder which he and his companions are believed to have, and which is said to amount to *two lacs* of rupees. He tried to gain time, in order to effect his escape, by taking them to a wrong place, and giving them false information about the plunder and his confederates: but his captors were not to be cajoled; he was hung up on a tree to keep *nine* others company that had been hung there the same morning. Several of those that were hung by the troops were identified as having been connected with the atrocious murder of an officer and his wife. The detachment returned to the camp about six o'clock this morning, in high spirits."

The following interesting narrative of the occurrences at Benares during the latter days of the month of June, has been furnished by a soldier of the 78th highlanders. It is effective and characteristic, and worthy of preservation. The writer says—"We arrived at Benares on the 25th of June, a distance of 421 miles, in eight days and nine nights. On the evening of the 27th of June, there were 240 of the 78th (I was one of them), and 100 of the Sikhs, and 30 of the sowars—that is, native cavalry—went out of Benares in carts, except the horsemen. At 3 o'clock P.M., next day, we were divided in three lots to scour the country. The division I was in went to a village, which was deserted. We set fire to it and burned it to the ground. We were coming back, when a gentleman came to us, and said, that a village over about two miles was full of them, and they were drawn up to give us battle. We marched, or rather ran to them; we got within 300 yards of them, when they ran. We fired after them, and shot eight of them. We were going to the village, when a man came running out to us, and up with his hand and saluted our officer. We shouted, that he was a sepoy, and to seize him. He was taken, and about twelve more. We came back to the carts on the road, and an old man came to us, and wanted to be paid for the village we had burned. We had a magistrate with us, who found he had been harbouring the villains and giving them arms and food. Five minutes settled it; the sepoy and the man that wanted money were taken to the roadside, and hanged to a branch of a tree. We lay on the road all night beside the two men hanging. Next morning, we got up and marched some miles through the fields, the rain pouring down in torrents. We came to another village, set fire to it, and came back to the road. During this time, the other divisions were not idle. They had done as much as us. When we came back, the water was running in at our necks, and coming out at our heels. There were about eighty prisoners; six were hung that day, and about sixty of them flogged. After that, the magistrate said, that there was a Holdar that he would give 2,000 rupees to get, dead or alive. We slept on the road



that night, and the six men hanging beside us. At 5 o'clock P.M. the bugle sounded 'fall-in.' The rain came down in torrents. We fell-in, and off we marched, up to the knees in clay and water. We came to a village and set it on fire. The sun came out, and we got dry; but we soon got wet again with sweat. We came to a large village, and it was full of people. We took about 200 of them out, and set fire to it. I went in, and it was all in flames. I saw an old man trying to trail out a bed. He was not able to walk, far less to carry out the cot. I ordered him out of the village, and pointed to the flames, and told him, as well as I could, that if he did not he would be burned. I took the cot, and dragged him out. I came round a corner of a street or lane, and could see nothing but smoke and flames. I stood for a moment to think which way I should go. Just as I was looking round, I saw the flames bursting out of the walls of a house, and, to my surprise, observed a little boy, about four years old, looking out at the door. I pointed the way out to the old man, and told him if he did not go I would shoot him. I then rushed to the house I saw the little boy at. The door was by that time in flames. I thought not of myself, but of the poor helpless child. I rushed in, and after I got in, there was a sort of square, and all round this were houses, and they were all in flames; and instead of seeing the helpless child, I beheld six children from eight to two years old, an old dotal woman, an old man, not able to walk without help, and a young woman, about twenty years old, with a child wrapped up in her bosom. I am sure the child was not above five or six hours old. The mother was in a hot fever. I stood and looked; but looking at that time would not do. I tried to get the little boys to go away, but they would not. I took the infant; the mother would have it; so I gave it back. I then took the woman and her infant in my arms to carry her and her babe out. The children led the old woman and old man. I took the lead, knowing they would follow. I came to a place that it was impossible to see whereabouts I was, for the flames. I dashed through, and called on the others to follow. After a hard struggle, I got them all safe out, but that was all. Even coming through the fire, part of their clothes, that did not cover half of their body, was burned. I set them down in the field, and went in at another place. I saw nothing but flames all round. A little further I saw a poor old woman trying to come out. She could not walk; she only could creep on her hands and feet. I went up to her, and told her I would carry her out; but no, she would not allow me to do it; but, when I saw it was no use to trifle with her, I took her up in my arms and carried her out. I went in at the other end, and came across a woman about twenty-two years old. She was sitting over a man that, to all appearance, would not see the day out. She was wetting his lips with some *siste*. The fire was coming fast, and the others all round were in flames. Not far from this I saw four women. I ran up to them, and asked them to come and help the sick man and woman out; but they thought they had enough to do; and so they had, poor things; but, to save the woman and the dying man, I drew my bayonet, and told them if they did not I would kill them. They came, carried them out, and laid them under a tree. I left them. To look on, any one would have said that the flames were in the clouds. When I went to the other side of the village, there were about 140 women and about sixty children all crying and lamenting what had been done. The old woman of that small family I took out, came to me, and I thought she would have kissed the ground I stood on. I offered them some biscuit I had for my day's rations; but they would not take it; it would break their caste, they said. The 'assemble' sounded, and back I went with as many blessings as they could pour out on anything nearest their heart. Out of the prisoners that were taken, the man for whom the 2,000 rupees were offered was taken by us for nothing. We hanged ten of them on the spot, and flogged a great many—about sixty. We burned another village that night. Oh, if you had seen the ten march round the grove, and seen them looking the same as if nothing was going to happen to them! There was one of them fell; the rope broke, and down he came. He rose up, and looked all around; he was hung up again. After they were hanged, all the others were taken round to see them. Then we came marching back to the carts. Left Benares with few on the 6th of July, or rather the night of the 5th. We had to turn out and lie with our belts on. On the 6th we, numbering 180, went out against 2,000. We came up close to them; they

were drawn up in three lines; it looked too many for us, but on we dashed, and in a short time they began to run. We set fire to a large village that was full of them; we surrounded it, and as they came rushing out of the flames, shot them. We took eighteen of them prisoners; they were all tied together, and we fired a volley at them and shot them on the spot. We came home that night, after marching twenty miles, and fighting nearly thirty to one. In this country, we are told that we had killed 500 of them; our loss was one man and one horse killed, and one man and one horse wounded."

JUANPORE.—Disheartened by the severe punishment they met with at Benares, the mutineers of the 37th regiment hastened towards Juanpore, a town situated about forty miles north-west of the former city, and formerly the capital of an independent state. Upon receiving intelligence of their approach, the European residents assembled at the Cutcherry, or office of the collector, and proceeded to make preparations for their safety and defence. On appealing to the soldiers upon guard at the collectorate, the latter, formed of a company of Sikhs, were loud in their protestations of loyalty, and swore to defend the *Sahib loge* (English gentlemen) to the last drop of their blood. A few seconds proved the utter worthlessness of their oaths; for as the Europeans turned from them to enter the building, one of the men took deliberate aim at Lieutenant Mard, commanding the guard, and shot him in the back! The unfortunate officer fell into the arms of a gentleman near him, who succeeded in carrying him into one of the apartments, and laid him upon the floor writhing with agony. Satisfied for the moment with this their first act of perfidy, the traitors fired a volley over the heads of the terrified dependents on their mercy, and then, without further violence, went off to plunder the treasury, that they might share its contents among themselves before the arrival of the mutineers from Benares. On their way to the treasury, the rebel band passed the gaol, where they met the civil magistrate, a Mr. Cuppage, who attempted to remonstrate with them upon the folly of their proceedings, not being aware of the murder they had so recently perpetrated. Impatient at his interference, the excitement of the mutineers was at once directed against the magistrate, whom they shot while yet speaking to them; and, leaving the corpse to the mercy of the budmashes and rabble of the town, hastened to accomplish the work of plunder Meanwhile, the Europeans at the Cutcherry, relieved of their presence, availed themselves of the opportunity to escape; and, risking the uncertain perils of the road rather than the certain destruction that awaited them on the return of the mutineers, fled, in such conveyances as they could procure at the moment, to Zjufferabad, on the Ganges, in the direction of Benares, where they sought refuge and conveyance by the native boats. The two most distressing incidents of this outbreak, were those of the deaths of Lieutenant Mard, and of his unfortunate wife, who was seized by an apoplectic fit on witnessing the fall of her husband. The lieutenant being too severely wounded to move, was unavoidably, for the preservation of the whole, left by his companions to die alone; and his treatment by the rebels, on their return to the Cutcherry, may be conjectured from their general conduct in reference to the wounded and dying that lay in the path of their cowardly vengeance.

It was most providential that the road taken by the fugitives from Juanpore was not the direct route to Benares, along which the full torrent of revolt was pouring at the moment of their flight, and overwhelming, in its fury, everything of European association that it came in contact with. The sowars of the irregular cavalry, and the sepoys of the 37th regiment, had determined to cut off every man, woman, and child belonging to the race they feared and hated; and had the Juanpore exiles been met with on their way, the slaughter of the whole would have been certain. As it was, their narrow escape was not unattended with peril and increasing anxiety. They had, as observed, engaged some native boats at Zjufferabad to go down the Ganges on their way to Benares; but they had not proceeded far before the boatmen, who now had the whole party completely in their power, commenced plundering them; and, having obtained whatever of money or jewels they possessed, they refused to proceed further, and compelled the distressed fugitives to go on shore, where they left them to make their way to Benares as they could. Fortunately, they were not very far from a native village in which a police station was established; and having at

length succeeded in reaching it, they obtained an escort and safe conveyance to the city of refuge.

A letter from a clergyman at Benares, refers to this Juanpore affair as follows:—"You will be glad to hear that the Reuthers from Juanpore, with Mr. J. Cæsar (the catechist) and his wife, are safe, and in Benares. On Thursday, the 4th, the discomfited mutineers from Benares set off for Juanpore. At eight on Friday, the 5th, two or three indigo planters rode at full speed into the Reuthers' compound, exclaiming, 'Fly for your lives! the sepoys are upon us!' They hurried off at once to the Cutcherry, where all the residents were assembled. The 37th first came up, and seem to have been afraid to attack them. Meanwhile, Mr. Cæsar was walking with Captain Mard, who commanded the Sikhs at Juanpore. Mrs. Cæsar said, 'The 37th are upon us!' 'The 37th!' said Captain Mard; 'what have we to fear from the 37th? our own men will keep them off.' Mr. Cæsar had scarcely left him, when he was struck by a ball from the Sikhs—staggered a few steps, and fell. It seems the Sikhs were afraid to rob the treasury till they had shot their officer. Then they began to pillage, and the residents took that opportunity to be off. Before they went, the Sikhs had come up, and fired in at all the windows of the Cutcherry, and they were obliged to lie down on the floor, the bullets whizzing over their heads. Mr. Cæsar saw the magistrate, Mr. Cuppage, lying dead in front of the gaol door. After most had escaped, up came the sowars, on whom we had been relying for our lives at Benares, until the arrival of the English troops. They had vowed to murder every European. They came to the deputy collector, an old East Indian. Both Hindoos and Mussulmans got around him, and said, 'Do him no harm; he has always been kind and just to us.'—'Can't help it,' said the sowars, 'he is a European.' They then repeated this to a sergeant and his wife, though the people pleaded for them, and said they were very kind and inoffensive. 'Can't help it,' was the reply, 'they are Europeans, and shall die.'"

At every successive stage of this military revolt, the fact of a deep-seated and wide-spread feeling of hatred and unappeasable revenge for an assumed wrong, is more plainly developed. The desire for plunder was but of secondary influence in producing the calamities to which the European residents of the various stations were exposed; and the native yearning for vengeance at length acquired a strength and force that could only be satisfied by an indiscriminate slaughter of the unoffending, innocent, and the presumed or pretended guilty.

Another letter, dated June 13th, describes, in almost similar terms, the incidents of this revolt. The writer says—"At Juanpore, the Europeans came badly off. We were much interested in them, as Mrs. P——, our late Chunar bride, was there with her husband. The first news they had of the outbreak was of the post being stopped on Friday, the 5th; then some indigo planters came riding in, and said that the 37th were close at hand, whereupon they all went to the Cutcherry, or collector's office. The 2nd company of Sikhs, stationed there, swore to defend them with their last drop of blood; and, as they walked into the Cutcherry, one of the blackguards shot Captain Mard through the back. They took him in and shut the doors, and laid him down on the floor, while the Sikhs kept firing in above their heads, and another party of them seized the treasure (some £25,000), and walked off with it; then the English came out, left poor Mard dying, and got into their carriages and drove away. They had to leave the Benares-road as the 13th cavalry were coming along it; and they kept knocking about the country till Tuesday, when a party from here fetched them in. Of course, during these four days they underwent great hardships, and were in perpetual danger of their lives; so you may fancy how welcome the English cheers sounded in their ears. Cuppage, the magistrate, was killed by a Sikh; and Mrs. Mard died of apoplexy; but the rest of the party got in safe."

As time progressed, circumstances threw further light upon the outbreaks at Bareilly, Shahjehanpore, Lucknow, and Moradabad, which clearly established the fact, that an arrangement had existed between the troops at those four stations, for the outburst of the revolt at each on the same day. The serious consequences that resulted from the movement at Shahjehanpore,* will warrant a further reference to that fatal occurrence; and the subjoined details are narrated by a native servant, who was present throughout the whole affair.

It has already been noticed, that a

* See *ante*, p. 180.

decided spirit of disaffection was exhibited by the sepoys of the 28th Bengal native infantry, on the night of Saturday, the 30th of May; but by management, the serious extent of the evil was effectually concealed from their officers, and on the following day the European residents attended divine worship at church as usual. The project of the conspirators was to surround the church and massacre the whole congregation; but some of the parties concerned were too impatient to wait until the middle of the service, when all would have arrived, and they might have been massacred without exception. Thus, the service had scarcely commenced before the mutineers congregated round the church, and called upon those within to come out to them, threatening, in case of delay, to fetch them out by force. The clergyman was the first who came out to remonstrate with the soldiers. He was instantly attacked, but escaped their fury with the loss of one hand. The collector, Mr. Ricketts, sought safety by hasty flight, but was pursued, and murdered in his own verandah, which he had succeeded in reaching. This gentleman had excited the particular hatred of the mutineers by changing the guard over the treasury, and in this way prevented the men of the 28th sharing the plunder among themselves alone. A Mr. Labadoor, a writer, was murdered in the church: in the confusion, his wife and sister, with the band-master, made their escape for a time, but eventually were reserved for a fate worse than death. Captain James, then in command of the 28th, was shot whilst endeavouring to reason with his men. They asserted that they were not such great traitors, for they had served the government faithfully for twenty years. As he turned away in disgust, they shot him. The clergyman, severely wounded as he was, hid himself in the river with a writer, Mr. Smith. The latter, towards the evening, went to the house of Mr. Ricketts; was there found by the sepoys, and murdered. The chaplain, seeing men weeding in the fields, thought that they might be induced to help him. He accordingly left his hiding-place, and offered them money if they would assist him in reaching some place of safety. No sooner did they see the money than they rushed upon the unfortunate man with their sticks, and knocking him down, commenced beating him to death. His cries attracted the attention of a Pathan in a neighbouring village, who, armed with a sword, rushed up and severed his head from his body. The assistant-magistrate, Mr. Smith, was shot by the sepoys in the verandah of his Cutcherry, where he had fled for safety. Dr. Bowling had been allowed to visit the hospital unmolested; but on his return, after the commencement of the outbreak, and when he was endeavouring to escape with his wife, child, and a European servant, he was shot by the sepoys. He was seated on the coach-box, and fell rolling to the ground. Mrs. Bowling was wounded in the forehead by a bullet, but joined some other fugitives, who, under an escort of fifteen sepoys and an havildar, were endeavouring to make off. It was but for a little time that these sepoys remained faithful; directly the plunder commenced they deserted their charge, and joined their comrades in sacking the treasury. It was the intention of the fugitives to escape towards Lucknow, since, if they attempted to reach the hills, they would be compelled to run the gauntlet of the native regiments stationed at Bareilly, Phillibheet, and other of the north-west stations. Those who escaped from the station succeeded in reaching the residence of the friendly rajah of Poorbyah, who lent them his elephant, and sent some of his men to escort them to the fort of Mohumdee, which was about thirty or forty miles distant. As the fugitives were sadly in want of money—the ladies especially being but half-clothed—Mrs. Bowling sold her carriage and horses to the rajah for 1,000 rupees; and upon this sum the fugitives were to subsist for a while. The following is a list of those who left the rajah's palace for Mohumdee:—Captain Sneyd, Captain and Mrs. Lysaght, Lieutenant Johnstone, Lieutenant and Mrs. Key, Lieutenants Scott and Rutherford, Mrs. Scott and Miss Scott, the wife and sister of Dr. Scott; Mrs. Bowling and child, with Mrs. Pereira, her servant; Mr. and Mrs. Lillie; the assistant-quartermaster, his wife, and three children. There were thus, in all, eight men, eight ladies, and four children. They arrived at Mohumdee in safety, and sent for dhoolies and bearers from Seetapore. These came on the second day after the despatch had been sent; but with them arrived two companies of the 41st native infantry; and some more bearers being required, the fugitives were compelled to wait another day at Mohumdee; and it was

not till the morning of the 6th of June that they prepared to depart. At nine o'clock on that day a third company of sepoys arrived, bringing with them a proclamation, which stated that the rule of the Company was over. Upon this a fearful tumult ensued. The treasury of Mohumdee was looted, bungalows were burnt, and the prisoners set free. Still the fugitives were not as yet molested, for the sepoys had taken a solemn oath on the water of the Ganges not in any way to harm them. But this safety did not last for long. All the fugitives and others, including Captain Orr, Mr. Thomason, and many other married and unmarried residents of Mohumdee, were ordered to appear outside the fort. They made their appearance, and the sepoys told them that the country had reverted from the British, and that it belonged now to the sepoys. The latter further pretended that they had received orders to convey the whole party to Seetapore. The fugitives accordingly set out on their journey, the ladies seated on country carts, and the men on foot. At night they all encamped on a plain. A hut was set up for the women; but the men were, of course, compelled to remain without shelter. Captain Sneyd ordered his own men to mount guard, but the sepoys of the 41st ejected them by force. On the following morning the march was renewed. As they neared the Goomtee river, a sepoy was heard approaching and calling out, "Victory, victory!" This was the signal that the Europeans at Seetapore had been massacred. The cry was at once taken up by all the sepoys present; and those who had empty muskets began to load. It was a frightful moment. The Christians of the party knew that they had heard in this treacherous yell their death-cry. The ladies sprang from the carts, and clung swooning to their husbands and brothers. Immediately volley after volley was poured in upon this band of fugitives, who died calling upon God for help, and upon their countrymen to revenge their blood. The rajah of Poorbyah still remained well-disposed, and did what little was left in his power. He had all those who were murdered at Shahjehanpore buried near the church. Those who were murdered on the banks of the Goomtee were buried by a tehseeldar.

SULTANPORE.—Resuming the continuous thread of events associated with the revolt in the north-west division of the presidency of Bengal, we arrive at Sultanpore, a town of minor importance in the Oude territory, situate about thirty-four miles south of the ancient city of Ayoda, or Oudee. At this place, the troops, consisting of a portion of the 13th Bengal irregular cavalry and native police, had mutinied early in the morning of Tuesday, the 9th of June, and their first act of blood was the murder of Colonel Fisher and Captain Gibbings, of the 15th irregular cavalry, the first of whom was shot by some of the native police while out walking, unconscious of the danger that surrounded him. Messrs. Block and Strogan, of the civil service, were also killed by the mutineers shortly after the commencement of the revolt; but the rest of the European residents, amounting to forty-five men, women, and children, were enabled to effect their escape to Bela, a town about forty-five miles W.N.W. of Cawnpore, where a troop of the 3rd irregular cavalry, under Lieutenant Grant, had proceeded some days previous from Sultanpore, for the purpose of collecting revenue. From this station they were, after some difficulty, forwarded to Allahabad, which they at length reached in safety, but with the loss of everything they possessed of value, of which they were mercilessly deprived by marauding parties whom they met with on their route. The affair seems to have been of secondary importance, except as regards the blood shed at the commencement of the outbreak; and the following letter from the wife of Lieutenant C. Tucker, of the then late 15th irregular cavalry, appears to be the only document to which reference can be made for any further information on the subject. This lady, writing from Benares on the 27th of June, says—"About eight o'clock on Tuesday morning, poor Colonel Fisher, while out, was shot through the body by the native police. My husband (Lieutenant C. Tucker) directly went to him, and, after much trouble, persuaded some men to get him into a dhooly. He said he was dying; but T—— took out the ball, and gave him some water. He then tried to persuade the regiment to come near their colonel, but no one would obey any order. They were all under some trees close to our house. A party of them then made a rush at Captain Gibbings, who was on horseback at a little distance, and killed him; and then the men shouted to T—— to go away.

"The ladies from Sultanpore all escaped.

Only four people were killed there—namely, Colonel Fisher, Captain Gibbings, Mr. Block, and Mr. Strogan; the latter was one of those who were married when we were there. I am very sorry for his wife. Mr. Block was the only other married man of the four. All the houses in Sultanpore were burnt by the mutineers. They stole two or three boxes out of our house first, the groom said, and then burnt it; so we have lost everything, except what I happened to have with me here and the carriage and horses, which had taken away some of the ladies, and the horse that T—— was riding. My husband now found it was all over, and so rode off. Three men rode after him about a mile, and then returned. He thinks they must have wished to spare him, as they could easily have done anything they liked; but he was, I believe, a great favourite with the wing he commanded at Seetapore. He rode some distance, and then got into a jungle, where he stayed a great part of the day; but he had first gone into a village, with one of his grooms who had got his mare, and who said he would take care of him; but T—— found out that he meant to betray him, so he rode off.

"Only fancy how dreadful it was for him to be wandering about in the heat of the day, not knowing where to go, and getting people to give him water to drink at wells, and at last drinking it out of little streams, he was so terribly thirsty. At last, about four o'clock in the afternoon, he asked a man whom he saw for some water, and also if he could protect him, for he and his horse were both getting knocked up. The man said he would, and took him into his village and afterwards to his master, who lived in a native fort, and who was the principal person in the place; and there my husband stayed until the party from here went to fetch him. His escape was most providential, for he did not know the people about there. On the evening of the day I sent off your letters (my birthday, the 14th) one of the coolies I had sent with a letter to Sultanpore, returned with it, and one of our grooms with him, saying that on the 9th the troops at Sultanpore had mutinied, that Colonel Fisher, Captain Gibbings, and others had been killed, and that Lieutenant Tucker had escaped; but the groom did not know where he had gone. You can fancy what a terrible state I was in. Mr. H. Tucker directly sent out in the Sultanpore direction, offering £100 to whoever would bring him in. However, we could hear nothing of him till the following Wednesday evening, when a man brought in a letter from him, saying that he and others were safe under the protection of a native gentleman about fourteen miles from Sultanpore. A large party of natives, with elephants, were sent out the next day to bring them in here. They arrived safely yesterday morning, and I had the happiness again to meet my husband."

CHAPTER XIV.

THE CITY OF ALLAHABAD; SUBTERRANEAN TEMPLE OF SIVA; LOYAL OFFER AND PROFESSIONS OF THE 6TH NATIVE INFANTRY; THANKED BY GOVERNMENT IN GENERAL ORDERS; INTELLIGENCE OF THE REVOLT AT BENARES; WARNING FROM CAWNPORE; SUDDEN OUTBREAK AND MUTINY OF THE 6TH REGIMENT, AND 3RD IRREGULAR CAVALRY; MURDER OF THE OFFICERS; MASSACRE OF THE EUROPEAN RESIDENTS, AND PLUNDER OF THE TOWN; ARRIVAL OF LIEUTENANT-COLONEL NEILL WITH MADRAS FUSILIERS; DISPERSION OF THE MUTINEERS; EXECUTION OF PRISONERS; OFFICIAL DESPATCHES, AND PRIVATE DETAILS OF THE OUTBREAK; OCCURRENCES AT ALLAHABAD TO THE END OF JUNE.

ALLAHABAD (the city of Allah), to which, in the early part of June, the flames of revolt had spread with terrible and devastating fury, is the capital of a subdivision and province of the same name in the presidency of Bengal, and is situated at the junction of the rivers Ganges (Gunga) and Jumna (Yamuna), in lat. 25° 27′ N., and long. 81° 50′ E., being 80 miles W. by N. of Benares, and 498 miles, in the same direction, from Calcutta. Its distance from Cawnpore is 143 miles, and from Lucknow about 127



Allahabad is supposed, by D'Anville, to occupy the site of an ancient city of the Prasii, named Palibothra,* which flourished long anterior to the invasion of India by Alexander the Great. It is called by the Brahmins *Bhat Prayag* (most holy), on account of its position at the most important of all the sacred confluences of rivers in Hindostan (all such confluences being declared sacred by the *Vedas*); and so great has been the repute of its sanctity, that more than 200,000 devotees have visited it from distant parts of India in the course of a single year, merely for the purpose of bathing in the venerated stream that laves its walls; while numbers of pilgrims, annually, have drowned themselves at the point of junction of the rivers, in full assurance that, by so doing, they secured for themselves an eternity of happiness! Such sacrifices are deemed highly meritorious; and on their occurrence, we are told that the devotees were conducted by Brahmins to the centre of the stream, and there sunk with pots of earth tied to their feet.

The modern city of Allahabad was built about the middle of the sixteenth century, by the emperor Akber, and soon became one of his favourite residences, being enriched with a number of magnificent edifices, and a fort of great strength, intended as well for the residence of the sovereign, as for the protection of the surrounding districts. This fortress is still in good preservation, and the walls, 2,500 yards in circuit, rise on the east and south sides directly from the water. The town itself extends along the banks of the Jumna, on the west side of the fort; but the greater part of the existing edifices are of mud, built upon the ancient brick foundations of structures that have crumbled away in the lapse of successive ages, or have fallen before the violence of the early Mohammedan conquerors. The soil throughout the city and a great extent of the surrounding country, consists chiefly of materials that have been in use for building purposes, and of fragments of pottery and household vessels, that attest the original magnitude of the holy city.

A portion of the fort of Allahabad is built over a cavern, or subterranean temple of Siva, the roof of which is supported by pillars of singular form and extraordinary dimensions; and within this gloomy vault, sunk deep into the bosom of the earth, part of the religious ceremonies enjoined to the pilgrims who visit the city of Allah, must be performed before the deity can be propitiated. The cavern is vast, dark, and mysterious; and is asserted, and believed, by the superstitious devotees, to extend as far as Delhi, a distance of 429 miles, and to be inhabited, for the greater part of the way, by enormous snakes and noxious reptiles. A recent traveller from Europe,† who visited this extraordinary temple of Brahminical idolatry (called by the natives Peetulpooree), informs us, that "a fakir waits at the entrance, who, for a small gratuity, will descend with the inquiring tourist, and exhibit a portion of its gloomy wonders by torchlight; for it is only at the entrance, and one other place, that the light of day can penetrate. The passage, for a considerable distance, is not more than four feet broad by about eight feet in height, cut through an argillaceous limestone rock, of chunam. As it descends, the walls and roof become covered with inscriptions; and, at intervals, are nitches containing the mutilated fragments of idols, and other objects of Hindoo veneration. After proceeding rather more than a hundred feet from the commencement of the level, the cave widens out to gigantic proportions, and the Linga of Mahadeo,‡ on an altar of stone, is revealed to the wor-

* *India Antiqua.* See Maurice's *Antiquities*, vol. i.

† Mr. Parbury.

‡ Mahadeva, or Mahadeo (the Great God), is a name of Siva. The Linga, a huge polished stone of cylindrical form, rounded or convex at the top, is a symbol of the god in his character of Regenerator; and it appears to be synonymous with the Phallus of the Greeks, and the Priapus of the Romans. Coleman, in his *Mythology of the Hindoos*, says—"Of the origin of the mystic worship of the *Linga* and *Youi*, little appears to be understood. It may be presumed to have been nature under the male and female forms personified, as Siva, the Sun (which he is equally with Surya) or Fire, the genial heat of which pervades, generates, and vivifies all; and Bhavani, who, as the goddess of nature, is also the Earth—the universal mother. The two active principles of life having been thus personified, may have been subsequently converted, by the grossness of idolatry (which in its progress invariably seeks to gratify the sensual appetites rather than to elevate the minds of its votaries), from imaginary forms to gross realities—from the personified symbols of nature, to typical representations of the procreative powers of the symbols themselves. The places of Linga idolatry are still numerous throughout Hindostan, and the worshippers of the Idol are, beyond comparison, in excess of the votaries of any other deity or symbol recognised by the sacred books of the Hindoos. Some of these emblems are of enormous

shippers. From this hall of gloom and mystery, paths branch off in various directions, forming, in their course and intersections, a perfect labyrinth, having a number of recesses filled with broken idols—silent, but imperishable memorials of the hatred and vengeance of the troops of Akber, by whom the temple and its altars were first profaned. The cavern is now tenanted by insects and reptiles without number; and among them are millions of cockroaches, who, attracted by the light, fly around it, and about the unwelcome intruders on their privacy. Toads and snakes crawl and glide across the slimy paths, and dispute the invasion of their dismal territory; while bats flit about each instant, so close to the torch of the guide, that its non-extinction is surprising. All here is damp, dreary, and noisome."*

The province of Allahabad, formerly a territory belonging to the nabob of Oude, was ceded to the East India Company in 1801, and its capital has always retained considerable importance under their rule. Among other improvements upon its former condition, Allahabad contains a permanent judicial establishment, whence periodical circuits are made through the province. New and handsome buildings, for the official purposes of government and the residence of its officers, have been erected within the last few years; and, in 1852, a railway was laid down to communicate with Cawnpore, and form part of a great trunk line from Calcutta to Lahore. A government school contained, in 1848, 103 pupils, of whom eighty-one were Hindoos. Iron steamers ply on the Ganges, from Calcutta to the city, a distance by the river of not less than 800 miles. The cantonments are situated at a distance of nearly four miles from the fort and river, and were generally occupied by two or more regiments of native infantry, some cavalry, and a company of foot artillery. The officer in command resided in the fort.

On the morning of Saturday, the 23rd of May, a detachment of her majesty's 84th regiment arrived at Allahabad, *en route* to Cawnpore, with discretionary orders to the officer in command at the former place, to detain the force if it should appear necessary to do so; but as, at the time, no cause for apprehending immediate danger was apparent, the men of the 84th, on the following day, proceeded onward to their destination, whither they were shortly followed by the remainder of the regiment.

At this period the troops in cantonments consisted of the 6th regiment of native infantry, a body of the 3rd Oude irregular cavalry, 400 men of the Sikh regiment of Ferozepore, under the command of Lieutenant Brasyer, and a company of European artillery, in charge of Captain Harwood. The garrison in the fort was composed of about thirty invalid European soldiers, and the magazine and commissariat sergeants; and in the fort and cantonments together, there were about 200 European women and children, of various ranks and ages. There were also some native Christians.

Rumours of disturbances in the adjacent or more distant districts, were of frequent occurrence; and, day by day, the confidence that had been felt in the maintenance of tranquillity at Allahabad became weaker, when, as if to reassure the doubters, the men of the 6th native regiment spontaneously expressed their abhorrence of the conduct of the corps that had mutinied, and volunteered to march against Delhi, to aid in the restoration of order. Impressed by their assurances of loyalty and devotion, the following telegraphic message was forwarded by the officer in command to the secretary to the government:—

"Allahabad, June 2nd, 1.5 P.M.—The 6th regiment of native infantry has volunteered to serve against the mutineers at Delhi, if required. The effect of this in the city of Allahabad will be most beneficial. The Europeans are passing through daily to Cawnpore, and quickly. All quiet here at present."—To this gratifying announcement the secretary to the government immediately replied—"The thanks of the governor-general in council, to the 6th regiment of native infantry, for their declaration of loyalty and soldierlike offer to march to Delhi, will be announced in the *Gazette*. Inform the regiment of this."—On the 4th of June the following general

size, and are usually of basalt: others are made, at morning and evening, of the clay of the Ganges, and, after worship, are thrown into the sacred stream."—(Pp. 66—175.) Maurice describes a dark recess, or *sacellum*, in the great temple of Juggernauth in Orissa, in which the Linga is worshipped. He says of this recess—"All within was open and plain, except that in the centre stood a square, low altar, on which was placed a large stone of cylindrical form, standing on its base, but the top was round or convex."—(*Indian Antiquities*, vol. ii., p. 157.)

* *Hand-book for India and Egypt.*

order of the governor-general in council, was published by authority:—

"Fort William, June 4th, 1857.—The right honourable the governor-general in council, has received, with much satisfaction, a report that the whole of the 6th regiment of native infantry, at Allahabad, have expressed their loyalty to the government, and their desire to be led against the mutineers at Delhi; and also a further report that the three companies of the 34th regiment of native infantry at Barrackpore, have expressed themselves in the same soldierlike manner. The governor-general in council thanks the men of these regiments for this mark of their devotion, and directs that this tender of their services, at a time when so many misguided soldiers of the Bengal army have swerved from their allegiance to the state, shall be placed among the records of government, and shall be read at the head of every regiment and company at a parade ordered for the purpose.—J. H. Birch,

"Secretary to the government of India."

This public appreciation of their loyalty by the governor-general, appeared to afford much gratification to the men of the 6th regiment, who were loud in expressions of gratitude for the notice taken of their offer; and, with this feeling among the native troops, nothing occurred between the 2nd and the 5th to disturb the quiet of the garrison, or alarm the European inhabitants. During the morning of the 5th, however, intelligence arrived of the revolt at Benares, with, as usual, much exaggeration of the consequences; added to which, the whole community was thrown into a state of agitation, by the announcement that a body of the mutineers were on their way, to commit outrages among the European residents at Allahabad. On this very morning, the men of the 6th regiment, probably surmising that doubts of their truthfulness were entertained by the Europeans at the station, went up to their officers in a body, unarmed, and with tears in their eyes, besought them to rely on their honour! It has been since observed, that "the scene which then ensued would not have disgraced the pantomimic extravagances of the early days of the first French revolution; the officers and men took each other's hands, and, with hilarious protestations of loyal devotion and martial resolve, fraternised in the most approved manner." It is just possible, from the enthusiasm of the moment, and the perfect confidence that appeared to be established on both sides, that if a body of rebels had come in sight at that moment, it would have been attacked and destroyed. Such, however, was not the case; the opportunity was not afforded; and sepoy loyalty, for want of immediate exercise, effervesced, and vanished into air.

During the day, a telegram from Sir H. Wheler, the brigadier in command at Cawnpore, directed the officer in charge at Allahabad to "man the fort with every serviceable European, and to make a good stand." This was ominous of approaching mischief: the civilians were accordingly at once ordered into the fort, and those capable were formed into a volunteer corps, numbering, with invalids and the staff-sergeants, about a hundred men—the charge of the main gate of the fort being entrusted to eighty men of the yet apparently *loyal* 6th regiment. Several European merchants, and some *half-castes* in government employ, still, however, remained outside the fort, from mere disinclination to believe the real existence of danger. Some of the European officers, also, whose families were resident between the fort and the cantonments, were still without the walls of the fortress, as well as others on duty at outposts. Amongst those were the fort-adjutant (Captain Birch) and his family; with Lieutenant Innes, the chief engineer, who had only the previous day (viz., on the 4th) resigned an appointment that necessitated his residence within the fort, and, on account of his health, had gone to a bungalow at some distance from the town. Two guns, with two young officers who had recently joined, and Captain Harwood, of the artillery, had been dispatched to the river bank to cover the bridge of boats, and prevent the advance of any mutineers from Benares, should they appear in that direction. Two companies of the 6th regiment, with some artillerymen and two guns, and Lieutenant Alexander, with 150 troopers of the 3rd Oude irregulars, occupied a garden between the bridge and the fort. All necessary caution seems to have been exercised, and order prevailed throughout the day; but before nightfall, stragglers from other stations had reached the cantonments (four miles from the fort), and, by their representations, contrived to arouse a mutinous spirit among their too willing hearers. The Mohammedans were adjured

by their common faith, the Hindoos by their beloved *caste*, to unite, and strike down the tyrants that would desecrate the one, and utterly destroy the other; while the fanatics of both races were assured, that bodies of European troops were marching up the country, for the purpose of destroying all who should refuse to become Christians. The sepoys at first hesitated, then argued; became satisfied of their danger; and then determined, as one man, to exterminate the whole of the families of their oppressors within reach of their weapons. At half-past nine in the evening of the 5th of June, while the officers were yet assembled in the mess-room, a bugler of the 6th regiment sounded the assembly. The officers, imagining some disturbance had taken place in the bazaar or the neighbourhood, rushed out of the house, and the foremost of them were instantly shot down. One or two of the others contrived to escape to the fort; but five officers of the 6th regiment, and several young ensigns doing duty with that corps, were inhumanly massacred. The moment the bugle sounded, the sepoys, who were already prepared, seized the remaining guns, and fired at the artillery officer who attempted to resist them. In the meanwhile, the signal had been understood by the sepoys at the bridge, and the officers with them were hustled and insulted. Several shots glanced by, or passed over them; but they were finally permitted to escape from the mutineers. Lieutenant Alexander, on hearing the tumult, immediately proceeded in the direction of it, to ascertain the cause; but as he galloped along, at the head of a few of his troopers, a sepoy sprang from some hiding-place, and shot him through the heart. His death was sudden; and it was merciful when compared with the barbarities practised upon the persons of several of his gallant but unfortunate brother-officers. Captain Harwood, of the artillery, finding it useless to contend alone with a host of infuriated mutineers, took opportunity to escape in the confusion, and reached the fort in time to put the inmates upon their guard. The first step taken by the officer in command was to disarm the men of the 6th regiment, who had charge of the principal gate; and their muskets were found ready capped and loaded, in readiness for the first summons from the cantonments. These men were then turned out of the fort, as it was impossible to feel secure with them at large, and there were not sufficient Europeans that could be spared to guard them if retained in the fort. They lost no time in joining their comrades; and having liberated about 3,000 prisoners from confinement in the gaol, the whole body distributed itself through the town and cantonments, and the work of plunder and destruction commenced in every direction. Captain Birch, the fort-adjutant, and Lieutenant Innes, executive engineer, who were, as already mentioned, outside the fort at the time, were both shot down. An officer of the 6th was pinned to the ground with bayonets, and, while yet alive, a fire was kindled on his body. Three others escaped to the fort by swimming across the Ganges, and succeeded in obtaining refuge before their pursuers came up with them. Several of the Europeans who had a few days previously taken refuge in the fort, happened, at the moment of the outbreak, to be outside, on account of the excessive heat and overcrowding of the place, and their reliance upon the friendly assurances of the sepoys on guard; and they were slaughtered without mercy, by some of the very men who had encouraged them to rely upon their good feeling and that of their comrades. Of these poor creatures, several were barbarously tortured before death released them from the fiendish malignity of their unprovoked tormentors. One family, consisting of three generations, was burned alive; and not a single individual, old or young—the hoary grandsire, or the prattling babe in its mother's arms—was permitted to escape. Some of the defenceless creatures were cut to pieces by slow degrees, and with a refinement of cruelty that might have been envied by the grand inquisitor of the Indies in the palmiest days of Portuguese dominion in that country; the nose, ears, lips, fingers, and toes, of both men and women, were slowly and deliberately chopped off, and then the limbs and bodies were hacked, until the loss of blood prevented the sufferers from affording further sport to the butchers by their convulsive agonies, and piteous, but unavailing, appeals for mercy. Infants were actually torn from their mothers' arms, and their little limbs chopped off with tulwars yet reeking with their fathers' blood; while the shrieking mother was forcibly compelled to hear the cries of her tortured child, and to behold, through scalding tears of agony, the death-

writhings of the slaughtered innocent. More than fifty Europeans perished in the first outburst of this demoniac fury; and to many of the females, a merciless death was even the least of the cruelties they were subjected to by the gallant sepoys of the 6th regiment, so recently complimented by the government for their professions of loyalty and devotion.

In this outbreak at Allahabad, the miscreants did not confine their outrages altogether to the European community. As soon as they had obtained possession of the guns outside the fort, they commenced firing into the town at random. The houses of several of the wealthy natives were broken into and plundered, and afterwards set fire to; the banking-houses were ransacked, and shops were emptied of their stores; while in the bungalows occupied by the European residents, the destruction was wanton and universal. Furniture was broken into fragments, glass and crockery utterly smashed, wearing apparel hacked and cut to pieces, and even the canvas of the punkahs cut into shreds, to mark their uncontrollable hatred of the people who had lived among them as friends, and whose "salt" they were eating up to the hour of their treason being consummated by rapine and murder.

Lieutenant-colonel Simpson, of the 6th regiment, who was in command of the fort and station at the time of the mutiny, describes the circumstances attending the affair, in a letter from Allahabad of the 27th June, thus:—"I will give you an account of the mutiny of the wretched 6th regiment, which revolted to a man nearly, and deceived their officers, who trusted them well to the last. So quietly did they keep their councils that we did not expect anything of the kind until it actually broke out on the night of the 6th of June, when I was walking home from the mess. The alarm sounded at 9 P.M. I immediately ordered my horse, and galloped to the parade. On reaching it, I found the officers trying to 'fall-in' their men. I then rode up to inquire why two 9-pounder guns had been brought there instead of being taken to the fort, where they were urgently required, and where I had ordered them to be taken. These guns were attached to a company posted at the Shoossie bridge of boats, and not required there. While being escorted by the artillery officer, an havildar, and sixteen men, this guard insisted on taking the guns to cantonments, and fired on the artillery officer! He sought the assistance of poor Alexander, of the 3rd Oude irregular cavalry, who came, and, rushing at the guns, was killed on the spot. Harwood, the artillery officer, seeing he could not hold the guns, galloped into the fort. But to return to the 6th regiment. The guard over the guns on the parade fired at me. I then saw the corps was in open mutiny, and galloped to the left of the lines, where the havildar-major and some of the light company surrounded me, and begged me to seek safety in the fort, or I should be shot. I rode, however, to the treasury with the view of saving the treasure (nineteen lacs.). On my arrival a sentry fired at me, the ball grazing my helmet. After this, I received a regular volley from the guard of thirty men on one side, with another volley from a night picket of thirty men on the other. A guard of poor Alexander's irregulars stood passive. I galloped past the mess-house, where the guard was drawn out at the gate and fired at me. Here my horse got seriously wounded and nearly fell, but I managed to spur him to the fort (two miles) without further impediment. There the horse died shortly after of three musket-shot wounds. On reaching the fort, I immediately disarmed the guards of the 6th regiment on duty, and turned them out, leaving the Sikh regiment to hold it, the only European troops being seventy-four invalid artillery got from Chunar. The Madras European regiment began to pour in a few days after, and the command devolved on the lieutenant-colonel of that corps."*

One of the civilians, who had taken refuge in the fort and had not left it after the first alarm, writes thus of the outbreak and subsequent horrors:—"On the alarm-bugle being sounded, we ran up to the ramparts in breathless silence. The firing grew heavier, and we all thought that the insurgents had entered the station, and were being beaten off by the regiment. So steady was the musketry, regular file firing; on, on it continued, volley after volley. 'Oh,' we all said, 'those gallant sepoys are beating off the rebels,' for the firing grew fainter in the distance, as if they were driving a force out of the station. But before long the sad truth was known. Harwood rode in, bringing the tidings that the wretched sepoys had risen, had seized his

* Lieutenant-colonel Neill.

guns, and had marched them up to the station. He had escaped, and had run up to poor Alexander's camp, who jumped on his horse and rode up towards the lines, with as many of his men as could be got ready; he had been caught in an ambush by a body of sepoys lying in wait in an empty tank, and had been killed by a musket being placed to his side, blowing out his heart. His poor body was brought in later in the night, and I gave his hand a last shake, and shed tears over his last bed.

"The officers were at mess when the wretches sounded the alarm-bugle to bring them to the parade, and shot them down right and left! Nine poor little ensigns doing duty with the regiment were bayoneted to death in the mess-room, and three of the officers who escaped heard their cries as they passed! Poor boys, who had never given offence to any native, nor caused dissatisfaction to the sepoys. Five officers were shot belonging to the regiment, besides the nine poor boys. Birch and Innes, with the sergeant-major (in all, seventeen military men), many merchants, and others, were most cruelly butchered—in all, fifty Europeans fell that night by the hands of the murderous sepoys. The treasury was plundered, the prisoners released from gaol, and the work of destruction commenced. The whole station was destroyed, house after house plundered and fired. What a night! Each moment we expected the Sikhs would turn on us, and then! * * * But the Almighty mercifully decreed otherwise. We disarmed the 6th guard at the main gate, and found the villains with loaded and capped muskets, ready to turn out!

"What an escape we had! Five officers came in, all having escaped in a wonderful manner—three naked, having had to swim the Ganges. We were all night under arms, and in the morning lay down on our cots sad and weary, each moment expecting to be called up. The streets of the city are about half a mile from the fort; and during the four or five following days troops of the rioters were to be seen rushing from place to place plundering and burning. Day and night we manned the ramparts in the hot blazing sun, and day and night the guns and mortars belched forth, throwing shell and grapeshot, tearing down houses, and scattering the demons wherever they were seen."

The melancholy fate of Lieutenant Innes is related in the subjoined narrative of Lieutenant Brown of the artillery, extracted from a letter to the brother of the unfortunate officer. Lieutenant Brown says—"My chief object in wishing to have written to you at an earlier date was to tell you of the sad fate of poor Innes. He had, previous to the outbreak and mutiny of the 6th regiment, been ordered into the fort in his official capacity of executive engineer, and he remained in it for about a week, when, what with the excessive heat and hard work, he became unwell, applied for me to officiate in his place, and got leave to return to his house in cantonments. He had lived there some days, and got better. I used to drive up almost daily to the office, which was still in his house, and remained with him for some hours. He was daily recovering, and was in hopes of being soon able to resume work. The last time I saw him he complained of feeling lonely, as that part of the station had been entirely deserted by Europeans, excepting himself, and had arranged with Birch, the fort-adjutant, to sleep in his house, which was more centrally situated; and doubtless he had gone there on that fearful night; for both he and Birch started together along the road leading to the Ganges river, away from the station, so as to avoid having to come through that part of the cantonments where these rebels were in force, and keeping up a very sharp fire.

"Their intention evidently was to drop down the river in a boat and thus reach the fort; but in this they were frustrated, though it had almost been accomplished. They had reached the river, were in the boat, and were just starting, when, most unfortunately, they were recognised by a guard of the 6th regiment stationed there, and, sad to say, were both shot in the boat. I clung to the hope that poor Innes had escaped; but as day after day passed over without any tidings, I could not but fear the worst; and in him we have to mourn the loss of as fine a fellow as ever lived. I grieve for him more than for any of the others who fell here, as I knew him better and esteemed him much. His house shared the fate of all the others; and the only single thing of all his property which I have succeeded in recognising or recovering is his Bible, which, though rather mangled, is so far safe. * * * Poor Innes! he was far too gallant a fellow to fall by the hands of such treacherous, cold-blooded villains."

Having sated themselves with blood and

pillage, accompanied by the most diabolical excesses, the mutineers withdrew from the city and cantonments early in the morning of the 7th of June, having first installed a Mohammedan priest as governor of the district; who, hoisting the green standard of the prophet, proclaimed himself vicegerent of the king of Delhi. By the orders of this man, a strict search was made for any Europeans that might have concealed themselves in the town or suburbs; and many unfortunates, whose fate will ever remain uncertain for want of means to identify them, were dragged from their hiding-places and butchered.

Another of the Europeans in the civil employ of the Company, who had found an asylum in the fort, writes thus, a few days after the occurrences at Allahabad:—

"We have been so bewildered lately, that I have lost all recollection of dates, and of when I last wrote to you. We were incarcerated in that horrid fort from the 6th to the 18th of this month; and a fearful time we had of it. God grant that I may never pass such a time again! Better to die by the sword fighting than to see such sights of horror, and to pass such a time of anxiety. I do not think that I told you in my last letter of the treachery of the 6th native infantry, or of the fearful night of the 6th of June. I can hardly write it, so sad and miserable is the story. God, in his infinite mercy, preserved me from a dreadful death at the hands of the bloodthirsty sepoys. I told you, in my last letter, that we were apprehensive of an outbreak on the part of the city people, and that I had taken up a position at the gaol, ready to make a stand; that the officers of the 6th native infantry had all confidence in their men, though we had not; for now no one can trust those wretched natives. Well, matters went on quietly enough till Friday, the 5th, when news of the disturbance at Benares came up, with a report that a number of the insurgents were on their way to attack this station. On the same day an order came from the brigadier at Cawnpore to 'man the fort with every available European, and make a good stand.' We non-military men were instantly ordered into the fort, being formed into a militia under the orders of the officer commanding the garrison. We slept in the fort on that Friday, the 5th, doing duty upon the ramparts, and returned to the station the following morning; but only for the morning, going into the fort again in the afternoon. At this time we had in the fort about thirty invalid artillery soldiers, some few commissariat and magazine sergeants, and we volunteers mustering above a hundred men. There were also 400 Sikhs, and eighty of the wretched 6th guarding the main gate! A great number of the European merchants and half-castes remained outside, believing the report to be only a cry of 'Wolf,' and supposing it to be a false alarm. The report of the approach of the insurgents was false; but, alas! would that the poor creatures had taken advice and joined us in the fort! Among those outside were poor Captain Birch, the fort-adjutant, a married man (poor fellow!) with a family; and Innes, the executive engineer, who had the previous day resigned his appointment in the fort from ill-health, and had gone up to his bungalow. My poor dear friend, Alexander, of the irregulars, was in a garden near the fort, with 150 of his troopers. Two guns under Harwood, of the artillery, had been sent down to the river, to guard the bridge of boats over the Ganges towards Benares. Hicks, of the 6th native infantry, and two little griffs,* were also stationed there in charge of two companies of that regiment. Well, all these poor fellows were out, and we were inside the fort, through the mercy of the Almighty. We were told-off on our guard, and had laid ourselves down on our beds (those who were not on watch), when, about half-past nine, we heard firing in the station, and every man was immediately summoned to his post."—The writer then describes the incidents of the night; but, from his position in the fort, he chiefly repeats the information of others.

Among "the poor little griffs" alluded to in the preceding letter, one youth eminently deserves honourable remembrance, for qualities exhibited during this fiery ordeal, in which the heroism of the young warrior, and the sustaining faith of the Christian martyr, are triumphantly conspicuous. One of the officers who escaped the fate of his comrades, writes from Allahabad a few days after the occurrence described as follows:—"When the wretched 6th regiment mutinied at Allahabad and murdered their officers, an ensign, only sixteen years of age, who was left for dead

* Young officers, on their first arrival in India, have long been termed "griffins."

among the rest, escaped in the darkness to a neighbouring ravine. Here he found a stream, the waters of which sustained his life for four days and nights. Although desperately wounded, he contrived to raise himself into a tree during the night for protection from wild beasts. Poor boy! he had a high commission to fulfil before death released him from his sufferings.

"On the fifth day he was discovered, and dragged by the brutal sepoys before one of their leaders, to have the little life left in him extinguished. There he found another prisoner, a Christian catechist, formerly a Mohammedan, whom the sepoys were endeavouring to torment and terrify into a recantation. The firmness of the native was giving way as he knelt amid his persecutors, with no human sympathy to support him. The boy-officer, after anxiously watching him for a short time, cried out—'Oh, my friend, come what may, do not deny the Lord Jesus!'

"Just at this moment the alarm of a sudden attack by the gallant Colonel Neill, with his Madras fusiliers, caused the instant flight of the murderous fanatics. The catechist's life was saved. He turned to bless the boy whose faith had strengthened his faltering spirit. But the young martyr had passed beyond all reach of human cruelty. He had entered into rest."*

Towards the evening of the 7th of June, the little garrison was cheered by the arrival of about fifty men of the 1st Madras fusiliers, which had been sent forward by Lieutenant-colonel Neill from Benares, where he had effectually restored order by his energy and decision. As soon as the mutiny of the 6th regiment was reported at that place, the lieutenant-colonel, with forty-three men and three officers, instantly set out for Allahabad; and, in two nights, got over seventy miles of ground; relays of natives pushing on the light-wheeled carriages containing the men, in places where horses could not be obtained in sufficient quantity for the purpose. Upon his arrival on the 11th, he lost no time in relieving the inmates of the fort from their confinement, and clearing the city and suburbs of the budmashes and mutineers that were still prowling amidst the ruined dwellings for the sake of plunder and bloodshed. In the first encounter with these ruffians, two men of the fusiliers were killed, and five wounded—a circumstance that imparted additional vigour to the exertions of their comrades in the work of expulsion: and such was the earnest good-will with which the men went about their work, that the mutinous and excited rabble—as cowardly in the face of danger as they were ferocious in the hour of triumph over defenceless victims—were seized with a panic, and fled precipitately to the camp of the pretended vicegerent, in a strong position a short distance from the suburbs. On the following day Colonel Neill, with 200 men, some guns, and irregular cavalry, swept through the cantonments and adjacent villages, routing the vicegerent of his majesty of Delhi, who, with some of the more active of his followers, fled in the direction of the insurgent capital. While the colonel and his force were thus occupied on land, an armed steamer was dispatched up the Jumna, clearing the banks of the river as she advanced. After this combined operation had been successfully carried out, and a goodly number of prisoners collected, the functions of the provost-marshal were called into action; and for several days the hangman and his assistants were zealously employed in disposing of the treacherous miscreants and their abettors.

One of the volunteers in the fort writes thus of the events subsequent to the arrival of Lieutenant-colonel Neill's reinforcements:—"We were shut up miserably enough in the fort till the Madras fusiliers came up, and then our fun began: we volunteers were formed in three divisions, and sallied forth with the Sikhs into the city, and had several skirmishes in the streets, where we spared no one. We had several volleys poured into us; but their firing was so wild, that their bullets passed over and around us harmlessly. The flagstaff was always to the front; and they were so daring and reckless, that the 'flagstaff boys' became a by-word in the fort. Every

* This noble boy, who had left England only on the 20th of the previous March, was the second son of Oswald Cheek, Esq., town-clerk of Evesham in Worcestershire, and would have been seventeen years of age had he lived to the 31st of July. Soon after the arrival of Arthur Marcus Hill Cheek at Calcutta, he was appointed to an ensigncy in the 6th regiment, stationed at Allahabad, and joined the corps on the 19th of the following May, scarcely three weeks before the revolt that led to his brutal murder. His career was brief as a soldier, but as a Christian his end was glorious; and regret for his loss is absorbed in admiration of the fortitude and enduring faith of the youthful martyr.

rascality that was performed was put down to them; and in the end the volunteers got a bad name for plundering. The Sikhs were great hands at it, and, in spite of all precaution, brought a great amount of property into the fort. Such scenes of drunkenness I never beheld.* Sikhs were to be seen drunk on duty on the ramparts, unable to hold their muskets. No one could blame them; for they are such jolly, jovial fellows, so different from the sepoys.

"At last, when reinforcements came up, we all marched out, drove the insurgents out of the city, and took possession of it and the station, where we have remained ever since in the collector's house—about twenty of us; others are in the *pucka* (brick-built) houses that were not burnt; and the fusiliers and 89th (Queen's) in the church.

"When we could once get out of the fort, we were all over the place, cutting down all natives who showed any signs of opposition: we enjoyed these trips very much, so pleasant it was to get out of that horrid fort for a few hours. One trip I enjoyed amazingly: we got on board a steamer with a gun, while the Sikhs and fusiliers marched up to the city; we steamed up, throwing shot right and left, till we got up to the bad places, when we went on shore and peppered away with our guns, my old double-barrel that I brought out bringing down several niggers, so thirsty for vengeance was I. We fired the places right and left, and the flames shot up to the heavens as they spread, fanned by the breeze, showing that the day of vengeance had fallen on the treacherous villains. Every day we had expeditions to burn and destroy disaffected villages, and we have taken our revenge. I have been appointed chief of a commission for the trial of all natives charged with offences against government and persons; day by day we have strung up eight and ten men. We have the power of life and death in our hands; and I assure you we spare not. A very summary trial is all that takes place; the condemned culprit is placed under a tree, with a rope round his neck, on the top of a carriage, and when it is pulled away, off he swings.

"All is now well and quiet; but where smiling homes once existed, are now only blackened walls and desolation. My old house is in ruins; it had just been repaired for me; and my little house, into which I had moved for a season, is in the same state. I have lost nearly everything, though my servants behaved splendidly, and saved all they could. Two tables, a few chairs, three beds, a few odd volumes of my dear old books, and my silver, is all I have in the world; however, my life has been mercifully spared, I thank God! My horses I have saved; I sent them to poor Alexander for safety and for use, before the fearful night of the 6th, when his sowars rode two of them, and 'Old Smuggler' saved Harwood's life. When he ran up to his camp he mounted him, and he dashed through the sepoys like an old trump, as he is. I have the good old beast under me everywhere, carrying on the work of retribution. Now that we have plenty of men, a force is to be moved up to Cawnpore, to relieve the poor fellows there, who are hard-pressed, being intrenched in a kind of made-up fort.

"The commissioner, Mr. Chester, sends me as the political agent with the force, and I trust to see some service before I return. At any other time the sun would have knocked us down like dogs; but all this month we have been out in the middle of the day, toiling like coolies, yet I never have been better in my life. Such an appetite! The whole country has been up; and frightful massacres have been taking place all over the north-west. We have not yet heard half the horrors, for the dâks have been stopped for three weeks."

A letter from an officer at this station says, under date of the 23rd of June—"Colonel Neill is now hard at work getting his force together, to move on to the assistance of Cawnpore and Lucknow, both places being in the greatest danger; for all the sepoys that have run away are now gathering around Lucknow. Our reports concerning that city and Cawnpore are most gloomy; but reports in this country, and at this time, are always against us. You can have no idea of the awful weather, and of our sufferings from the heat; we sit with wet cloths over our heads; but the deaths from sun-stroke continue large; that dreadful scourge, cholera, has also broken out, and we have lost already seventy fighting-men. We buried twenty, three nights ago, at one funeral, and the shrieks of the dying were something awful; two poor ladies who were living over the hospital died, I believe, from fright. We have

* *Vide* Colonel Neill's despatches of June 14th and 17th; pp. 260—263.

now got about 400 men outside the fort; and the disease is certainly on the decline. Up to to-day we have had little to eat; indeed, I would not have fed a dog with my yesterday's breakfast; but our mess and the head-quarters arrived yesterday, and our fare was much better to-day. All the village people ran away; and any one who had worked for the Europeans these murderers killed; so if the population was to a man against us, we should stand but a bad chance. A poor baker was found with both his hands cut off, and his nose slit, because he had sent in bread to us. I need not say how anxiously we all look for a large army from England. We can hold our own well enough till it arrives; but India was never in such a mess, and it requires many a strong arm and a wise head to put it in order again. The Bengal army is to a man against us, and I am very nervous about Madras and Bombay; one single mischance, and those two armies follow. I fully expect to go on in advance with the first party to Cawnpore, so shall finish this off hastily, as we only get a few hours' notice. I have written to my poor wife, begging her to go home as quickly as she can; for I cannot bear the idea of her being in such a country at such a time, and I would give all I have to know she was on her way. We cannot leave this for the next two years at the earliest; and this mutiny might spread at any moment, so I long to hear of her being in safety."

Lieutenant R. G. Armstrong, of the 17th native infantry, writes from Allahabad on the 28th of June; and after detailing the main incidents of the outbreak on the evening of the 5th, and the slaughter of the European officers, with attendant outrages, says—"Every house in the station, with the exception of one or two, has been burnt to the ground; and when we marched on the other morning we saw Allahabad in ruins. Two days after I arrived, I went with a couple of Queen's officers, and I must say I never witnessed anything like it before; every single thing was destroyed, every pane of glass smashed; even the canvas that goes over the punkah was torn into shreds. Such a wilful destruction of property I never witnessed. A large quantity of things was found in a village close by. They were all secured; and two days ago the place was burnt by us to the ground. This is certainly, and will, from all appearance be a tedious campaign; for, besides the straits we are reduced to, the bad weather is setting in—viz., the rains. I am regularly rationed like a common soldier; get a loaf of bread, a pint of beer, a little sugar and milk, and a small piece of mutton, besides tea twice a-day; spirits and beer only once, as also the mutton, for tea is given out at night; but as several of us have been living together, we have managed to get on very fairly. Oude is now the head-quarters of the rebels. Every single regiment has mutinied, and the country will have to be taken a second time; but this time by force of arms. The brave Sir Harry Lawrence has manfully defended the residency against the insurgents; but if assistance is not rendered him and the people who have taken refuge within its walls, amounting to several hundred, they will be all starved out; for, from the last accounts, they have been obliged to feed on grain and sugar. They have next to nothing to cook it with, and no pots of any sort to cook it in. It is reported that a detachment of the 84th (the Queen's), who went over there from Cawnpore the other day, have been cut down to a man; but this has not been confirmed. There are thousands upon thousands of natives assembled there; and assistance will have to come quickly, or not a European will be saved. There is a force of 500 Europeans, and a detachment of my present corps, going over to Cawnpore, most likely, on Tuesday morning, and probably I shall go with them; at least, I hope and trust it may be my good luck to be able to. These are stirring times. They are hanging men up at Benares and here, besides several other stations—six, seven, and eight a-day. Missionaries in this country have carried matters too far; and of nothing is a native so tenacious as of interference with the rites and tenets of his religion. Education has also been carried too far. Educate a sepoy, and he becomes a thorough-paced scoundrel. These are the opinions of men who are capable of giving them."

The subjoined extract from a letter dated from Benares on the 16th of June, may close the detail of cruelty and suffering connected with the revolt at Allahabad. The writer says—"I was an eye-witness to the brutal conduct of the mutinous sepoys, and have had a narrow escape from their ruthless hands, almost miraculously; a next-door English neighbour of mine,

while living at Allahabad, was visited one night by a gang of upwards of two dozen sepoys, fully equipped with destructive arms. On the hue and cry being given, I went up the terrace of my house, and saw with my own eyes the rascals cutting into two an infant boy of two or three years of age, while playing about his mother: next they hacked into pieces the lady; and while she was crying out of agonising pains for safety, I quite involuntarily, and perfectly forgetting my own position, cried aloud, '*Kya hurta hai!*' at which the marauders threatened me with their swords; and subsequently felled, most shockingly and horridly, the husband, who was seated perfectly composed, and more like a statue than anything else. In the meantime I, and another friend of mine who was living with me, succeeded in making our escape through a back-door; and, by means of a bamboo which I picked up from a native burial-ground, managed to cross the river, and came to Benares in the garb of a fakir, not having a pice to bless me with on the way, but eked out my livelihood by begging; and at last, through the mercy of God, I reached this place in safety."

On the 14th of June, Lieutenant-colonel Simpson, who had been in command of the 6th regiment, reported to the government as follows:—"Since I had the honour of addressing you, to announce the mutiny of the late 6th regiment of native infantry on the night of the 6th instant, I have, on inquiry, ascertained that a fire of musketry issued from several of the huts occupied by invalid pensioners (who reside close in rear of the lines of the late 6th native infantry), at the officers of that corps who fell on the above night; and it is my firm belief, that the pensioners are disaffected towards the British government."*

There seems little reason to doubt, that these pensioners were as deeply implicated in the revolt, and its subsequent atrocities, as the men of the 6th regiment themselves; and their guilt is increased by the fact, that at the very moment of their traitorous outrage, they were depending upon the bounty of the government for their daily food! The conduct of the Sikh regiment of Ferozepore, and of the 3rd irregular cavalry, is inexplicable, if we would relieve them from the charge of complicity in the treason of the sepoys. They appear to have taken no part in the revolt; but neither do they seem to have made any attempt to protect the officers, to suppress the disturbance, or to assist the authorities in the fort, until after the arrival of Colonel Neill, when they could no longer remain neutral. The opinion entertained of the Sikhs by that officer, may be gathered from the way in which he relieved himself of their company as soon as he had taken command of the garrison.

On the 13th, a party of the volunteers, with some Sikhs under the command of Lieutenant Brasyer, were sent from the fort to reconnoitre, and had not proceeded far before they fell in with a force of several thousand of the rebellious troops, strongly posted near a large pukha house which they had fortified. Having ascertained the enemy's position, and exchanged a few shots, the reconnoitring party retired; and on the following day the rebel force was attacked by Colonel Neill, and dispersed with much slaughter. At this time the necessity for reinforcements and supplies became painfully obvious. An officer writes —"We sadly want supplies of all kinds here; and we must have more Europeans. I have not had my sword off for a moment, night or day, since the 6th instant. During the 13th, a Sikh soldier was murdered in the streets of the town, and the whole regiment was let loose on the place, and thoroughly avenged itself."—The same writer says—"On the 15th, at Baroul, halfway between Allahabad and Gopeegunge, three zemindars, who had set themselves up, one as rajah and the other two as naibs, were seized by a detachment of the Madras fusiliers and a party of the 13th irregular cavalry, who have done excellent service under Lieutenant Palliser, accompanied by Messrs. Moore and Chapman: they were brought into Gopeegunge, and hanged. The bridge of boats at Allahabad is in our hands, and defended by five guns."

The official details of the relief of Allahabad, appear in the following despatches from Lieutenant-colonel Neill to the deputy adjutant-general. The first of the series is dated "Allahabad, June 14th, 1857."

"Sir,—I have the honour to report my arrival here on the afternoon of the 11th inst., having left Benares on the evening of the 9th, accompanied by a party of forty-three men, and an officer of the Madras fusiliers. We found nearly all the horses taken off the road. It was with much difficulty we could get on, by coolies as-

* Parl. Papers, 1857.

sisting the horses we had, and dragging some of the dâk carriages; and had it not been for the assistance rendered by the collector and magistrate at Mirzapore, Mr. S. G. Tucker, we should have been obliged to have marched on and left our baggage. We found the country between this and Mirzapore infested with bands of plunderers, the villages deserted, and none of the authorities remaining. Major Stephenson, who left Benares the same evening with a hundred fusiliers, by bullock van, experienced the same difficulties. Many of the soldiers have been laid up in consequence of the exposure and fatigue; four have died suddenly; and on the whole, unless it were that by moving troops along the line of road protection to it is afforded, and the moral influence on the natives, I would advise, that as many of our men as possible be sent up the river by steamer.

"I found this fort almost completely invested; the bridge of boats over the Ganges in the hands of the mob in the village of Davagunge, and partly broken. I was obliged to cross over by boats, part of the small party dropping down the Ganges; the other crossing at its junction with the Jumna. On reaching this I at once assumed command, and arranged early next morning to drive the enemy out of the villages, and secure the bridge of boats over the Ganges. This was well done by a small party of the fusiliers and a party of the Sikhs, and a native officer's guard of the Sikhs placed on this end of the bridge, with an havildar's party posted on the opposite bank, thus securing our communication with the road to Benares; and Major Stephenson's detachment came in by the bridge that evening. On the afternoon of the same day, detachments of the Sikhs and the remnant of the irregular cavalry drove the enemy out of Kydgunge, the nearest village on the Jumna. On both these occasions our men behaved with much spirit, and destroyed many of the enemy.

"The destruction of property has been very great, that of the railway in particular; and I regret to say, before my arrival, the Sikhs, who are most difficult to control, had taken to plundering, had got into the godowns of some of the merchants and the steam company, and taken away large quantities of liquor, wines, and spirits; and the consequence was, I found drinking to excess among all the soldiers, Europeans, and Sikhs; the latter, in addition, supplying the former with liquor: total disorganisation would soon have ensued, and the consequence to us and the safety of the fort fatal. With some difficulty I have got all the Sikhs out of the fort; they occupy the houses and godowns of the steam companies on the Jumna; and I have either destroyed all the liquor, or what has been seized or bought from the Sikhs has been handed over to the commissariat. By this means I have checked drunkenness, and had the good fortune to get the Sikhs out of the fort, into which they shall never, with my consent, again enter. It appeared to me that the Sikhs were coaxed into loyalty; that they had become overbearing, and knew their power: and I feel assured, had not European reinforcements arrived when they did, Allahabad would not now have been ours. I am assured by the civil authorities, that we are certain of not wanting for supplies; and the steps I am taking to deal blows on the insurgents, will have the effect of inducing the well-disposed to return to their usual occupations in supplying the garrison with all that it requires. Had it not been for the unfortunate breaking open of the spirit and wine stores, I could ere this have attacked the chief rebels; but I will do so as soon as possible. The heat is also intense: no European can exist in it; and with the almost total want of dhooly-bearers, it would be madness to attempt anything I could not carry out with energy. The consequence of men falling down from sun-strokes, and the inability to carry them away, would be serious, and give these people something to boast about. As it is, I am dealing a blow every morning or evening; and although not to the extent that I would wish, consequent on the little time allowed to inflict it, yet I am doing a great deal more than the enemy like. The government may now rest assured Allahabad is safe; but it will require a garrison of 500 infantry (Europeans) at the lowest, besides artillery.

"I have no intelligence from Cawnpore, except that it is safe. Having secured this, I will push on to Cawnpore with all the European troops I can. I have twice written to Sir H. M. Wheler; by the *Coel* I hope to obtain a reply. The railroad from this to Cawnpore is closed up, and the railing being destroyed, there will be difficulties in getting there, which will

retard, but, I trust, will not prevent, me reaching that station. The telegraphic line has been destroyed between this place and Benares. I am happy to report, on more than two occasions, parties injuring the wires between eight and ten miles from this, were fired upon, and loss inflicted by Major Stephenson. Lieutenant Beaumont's detachments I have sent out to endeavour to repair the damage, and I hope it will be effected. I have now 270 fusiliers, in high heart and spirit, but suffering from the intense heat. A fall of rain, on the setting-in of the monsoon, would enable me to act with vigour, and scatter the mob of ruffians now about us.

"There is no engineer officer here—there ought to be; and one should be sent sharp. The Sikhs have been running in and out like cats; I have blocked up some of their ways, but there are too many small sally-ports; and I wish it to be properly guarded by a weak garrison. The commissariat officer is also away, but his place is well supplied; these departments ought to be complete and most efficient here. It is my intention to send out parties of the Sikhs to chastise some of the zemindars near this, who have behaved infamously; I hope to carry this out; although our Sikh privates complain that the matchlock carries further than their musket, &c., the love of plunder will, I doubt not, remove their doubts on this subject. Their commandant, Captain Brasyer, appears to have some influence over them, and exerts it boldly and with discretion; but they are difficult men to manage. The formation of our movements and intentions of attack have been obtained from within this by spies; the arsenal native detachment, composed of Mohammedans, are, I believe, false; the head man has joined the insurgents; and I believe, from my own inquiry, I have detected another giving information; he is for trial, and, found guilty, will be made an example of.

"In conclusion, I again beg to assure the government, that Allahabad is at present safe; and that every day will enable us to do something, even with limited means and unfavourable season against us; but we shall succeed, and I hope my next will give a better account of our position, and that an effectual blow has been struck against the chiefs of the insurgents' line.

"I have, &c.—J. G. NEILL,

"Lieut.-colonel commanding at Allahabad."

The second despatch is dated "Allahabad, June 17th, 1857."

"I last did myself the honour of addressing you on the 14th instant, and although unable to move out in force to attack the insurgents, yet on the 15th I sent a party by steam up the Jumna, which, although consisting of only twenty fusiliers with the Enfields, and a howitzer, under command of Captain Hammond, of the artillery, inflicted severe damage on the village of Derryabad, and others in its neighbourhood; at the same time the Sikhs, under Captain Brasyer, supported by a party of fifty fusiliers commanded by Lieutenant Bailey, of that corps, after the villages of Kydgunge and Moahgunge had been shelled from the fort, attacked these villages, and drove the enemy out into the city; the Sikhs followed up beyond Derryabad, and only halted when their ammunition was nearly expended. All behaved with great gallantry. The fusiliers were strongly opposed, a great portion of the insurgents appearing to be sepoys. They lost two soldiers killed, Lieutenant Bailey and six men wounded—one soldier dangerously, the others seriously. The Sikhs have only three wounded. The enemy were very severely handled, and their ammunition must be nearly expended, from their firing pieces of telegraphic wire instead of lead. Yesterday morning I had arranged to send a party by steamer up the Ganges, to the cattle-farm at Passamow, and endeavour to get in some of our bullocks. The steamer could not get so far; but early in the morning intelligence was sent into our outposts that the insurgents had, consequent on the attacks made on them, broken up, abandoned their position in the city, and that the Moulvie had fled. The two guns which had been taken away the night of the mutiny were also sent back, as well as Ensign Cheek, with the 6th, and Mr. Conductor Coleman and family, who had escaped being murdered on the night of the mutiny, and had been in confinement ever since. Some Christian children have also been sent in. Having procured bullocks and the means of moving out, I shall do so as soon as I possibly can, and in one day, from all quarters, attack and completely destroy all the villages close to and forming the suburbs of the city, which have been inhabited by all the worst of the insurgents. After having done so, and made a severe example, I intend laying the city under the

heaviest possible contribution, to save it from destruction also. The majority of the chief merchants and others have shown the worst spirit towards us; many of them have taken a most active part against us. I intend to make the most severe example of all such. I anticipate the best results from our success in the neighbourhood. I have embodied a small corps (about thirty men) of European cavalry, from the gentlemen of the railway, engineers, &c., who have horses of their own. These, with the few sowars who have remained faithful to us, will, I feel assured, be of great service in enabling me to strike a few blows against the zemindars and parties of insurgents I cannot otherwise reach. The steamer *Coel* arrived yesterday with Captain Harris's detachment of fusiliers of four officers and 104 men. As soon as a sufficient number of Europeans arrive, I shall push on as large a body of fusiliers to Cawnpore as I can; but almost fear it will be impossible until a shower or two of rain falls. The heat here is fearful; all are suffering from its effects. When cooler weather sets in, after a little rain, I will make the attempt, and I doubt not, if it is to be done, with success. I will also endeavour to send up men by steamer when the river rises. However, of this feel assured, I will push on troops to Cawnpore with the utmost dispatch. I shall take steps, when the troops move out, to have the state of the railway terminus, &c., ascertained; I am in hopes it may be soon opened again. I have not allowed any of the people, Europeans attached to it, or the public works, to leave, except such as have been recommended by the heads of departments; my object being to have any available man on the spot to set to work and repair the damage done, and collect materials taken away or scattered about, immediately the insurgents are entirely dispersed, and the country in some degree of order; but I have deemed it advisable to urge all women and children being sent down country to a place of security, and have ordered passages at the public expense for such. They are all the wives, children, widows, or orphans of persons (several ladies and gentlemen) who have been plundered of all they had, and barely escaped with their lives. I sent down by the first steamer, on the 15th instant, seven men, seventeen women, and twenty children; and by the steamer today ten men, thirty-three women, and twenty-six children. The men sent are to defend the others, the crews of the steamers—Mohammedans—being suspected. With the first party I sent Major Cary, of the 6th, in charge. It has been a great object getting rid of so many women and children out of this crowded fort, in a state of great filth now, from the sweeper and that class having fled, or being prevented coming in by the insurgents.

"Yesterday evening I hanged three men; one a Mohammedan, who held office under the Moulvie; the other, a Hindoo of substance, also deeply concerned in the insurrection; both caught to-day setting parties to plunder the houses of influential people who have been faithful to us. The third was a sepoy of the 6th, with the corps when it mutinied. I have to visit with justice many others equally deserving, to-day and to-morrow. I expect a great improvement in our means and comfort; the bazaar people, servants, and others, will now flock back to their employments. Many sepoys from Delhi were here yesterday, and took an active part against us. Conductor Coleman, when prisoner, recognised many. The fusiliers now have eleven officers and 360 men here.

"P.S.—I have written to Colonel Potts, at Mirzapore, not to encourage his sepoys drawing out from the treasury any more of their savings; having such a hold upon them will, I trust, keep that regiment right."

The third despatch, from Lieutenant-colonel Neill to the deputy adjutant-general, is dated "Allahabad, June 17th, 1857."

"Sir,—I have the honour to report my arrival here on the afternoon of the 11th instant, with a party of forty men, the fusiliers having had more difficulty in getting on from Benares, consequent on the disturbed state of the country, the road being partly deserted, and all the dâk horses taken away by the insurgents. I found Allahabad closely invested, except on the river side, it being only approachable from the rivers; the bridge of boats on the Ganges partly destroyed; it, and the village of Deeragunge, in possession of the insurgents. On arriving at the end of the Benares-road, at the village of Jansee, I was obliged to move down to my left; was fortunate to bribe some natives to bring a boat over to the left bank of the Ganges, in which I embarked part of my men; the

people in the fort, having by this time seen us, sent over boats some way down; by these means we all got into the fort, almost completely exhausted from an over-long night march and the intense heat. On assuming command, I at once determined to drive the enemy away and open up some communication with the country; on the following morning I opened fire with several round shots, on those parts of Deeragunge occupied by the worst description of natives, attacked the place with detachments of fusiliers and Sikhs, drove the enemy out with considerable loss, burnt part of the village, and took possession of a repaired bridge, placing a company of Sikhs at its head for its protection. The next day Major Stephenson's detachment of one hundred men, which had left Benares by bullock-train the same evening I had, crossed the bridge into the front. On the morning of the 13th, I attacked the insurgents in the village of Kydgunge, on the left bank of the Jumna, and drove them out with loss. On the 14th, I could do little or nothing. Ever since I arrived here, I have observed great drinking among the Sikhs, and the Europeans of all classes; and it was not long before I learnt that large godowns, belonging to merchants and river steam companies, had been broken into and plundered, and the contents were distributed all over the place; quantities of all kinds of spirits and wine were brought into the fort by the Sikhs, and sold to our soldiers at the lowest prices;* the consequence was drunkenness to a disgraceful extent in the garrison. The Sikhs showed anything but a subordinate spirit, and, being in the same range of barracks with our men, caused me no small anxiety. I endeavoured to get hold of or destroy all the liquor and rum, and succeeded in both by directing the commissariat to purchase all the liquor the Sikhs had to sell; I sent out the only two carts I had to empty what remained in the godowns into the commissariat stores, and destroyed all that I could otherwise lay hold of. It appeared to me most desirable to get the Sikhs out of the fort; they were very loth to go, and their officers did not appear to me to have that authority over them to oblige them; it required some tact and management, and was happily effected by Captain Brasyer, who deserved the greatest credit; they are now outside in some houses, and in the old native hospital; and others on the bank of the Jumna, under the guns of the fort; and, although attacked and obliged to retire on the night of the 14th instant, with some, including the adjutant, wounded, yet they soon regained their position. I felt that Allahabad was really safe when every native soldier and sentry was out of it; and as long as I command I shall not allow one to be on duty in it. On the evening of the 14th, I threw a shell from a howitzer on the brutes, into Kydgunge, and early on the morning of the 15th opened the same fire with round shot also upon it at daylight. I sent a steamer up the Jumna with a howitzer, under command of Captain Harwood, of the artillery, and a party of twenty picked shots of the fusiliers, under Lieutenant Arnold of that corps, who went up the river, some distance above the city, and did much execution. The Sikhs were directed to attack and clear Kydgunge and Mootingunge, on the Jumna, and were supported on the right by fifty of the fusiliers, under Lieutenant Bailey, and the small party of irregular cavalry. The troops behaved with great gallantry and spirit in the heat of the sun; the Sikhs had the legs of the European, and the country they had to go over was less difficult; the opposition they met with was not so great; they, however, punished the enemy severely, although they fire badly, and are very wild. The fusiliers met with some resistance; did good execution among the enemy, but had two men killed and six wounded—all severely, one dangerously, including Lieutenant Bailey, shot through the thigh. The insurgents were so thoroughly beaten at all points, and our men had followed them up so close to the city, that we have since been informed the greatest terror seized them, and they all fled from the city during the night. They had also lost several of their chiefs; and the Moulvie, the chief of the insurrection, is now, I understand, with a few followers, about fourteen miles off. There are still some villages in the neighbourhood inhabited by Mohammedan tawnties—who took a prominent and active part on the night of the mutiny—I will make an example of; but I cannot march out until I get sufficient cattle for my artillery, and also to draw carriages to convey wounded or men knocked over by the sun. Many sepoys supposed to be from Delhi, fought against us. We have had intelligence from the

* Four annas the bottle, all round—beer, brandy, and wines of all kinds, including champagne.

city of the dispersion and flight of most of the ringleaders. The Moulvie has fled, and two of his men of rank were slain on the 15th. Our two guns, taken away from the bridge of boats by the 6th, were sent in to our outposts yesterday morning; also, Mr. Cheek, of the 6th, since dead, and Mr. Conductor Coleman and his family, who escaped the night of the mutiny, although severely wounded and badly treated. The troops are in high spirits and as good health as can be expected this fearful weather. The fusiliers have endured more exposure and fatigue than most soldiers; their conduct has been admirable. I cannot speak too highly of Captain Brasyer of the Sikhs; he alone has kept that regiment together. and all right here; he deserves the greatest credit; he assisted me very greatly indeed in getting the Sikhs out of the fort. I almost feared at one time that force would have to be employed; it was a very near thing indeed; fortunately I was able to employ the Sikhs in the constant attacks, which assisted. The fusiliers now here consist of eleven officers and 360 men.—I have, &c.—J. G. NEILL,

"Lieut.-colonel, commanding Allahabad."

A fourth despatch, from Lieutenant-colonel Neill, is dated "Allahabad, June 19th, 1857."

"I last did myself the honour of addressing you on the 17th instant. On the following morning I moved out with all my force, having the previous day obtained bullocks for my two guns. I sent one party of eighty fusiliers and a hundred Sikhs in the steamer with a howitzer, up the river, to attack and destroy the Pathan village of Derryabad and the Mewattie villages of Sydabad and Russelpore, and to co-operate with me. I marched from cantonments with 200 fusiliers, two guns, all the Sikhs and irregular cavalry, and proceeded as far as the gaol, thus getting between the city and the villages belonging to, and said to be occupied by, the insurgents. I met with no opposition, the enemy, I regret to say, having disappeared during the night; I swept and destroyed these villages, and collected all my force on the parade-ground of the 6th Bengal native infantry. It was my intention to have occupied the church and other buildings during the heat of the day; but as symptoms of cholera amongst the fusiliers had occurred during the night, one man having been taken ill *en route*, I determined to return to the fort with all the Europeans, and leave Captain Brasyer and his Sikhs, with the irregular cavalry, accompanied by Mr. Court (collector and magistrate), to destroy several villages beyond the church; which work was properly done. I got back to the fort about 7 A.M., and regret to say, that several of the men came into hospital with cholera in its worst form. Eight men were buried last evening, and twenty this evening; there are still many cases in hospital, but of a milder nature; and I hope, with God's blessing, for the best.

"I had before this, fearing disease from the crowded state in which I found the fort, sent off two steamer loads of women and children; and as the cantonment is now safe, I directed all the non-combatants out of the fort: this order has been attended to. I have also established a European hospital in a Masonic building, a short distance from the fort, to which I have removed all cholera patients. I have also occupied the dâk bungalow near it, with a subaltern's party for its protection; a hundred Europeans are in tents on the glacis, and I move out 200 to-morrow to a tope of trees, near the dâk bungalow. No rain has yet fallen; the heat is intense, and the soldiers, after their hard work and exposure, are much prostrated. The barracks here are in bad order, followers of any description being almost unprocurable; there are but few punkahs and no tatties; the men have, therefore, not the proper advantages of barrack accommodation for this hot season. I regret to add, that the supply of medicines here has failed; there appears to have been little or none kept in Allahabad, and our detachments only brought up sufficient for the march.

"I am now in expectation of the arrival of the *Mirzapore*, which was also detained by the same authorities, and which, I hope, has some little medicine on board. At the same time, I have also to complain of the civil authorities at Ghazeepore presuming to keep back and not delivering to the officer commanding troops on board the *Mirzapore*, in Calcutta, written orders I sent through them, for the removal of the treasure, at that station, on board the steamer, to be brought by the Europeans to Benares.

"Two hundred bullocks with drivers were brought in here yesterday; this is all our public carriage at present; our commissariat officer is away, and that de-

partment is, in consequence, inefficient. I am prevented, therefore, from pushing on, as I wish, troops to Cawnpore; his excellency may feel assured that I will do so as soon as I possibly can. I, however, apprehend that nothing can be done until we have had a shower of rain. A detachment of the 84th Queen's may be in to-morrow; I shall place them in the church; and the other European troops, as they arrive, in other buildings in the cantonment. I beg to inclose Captain Fraser's report of his march from Benares to this place; much good service has been done by so thoroughly opening the road; the men of the detachment acquitted themselves in their usual soldierlike and enduring manner, and I beg to bring to the notice of his excellency, Captain Fraser, an intelligent and energetic officer, in whom I have the utmost confidence in any emergency. I am organising a body of irregular cavalry, by joining Captain Palliser's detachment of the 13th irregular cavalry with the few men of Captain Alexander's corps still remaining faithful to us, and expect to entertain some sowars. I have established a system of patrolling in the neighbourhood with the troopers, to encourage the people to bring in supplies.

"The Moulvie has left this with about 3,000 followers; his destination is unknown, but supposed to be Lucknow, or in this neighbourhood. I have arranged to beat up his camp if it is."

The following is the inclosure of Captain Fraser, dated "Allahabad, June 19th, 1857."

"Sir,—I have the honour to inform you that, agreeably to instructions received from the officer commanding Benares, a detachment of Madras fusiliers (strength as per margin*), under my command, marched on June 13th, 1857, from Benares, for the purpose of acting against the marauders and disturbers of the peace, and with the view of opening the communication along the road to Allahabad, which for some time had been interrupted. Mr. Chapman, a gentleman well acquainted with the country, accompanied the party. At Gopeegunge, a detachment of the 13th irregular cavalry, of eighty men, under the command of Lieutenant Palliser, joined the expedition.

"On the 14th instant, information having been received on oath that the inhabitants of two villages within a mile of the Grand Trunk-road, near Gopeegunge, had been plundering the grain and stopping the communication, I proceeded with a party of the fusiliers to the said villages, and called upon the principals to appear; but they had made their escape, and I ordered their houses to be burned.

"On the 15th instant, intelligence having been received that three zemindars, who had proclaimed themselves rajahs, and had been plundering, were then in a village about three miles from Gopeegunge, fifty men of the 13th irregular cavalry, under Lieutenant Palliser, proceeded to the village, accompanied by Mr. Chapman and Mr. Moore, of the civil service, who joined our party from Mirzapore. They succeeded in capturing the zemindars, and bringing them into camp, where they were tried immediately by court-martial, and hanged by eight o'clock the same evening.

"At midnight the detachment marched for Baroad, where we arrived at daybreak on the 16th, when I immediately proceeded, with a party of a hundred men of the Madras fusiliers, and the whole of the irregular cavalry, to apprehend, if possible, a man named Belour Sing, who, with 1,200 followers, was reported to be in a village about five miles from the Grand Trunk-road, and had been plundering the neighbouring villages. On arriving at the village named Dobaar, I found it deserted, and everything carried off, with the exception of some grain and a small quantity of gunpowder. I ordered Belour Sing's house and village to be burned, and a reward of 200 rupees was offered by Mr. Chapman for his capture. On the evening of the 16th instant, a zemindar came to the camp, accompanied by a duffadar, who was in command of twelve sepoys, who formed a guard over some government treasure in a village about a mile off the road, half-way between Baroad and Sydabad. Mr. Chapman and myself arranged that the detachment should be halted at the nearest point on the road on our march to Sydabad, and a party proceeded to the village to recover the treasure. About 1 A.M. on the 17th, Mr. Chapman and myself, with twenty-five men of the fusiliers, went to this village and carried off the treasure, which was said to amount to 12,000 rupees, and had been defended by the sepoy guard in charge of it, although the village had been attacked by Dacoits and burned. The treasure was

* One captain, four lieutenants, one second lieutenant, one assistant surgeon, and 150 native infantry, rank and file.

brought into Allahabad, escorted by half the sepoy guard, the remainder of the guard having been left to protect the village. The treasure was handed over on arrival here to Mr. Court, and I think that the sepoys are fairly entitled to some remuneration from government for having protected the treasure. The punishment inflicted on the three zemindars at Gopeegunge, and it being known that the detachment was able to march against and punish marauders at considerable distances from the high road, had the effect of intimidating those who had been plundering; and when the detachment was at Baroad, twenty-three government bullocks made their appearance, evidently brought to the neighbourhood of the camp by the people who had carried them off, but had become afraid to retain them. When the detachment was at Sydabad, more bullocks and horses were brought back in the same way.

"On arriving at Sydabad on the morning of the 17th instant, a party of the irregular cavalry, under Lieutenant Palliser, proceeded to a village about three miles off, in which it was reported certain people resided who had plundered the dâk bungalow, and carried off the government bullocks from Sydabad. Lieutenant Palliser's party secured several prisoners, who were brought into camp and tried by court-martial. A party of the fusiliers proceeded to another village belonging to the same people, but it was found deserted, and I ordered it to be burned. A few government bullocks were recovered. Two villages were burned by the irregular cavalry.

"On the morning of the 18th of June, the detachment arrived at Allahabad. I found the road clear the whole way, and am of opinion that any party of European troops, however small, may now travel the road with safety; but to keep the dâk open, I believe it is necessary, in the meantime, to establish a post of Europeans at Gopeegunge, and another half-way between that place and Allahabad; and Colonel Gordon, commanding Benares, has, I understand, ordered this to be done. It is impossible to speak too highly of Mr. Chapman's services; and I am convinced that the measures adopted by him as magistrate at the different places we passed through, if carried out by the police authorities, will have the effect of keeping the road perfectly quiet in future.

"The conduct of the fusiliers on the march was most praiseworthy in every respect. The irregular cavalry gave me every satisfaction, and I requested Lieutenant Palliser to convey my thanks to his men for their services.

"Dâk letters, I understand, arrived last night from Benares for the first time, and I trust that there will be no further interruption on this line.—I am, &c.,

"J. G. FRASER, Captain,
"Commanding Madras Fusiliers."

A fifth report from Colonel Neill, of June 19th, 1857, is as follows:—

"I last addressed you on the 17th instant. On the following morning I moved out of the fort with all my disposable European infantry fusiliers, two guns (for which I had obtained bullocks on the previous day), all the Sikhs, and the irregular cavalry, with the twenty mounted volunteers. I also sent a party up the Jumna (80 European infantry, and 100 Sikhs, with one howitzer), to co-operate from the river, and to land and destroy the Pathan village of Derryabad, and the Mewattie ones of Sydabad and Russelpore, the inhabitants of which have been most active in the insurrection. We found, on arriving at daylight at the gaol, that all the houses and villages there were nearly abandoned: we met with no opposition worth mentioning; the few armed men who were seen fled on our approach. All the houses and villages belonging to the insurgents were destroyed; and the force met on the parade-ground of the 6th native infantry a little after 6 A.M. As symptoms of cholera had appeared among the fusiliers during the night, and one man was taken ill whilst we were out, I abandoned my original intention of occupying the church and some of the large houses during the heat of the day, and determined to leave the destruction of other villages beyond the church to Captain Brasyer (of the Sikhs) and the cavalry, and moved my men back to the fort, which I reached about 7 A.M. Before leaving, I had sent with Mr. Court, to be continually in the city, a party of Sikhs, and we then re-established our authority. All those concerned in the mutiny and its results, are now expelled from the city; the Moulvie is said to have gone off towards Lucknow with 2,000 or 3,000 Mewatties. Shortly after my arrival in the fort, Captain Fraser's detachment of the fusiliers (147 men) came in; they have well executed the duty imposed on them by the officer commanding Benares, and have effectually cleared

the road as far as this, which is kept open and secure by the detachment of her majesty's 84th, posted on to Gopeegunge, half-way near this. I again sent off the telegraphic people to mend the wire broken near this, and hope they have been able to do so. The cholera, I regret to say, has attacked my men most severely; three men were buried last evening, and nineteen this evening. I immediately set to work to clear the fort of all the non-military; they are all gone outside into the cantonment: such of the railway people as are of no use here, I have, at the request of the officials in charge here, ordered passage for to Calcutta by the steamer that sails to-morrow. I have taken possession of the Masonic Lodge near this, in the cantonment, as a hospital, and moved out all the cholera patients. I have occupied the dâk bungalow with fusiliers, and encamped a hundred of them on the glacis, and shall move out more to-morrow: but there is no rain yet, and the heat is so fearful we are sadly put to it; I trust, however, we shall all manfully submit, and I trust, with God's blessing, to a change. I cannot, however, at present do anything, even if I had the means of moving towards Cawnpore; but as there are 200 bullocks with drivers here, and more carriage, and other means will come in at our disposal, I shall move a force on there as soon as I can I expect a detachment of her majesty's 84th in soon; they will be quartered in the cantonment: I shall occupy the church and other proper buildings.

"We are most hardly pressed for medicine; the supply here, which was little or none, is expended; my detachments had only sufficient for use on the march. I hope no time will be lost in sending up here an efficient commissariat department; such should be here. We are most badly off here in that respect; and the want of bread, &c., for the Europeans, may no doubt increase the disease. I have written to Benares, to send the commissariat officer of that station up here, but his whereabouts is not known; I hear he is an excellent officer, and were he here I think we should be better off. All are thoroughly prostrated by the heat; no tatties, and few if any punkahs; and the men have undergone much exposure and hard work. I beg to notice most favourably the energy and decision of Captain Fraser of the fusiliers, lately come up, as also that of our acting magistrate, Mr. Chapman from Benares."

On the 20th of June, Lieutenant-colonel Neill transmitted the following information, by telegraph, to the secretary to the government at Calcutta:—"Allahabad, June 20th, 12.10 P.M.—The insurgents have been completely driven away from this. Communications with Benares open. The Moulvie gone towards Lucknow. Fusiliers severely attacked with cholera early on morning of the 18th instant; 100 cases; forty deaths from cholera, ten from sun-stroke; health now improving; moved position, and established hospitals outside the fort; no rain; heat terrible; 490 fusiliers of all ranks now here; remainder on their way up by steamer; 100 of the 84th arrived this morning; more coming on; road to Cawnpore closed up country; arranging to push on troops towards Cawnpore, and open up communication, but impeded by Allahabad; supplies on the road; will persevere to the utmost."

During the evening of the 21st, and morning of the 22nd, the whole of the fusiliers, and the head-quarters of the 84th Europeans, arrived in the steamers *Calcutta* and *Mirzapore*, and 400 of them were immediately placed under orders for Cawnpore, the intelligence from whence had given cause for much apprehension for the safety of that garrison.

On the 22nd, Colonel Neill reported by the telegraph that the cholera was decreasing, only one fresh case and two deaths having occurred since sunset of the 21st. He then says—"Head-quarters 84th arrived by steamer *Calcutta* yesterday evening; Colonel Reid returns sick, and did not land. *Mirzapore*, with 234 men and six officers of the fusiliers, arrived this morning; all well. Davidson, of commissariat, arrived; now hope to get something done. Endeavouring to equip with carriage and provisions 400 Europeans to push on towards Cawnpore. The railway reported as little injured, and believed by the officers to be in good working order as far as Tolundu. The locomotives entirely destroyed, but thirty vans are uninjured; will use them on railway with bullocks or coolies. The country towards Cawnpore, within twenty miles of this, deserted, but people returning; no intelligence I can depend on received from Cawnpore; have sent several messages, but no answer; great scarcity of medicine here and at Benares."

On the 22nd of the month commissions were issued for the examination and punishment of persons concerned in the disturbances, and the same day the Allahabad commissioner hanged the city moonsiff, and an opulent merchant, named Ram Lall Molly. Three other persons had been convicted, and were to be hanged on the following day, and many more were in confinement awaiting trial.

At this time it had become apparent, that some strenuous exertions were really necessary in the direction of Cawnpore; but the desire of Lieutenant-colonel Neill to move in that direction, was frustrated by the total insufficiency of the means of conveyance at his disposal. His incessant applications for dhoolies for the conveyance of his troops, were, as a matter of course, referred to the heads of departments, and by them to their subordinates; and, as is usual in all matters in which official routine has to be observed, much valuable time was lost in communications between the lieutenant-colonel and the secretary to the government; the town major at Fort William; the garrison engineer; the deputy adjutant-general; the commander-in-chief in Bengal; the deputy secretary to the government, and the military board! But, at length, all official difficulties and delays were surmounted, and the dhoolies were ordered to be prepared; but, in the meantime, the garrison at Cawnpore had been gradually reduced to extremities for want of reinforcements and supplies.

On the 28th of June, the lieutenant-colonel was enabled to announce his intention to move, on the 30th, the relief called for by the hazardous state of Cawnpore; and that Major Renaud, of the Madras fusiliers, in whom he had the utmost confidence, would take the command of the column. On the 30th, he reported to the governor-general in council, that 500 or 600 men were urgently required at Cawnpore, and that his column was then starting. He says by this message—"It (the column) was delayed on account of want of lascars and bearers; I have now received the former, and will do without the latter. Havelock has arrived, and will have equipment for two European regiments by the 4th, if the lascars do not again fail."*

PERSHADEEPORE.—Before closing the chapter thus devoted to the occurrences at Allahabad during the month of June, it will be necessary to refer to a communication from Captain R. L. Thompson, commanding the late 1st regiment of Oude irregular infantry, announcing the mutiny and dispersion of that regiment after plundering the treasury, and his arrival with one jemadar, one havildar, and six sepoys—the wreck of his corps—at Allahabad. This gentleman writes, on the 25th of June, to the secretary to the government, as follows:—

"I have the honour to report, for the information of government, that the 1st regiment Oude irregular infantry, lately under my command, mutinied at Pershadeepore (Oude) on the 10th instant. The conduct of the regiment up to the 9th instant continued to be most exemplary, notwithstanding the trials to which they had been put by the false accounts of their friends and relations from different disbanded and mutinous corps. They made use of their cartridges, and ridiculed the idea of their being anything to be objected to in their composition; and on the occasion of some evil-disposed person having caused bones to be placed in the attah sold in the Suddur Bazaar, they showed no excitement, but said they had perfect confidence in the good faith of their officers. Matters went on thus smoothly until the 9th instant, on which date a troop of the 3rd irregular cavalry arrived from Pertaungurh. On the afternoon of that day, a sowar, pretending to have escaped from a party of mutinous troops, galloped into the station, and reported that an irregular cavalry regiment, a wing of an infantry regiment, and two guns, were within two miles; and at the same time a report arrived from the direction of Sultanpore, to the effect that the mutinous troops from that station were all advancing to attack us.

"On the receipt of the above intelligence, I immediately paraded my regiment, and detached a duffadar's party to ascertain the truth of the matter. They returned in a short time, saying that the story was altogether false. I accordingly turned my men in again, and after some time returned to my bungalow. In the evening, the native officers urged the European officers to keep in the lines, where, in case of an attack, they would be safer than in their bungalows; and their request was complied with. The next morning, I found the whole of the men dressed and accoutred, which caused me to suspect that all was not right; and on asking the native officers what was the

* Parl. Papers, 1857.

matter, I was informed that the regiment had mutinied. I shortly after heard that Captain Barrow, the deputy commissioner of Salme, was aware of the mutiny, and had decided on leaving the station.

"I was anxious, if possible, to save the good men of the corps, of whom there were very many, and suggested that they should separate themselves from the bad men, and march, with the European officers and colours, into Allahabad. After a short time had elapsed, the native officers came to me, and said that the treasure must at any rate be abandoned, and would then be plundered; the men therefore hoped that I would give them each six months' pay, and they would march with the European officers to any neighbouring station. This proposal was agreed to, and the money disbursed; but I regret to say that, at the last moment, the temptation of the remainder of the treasure was too great, and it was evident the men had no intention of fulfilling their engagement.

"When I discovered that the mutiny was complete, I proceeded to Captain Barrow's house, and arranged to leave with all the other Europeans at 4 P.M.; but before leaving I went to the lines of the regiment, called upon all men who wished it to accompany me, and directed them to assemble on the road for that purpose. I then returned to Captain Barrow's house, and the whole of the European residents started, passing through the centre street of the lines, and in front of the quarter-guard. The men were all assembled, with their arms loaded; but no threatening words or gestures were used. On getting clear of the station, our party was escorted by Rajah Hunnewaut Sing (Talookdar) and his followers to the fort of Dharoopoor, where we were treated with every consideration; and on receipt of satisfactory accounts from Allahabad, we were safely brought into that station on the 22nd instant by the rajah in person.

"I beg to state that, up to the 9th instant, the regiment was as well conducted as could be wished; but it appears that the sowars above alluded to, and those of the 15th regiment (irregular cavalry), which had mutinied at Sultanpore, represented to them, on the night of that date, that if they remained faithful they would be overpowered by the corps that had mutinied in the surrounding stations. These representations, added to the false reports spread by men of the 37th, 45th, and 57th regiments of native infantry—that they had, in the first place, been disarmed and then fired upon by the European troops—brought about the ruin of the regiment, which had always been remarkable for good conduct. Had there been only a small sum in the treasury, the mutiny would probably never have occurred. The quiet conduct of the men throughout, shows that they had no cause of dissatisfaction; indeed, it is owing to the personal attachment of the men to their officers, that the whole of the Europeans in the station were allowed to leave without molestation from the troops. Fifty or sixty joined our party on leaving the station; but their numbers gradually decreased, and only one jemadar, one havildar, and six sepoys accompanied us into Allahabad. The proper channel of communication being now closed, I take upon myself to send this report direct.—I have, &c.,

"R. L. THOMPSON, Captain,
"Commanding late 1st Regt. Oude Infantry."

The above report was forwarded to the government by Lieutenant-colonel Neill, with the subjoined remarks endorsed upon it.

"Captain Thompson's statement ought to be taken with caution. He, likewise, believed his men to have been faithful to the last, and only carried away at the last moment by false reports, and the dread of being coerced by the other mutineers. This is absurd: they were as deeply in the plot as the rest of the army; the only credit due to them is, that they did not murder their officers.

"J. G. NEILL, Lieutenant-colonel,
"Commanding at Allahabad."

The gallant Neill was not one to be deceived by appearances, or to suffer himself to be lulled into a false security by plausible representations: few men appear to have been better adapted to the crisis, or more competent to manage the unruly elements in agitation throughout India, than was this lamented officer.

The only peculiarity in the affair at Pershadeepore, consists in the entire abstinence of the troops from that ferocious craving for European blood that had characterised every other rebellious movement of the native soldiers. The 1st regiment of Oude irregular infantry certainly stands almost alone for its humanity, though it may not be entitled to much consideration on the score of its loyalty or honesty.

In concluding this portion of the Indian mutiny, so far as events connected with its progress at Allahabad, during the month of June, were concerned, it may be well to remember that when the insurrection broke forth at Delhi, Allahabad, like that city, was without a single European soldier within its garrison, if we except the few officers attached to the native regiments. It possessed a valuable arsenal, and a fort, situated in a position of the greatest possible military value and importance. It is true, when the revolt had broken out, efforts were made in Calcutta to forward troops without delay, to meet the pressing exigencies of Benares, Allahabad, and Cawnpore; but, as the first reinforcements of Europeans arrived at the former place, they were sent forward by the commissioner to supply the supposed yet greater need of Cawnpore; and at length about 300 European troops arrived there. Allahabad, supposed to be yet strong in the ostentatiously paraded loyalty of the 6th native regiment, had also for its protection about 400 men of a Sikh regiment from Ferozepore, and some irregular cavalry of Oude. Of the hollow ground upon which its safety rested, we have ample proof in the detestable treachery of the 6th, and the unfaithfulness of the sowars. But for the opportune arrival of Colonel Neill, and the promptitude and determination of Lieutenant Brasyer of the Sikh regiment, there is little doubt but the garrison and residents in the fort would have been sacrificed to the insane vengeance of the mutinous sepoys. By the energy of this subaltern officer, the volunteers in the fort were assembled, armed with rifles and revolvers. The order was given to the guard to pile arms; the sepoys hesitated; two guns which were in readiness were pointed at them, and then, at the most critical moment, the Sikhs, distracted and excited by the firing outside the fort, faltered, and their ranks wavered! But Brasyer stood firm; the order to fire was upon his lips, when, providentially, two or three of the sepoys threw down their arms, and the Sikhs, instantly recovering themselves, began at once to disarm and strip the remainder of the guard. The crisis occupied but a few minutes; but at that crisis Allahabad was saved!

Had ill success befallen Lieutenant Brasyer at this eventful moment, the result to government would have been most calamitous. The fort at Allahabad, in the hands of the 6th regiment, would have become the rendezvous and stronghold of all the revolted troops in that part of India, and its subjugation would have been the necessary, but very difficult and hazardous, preliminary to any further operations in the Doab. Its preservation was, in fact, a most important and providential triumph for our arms; and, at the time, tended more than anything else to diffuse alarm, and a sense of insecurity, among the disaffected populations of the surrounding districts; while it also formed the basis on which to construct further measures for the progressive restoration of European ascendancy throughout India.

CHAPTER XV.

THE JHANSIE MUTINY; SEIZURE OF THE STAR FORT BY THE 12TH NATIVE INFANTRY; APPEAL TO THE LOYALTY OF THE REGIMENT; PROTESTATIONS OF FIDELITY AND ATTACHMENT; MURDER OF CAPTAIN DUNLOP; THE EUROPEANS RETIRE TO THE TOWN FORT; DEATH OF CAPTAIN GORDON; THE FORT SURROUNDED BY MUTINEERS; UNSUCCESSFUL ATTEMPTS TO ESCAPE; OFFERS OF PROTECTION ON SURRENDER; THE EUROPEANS LEAVE THE FORT, AND ARE MASSACRED; OFFICIAL LIST OF VICTIMS; MUTINY AT NOWGONG; ESCAPE OF THE OFFICERS AND EUROPEAN FAMILIES; PERILS AND SUFFERINGS OF THE FUGITIVES; NARRATIVE OF AN OFFICER; EXPERIENCE OF SERGEANT KIRCHOFF; OFFICIAL REPORT OF CAPTAIN SCOTT.

Following a chronological succession of the mutinous outbreaks it is the object of these pages to record, attention must now be directed to circumstances connected with the mutiny and massacre consummated at Jhansie, a town and military station of Bundlecund, in Central India, situate about 129 miles south-west of the city of Agra.

The atrocities wantonly perpetrated at this place, have scarcely been exceeded in heartless brutality by the crimes of the rebellious soldiers in other localities ravaged by their indiscriminating vengeance.

Of the outbreak at Jhansie, the details available for history are more copious than might have been expected, under the circumstances of a blow so complete and unsparing as that which, on the 8th of June, 1857, crimsoned the annals of the town with the blood of helpless and unoffending women and children.

For some time prior to the outbreak, the left wing of the 12th regiment of native infantry, and that of the 14th irregular cavalry, had been stationed at Jhansie, where there were two forts—one in the town itself; the other, called the "Star Fort," being in the cantonments. Some unpleasant indications of the existence of a bad feeling among the native troops had, in the latter part of May, awakened suspicion that their fidelity could not be depended on; and Captain Dunlop, in command at the station, transmitted to Major Kirke, then with the head-quarters of the regiment at Nowgong, some letters that had come to the hands of Major Skene, superintendent of the district, and Captain Gordon, deputy commissioner of Jhansie; in which it was alleged that a Brahmin, named Lacknum Rao, in the service of the ranee of Jhansie, was using strenuous efforts to induce the men of the 12th regiment to mutiny and destroy their officers; and that although the fact was suspected, it was not at that time certain that the emissary of revolt was acting under the orders of the ranee. Other letters, from the same source of information, informed Captain Dunlop, that spies from the revolted regiments, and from the known leaders of the movement, found no difficulty in entering his lines and tampering with the men. Up to this time, no apparent cause existed for doubting the fidelity of the troopers of the 14th cavalry, and the danger consequently seemed but of limited extent, and not too difficult to be successfully grappled with. As a measure of precaution, however, arrangements were quietly made for the removal of the European families from their bungalows, &c., to the town fort, where the officers now took up their night quarters, spending the day at the cantonments as usual, to avoid exciting suspicion that an *émeute* was anticipated.

The surveyor of the revenue of the district, Captain Burgess, with the whole of his official establishment, had their tents pitched within the fort, and everything was prepared for the permanent accommodation of the European and *half-caste* residents, when it should be necessary for them to seek the asylum.

Nothing to indicate an immediate movement occurred until the morning of Thursday, the 4th of June, when the men of the 7th company of the 12th regiment, headed by one of their havildars, suddenly marched into the "Star Fort," and took possession of it, with the treasure, ammunition, and stores deposited there. Upon this decided act of open mutiny being reported to Captain Dunlop, he immediately dispatched the following communication to Colonel Kirke, dated "Jhansie, June 4th, 1857, 4 P.M.":—

"Sir,—The artillery and infantry have broken into mutiny, and have entered the 'Star Fort.' No one has been hurt as yet. Look out for stragglers.

"Yours, &c., J. DUNLOP."

On the departure of his messenger, Captain Dunlop paraded those companies of the regiment that had not joined in the mutinous demonstration, and the men of the irregular cavalry, and called upon them to preserve the honour of their respective corps by their fidelity and obedience. The troops eagerly and loudly responded to this appeal, by declaring they would do so, and would stand by their colours and their officers to the last man. Reassured by these protestations of loyalty and attachment, Captain Dunlop remained in the lines during that and the following day, and nothing occurred to awaken his suspicions of impending mischief.

During the evening of the 4th of June, the whole of the European families at the station were removed to the fort, and began to prepare in earnest for the defence of the position. The whole number of Europeans in the town fort on the night of the 4th of June, was fifty-five, including the ladies and children; some of the *half-castes* having previously ventured to leave the place, but without the good fortune to ensure safety by so doing.

As yet no blood had stained the hands of the mutineers at Jhansie; but about noon of Saturday, the 6th of June, as Captain Dunlop and Ensign Taylor were walking together across the parade-ground of the 12th, on

their return from the post-office, some men of the 12th, without any warning, raised their muskets and deliberately shot down the two officers. Lieutenant Campbell, of the 14th, who was on horseback near the spot where they fell, instantly rode off in the direction of the town fort, whither he was pursued by some of his own troopers, and thrice wounded before he gained shelter. Lieutenant Turnbull, the assistant-surveyor of revenue, hastened from the lines; but being on foot, and unable to reach the fort, he climbed a tree for concealment from the men who were following him. Unfortunately, he was seen in the act by some persons who directed his pursuers to the spot, and the latter, on their arrival, shot him down, and he fell a corpse at their feet, riddled with bullets. A native servant to one of the officers, who remained in the fort until the 8th, afterwards stated that the inmates could see, through their glasses, the men killing Captain Dunlop and Ensign Taylor; and it was not until that occurrence that the gates were closed and barricaded with large stones. The people in the fort also observed the approach of Lieutenant Campbell, with the sowars in close pursuit; and, with their well-aimed rifles, secured his safety for a time by bringing down some of the sowars as they came within range.

The fort being now, it was thought, effectually secured from attack, the little garrison calmly awaited the arrival of hoped-for succour, and occupied the interval in getting provisions from the town, hoisting the supplies, by ropes, through an embrasure in the parapet—occasionally varying their occupation by shooting such of the mutinous soldiers as ventured within range; and, by cautious practice from the loopholes and embrasures of the fort, they managed to make some havoc among their assailants; the only loss in return being that of Captain Gordon, who was shot through the head while hauling up a bucket of wheat, that had been brought to the wall of the fort by a native groom belonging to one of the officers.

The parties collected within the fort at the time its gates were barricaded, were Major Skene, his wife and two children; Captain Gordon, of the Madras native infantry; Dr. M'Egan (12th native infantry) and wife; Lieutenant Powys, 6th native infantry (attached to the canal department), with his wife and child; Dr. Brown, deputy commissioner of Jalowan, with his wife, child, and sister; two ladies from Orai, guests of the last-named gentleman; Quartermaster-sergeant Newton, with his wife and four children; and the whole of the English and Christian native *employés* in the canal and civil departments, with their wives, children, and other relatives.

It was not alone to attacks from without that this little community was exposed: while busied in providing against the open enemies that surrounded the fort, treachery within the walls was at work to destroy them! One of the khitmutgurs of Captain Burgess, seizing an opportunity when he thought he was unobserved, began rapidly to pull away the stones piled up to secure one of the gates: but being detected in the treacherous act by Lieutenant Powys, that officer indignantly shot him, and was himself immediately cut down by the tulwar of another native servant standing by. Lieutenant Burgess, who, between the closing of the fort and its surrender, had himself brought down fourteen of the rebels by his rifle practice, avenged the death of his brother-officer by killing his murderer. The position of the Europeans now became desperate; and, during the night of the 7th, some of the civil *employes* endeavoured to escape in native clothing by descending from the parapet; but they were instantly caught, and butchered before the eyes of the friends they had just left.

In the course of Monday, the 8th of June, offers of safety for the whole of the Europeans within the fort, were proposed by the mutineers, who had then completely surrounded it; and two of the gates having been battered in, the provisions nearly exhausted, and no succour appearing probable, Major Skene and the other officers, relying upon the assurances made them, that the lives of all would be spared if they surrendered—a condition that both Hindoos and Mohammedans pledged themselves by oaths to observe—a gateway was cleared, and all walked out of the fort, except Lieutenant Powys (who was yet alive, but unable to move) and his wife, who refused to leave her dying husband. She was, however, torn from his side and compelled to join the rest of the betrayed party.

The evacuation of the fort, and its consequences, are thus described by an officer who, under a clever disguise, managed to escape the butcheries of Jhansie, and, it is hoped, lived to avenge them.

"At last Major Skene, taking the arm of one of the party, emerged from the gateway, near which a strong body of the rebels were drawn up in two lines to receive their victims. The soldiers stood quiet until the last of the Europeans had left the fort, and then, suddenly closing upon the officers and other males, seized each of them, tied them with ropes they had with them for the purpose, and led them to an adjacent garden: the females were next secured in the same way; and then every soul, whatever the age, rank, or sex, was killed by the sword. The men died first, Burgess taking the lead—his elbows tied behind his back, and a Prayer-book in his hands. What a sad end for so kind-hearted and unselfish a man! But to die confessing the faith is a noble death. The rest died in the same way. They tried hard to get the women and children saved. Our quartermaster-sergeant and his family alone were spared; the servant says he was taken with the rebels when they left. This man said, the women stood with their babes in their arms, and the older children holding their gowns. They had to see the men killed; but, with one exception only, I believe they were spared any violence save death. Dear little Mrs. Powys—I think of her with such a pang. Poor Dunlop, too, the first friend I made in India; and Turnbull, so warm-hearted and anxious to do good and to benefit others. Poor little Taylor' he had been with his brother, and had made great haste to rejoin on the mutinies breaking out at other stations. He reached Jhansie a few days before he died. I am so glad you and your pets were gone. I should have withered with horror at your sharing the awful end of the other poor ladies. It is bad enough to have to mourn Mrs. Powys. Ryves, thank God, escaped to Gwalior. I have seen his name in two Calcutta papers, which say that he had escaped, with others, to Agra, when the Gwalior troops mutinied."

The following passages comprise the substance of a statement given by some native servants who were shut up in the fort with the Europeans, and on their release from thence on the 10th of June, after the massacre of their employers, found an opportunity to escape to the head-quarters of the 12th regiment, and relate the incidents of the mutiny as they occurred:—"For some time since the gentlemen had been in the habit of passing the nights in the fort, and spending the days at their bungalows. Captain Burgess and his establishment had their tents pitched within the fort, and everything was being put in readiness to retreat into the fort so soon as there should be occasion to do so, which occurred on the evening of the 4th of June. Some few effected their escape from the place altogether; one gentleman (name unknown) reached Burwur Sagar, when, meeting with a native surveyor of the canal establishment (Sahib Rai), he gave him his watch and horse, and, procuring a Hindostani dress, escaped on foot. He was scarcely out of sight, when two sowars, who were hotly pursuing him, arrived there, and, recognising the horse, took Sahib Rai and the thanadar prisoners (bound) back to Jhansie, where they were still when last heard of. Lieutenant Turnbull was not so fortunate, as, not having been able to gain the fort, he climbed a large tree. He had, however, been seen, and was shot in the tree.

"From the evening of the 4th until noon of the 8th, the gentlemen in the fort kept good their position, the ladies assisting them in cooking for them, sending them refreshments, casting bullets, &c. There were fifty-five in number altogether (Europeans), inclusive of the ladies and children, and they began to get very much straitened for want of provisions, &c. Behind all the gates they had piled high heaps of stones to strengthen them, and kept up so good a defence, that one of the cannon which had been brought too near the gates was abandoned, and it was only by fixing ropes to it in the night-time that the mutineers were able to regain possession of it. Lieutenant Powys was the second person killed in the fort. The way he met his death was this:—Two men, brothers, in Captain Burgess's employ (one was his jemadar) declared that they would go out. They were told they would be shot down if they attempted it, but they said they might as well be shot as stay there to be starved, and accordingly commenced undoing the fastenings. One was shot immediately; the other turned on Lieutenant Powys, who happened to be near him, and cut him down with his tulwar. This one also was directly shot by Captain Burgess. The only other person killed inside the fort was Captain Gordon, who received a bullet in the head while raising some provisions into the fort. His death occasioned much grief among the gentlemen.

"The mutineers at last, having forced the ranee to assist them with guns and elephants, succeeded in effecting an entrance at two of the gates, and they promised the gentlemen that if they laid down their arms, and gave themselves up quietly, their lives should be spared. The gentlemen unfortunately trusted to their word and came out. They were tied in a long line between some trees, and, after a short consultation, had their heads struck off. Such ladies as had children had to see them cut in halves before their own turns came. The sowars, it appears, bore the principal part in all these atrocities. This took place on the afternoon of the 8th of June."

The following extract from a letter to a relative of Captain Skene, in which the death of that officer and his wife, and also that of Captain Gordon, is referred to, is interesting, although it varies in some important particulars from the foregoing statement:—

"It is all true about poor Frank Gordon. He, Alic Skene, his wife, and a few peons managed to get into a small round tower when the disturbance began; the children and all the rest were in other parts of the fort—altogether, sixty. Gordon had a regular battery of guns, also revolvers; and he and Skene picked off the rebels as fast as they could fire, Mrs. Skene loading for them. The peons say they never missed once, and before it was all over they killed thirty-seven, besides many wounded. The rebels, after butchering all in the fort, brought ladders against the tower, and commenced swarming up. Frank Gordon was shot through the forehead, and killed at once. Skene then saw it was no use going on any more, so he kissed his wife, shot her, and then himself."

The subjoined communication, addressed by Mr. Thornton, joint magistrate and deputy collector, to Captain Bruce, superintendent of police at Cawnpore, was forwarded by Lieutenant-colonel Neill to the secretary of the government, and forms what may be considered an official report of the occurrences at Jhansie, and a list of the persons murdered by the rebels. This document is dated "Sumpther, August 18th, 1857," and runs thus:—

"For the information of the general, I beg to inclose a list of those who were killed at Jhansie. The mutiny commenced on the 5th of June; on the 6th, four officers were killed on the parade; the others, who escaped into the fort, were massacred on the 8th. It is the general impression that the mutineers, after killing their own officers and plundering the treasury, were going off; and it was only at the instigation of the Jhansie ranee, with a view of her obtaining possession of the district, that they, together with other armed men furnished by the ranee, attacked the fort. For two days our officers held out bravely, shooting several who attempted to force an entry into the fort; but, as they had no guns or ammunition, or food, they gave themselves up after the mutineers had sworn most solemnly to allow them to go unmolested. Yet they allowed them to be massacred by the ranee's people in their presence, in a most cruel and brutal manner, having no regard to sex or age. For this act, the mutineers are said to have received from her, 35,000 rupees in cash, two elephants, and five horses. The ranee has now raised a body of about 14,000 men, and has twenty guns, which had been kept concealed by the former Jhansie chief, by being buried within the fort, and of which nothing was known to our officers. I am not certain whether she intends to make any resistance in case our troops come to this quarter; but none of the other native chiefs in Bundlecund have as yet turned against our government. The Jalowan chief has raised a body of about 12,000 men, but I do not think he would fight against us. There is a rumour here that Major Erskine, commissioner of the Saugor and Nerbudda territories, Jalowan, and Jhansie, is coming this side with some Madras regiments; but of this I am not certain. At Saugor, too, a portion of our troops have mutinied, but no particulars are known; and, from my peculiar position here, I have been unable to communicate with him. We hope to hear that more troops have arrived, and all will soon be settled in every quarter. Please to let me know how affairs are at Meerut; whether the two European corps which were there are still in *statu quo*, or have gone elsewhere.

"I might as well mention, for the information of the general, that the man who is now in possession of Jalowan, was the jhageerdar of Gourserai, within my jurisdiction, which comprised the pergunnahs of Mhow, Pandwah, Gurrotah, and Gourserai. I held my own office at Mhow Raneepoor, in the Jhansie district.

"*List of persons killed at Jhansie.*—Left



wing 12th native infantry:—Captain Dunlop, commanding; Lieutenant Ryves; Ensign Taylor; Dr. M'Egan, with wife and sister; Quartermaster-sergeant Newton, with wife and four children. Detachment 14th irregular cavalry:—Lieutenant Campbell, commanding; name of the other officer not known. *Civil.*—Captain Skene, superintendent of Jalowan, Jhansie, and Chandeyree, with wife and two children; Lieutenant Gordon, deputy commissioner of Jhansie; Mr. J. Andrews, P. S. Ameen, Jhansie; Mr. R. Andrews, deputy magistrate and deputy collector at Jhansie, with wife and four children. Captain Burgess, revenue surveyor; Lieutenant Turnbull, assistant ditto; Mr. Murood, sub-assistant ditto, with wife; Mr. Blyth, mother-in-law, and three children; Mr. Millard, with wife and three children; Mr. Young, senior, with wife; Mr. Young, junior, sub-assistant; Mr. Gabriel, revenue surveyor; Mr. Carshore, collector of customs, with wife and four children; Mr. Wilton, patrol, with wife and child, and two sisters; Mr. Orr, superintendent of customs, with wife and mother. *Clerks.*—Mr. Scott; Mr. Purcell, senior; Mr. Purcell, junior; Mr. Elliott, with father and mother; Mr. Muttoo, senior, with wife and child; Mr. Muttoo, junior; Mr. Crawford. Sergeant Ryley, overseer of public works at Jhansie; Mr. Fleming, out of service; Mrs. Brown, wife of Dr. Brown, deputy commissioner of Jalowan, with a child and sister.

"The above is a list of such as have been ascertained to have been killed at Jhansie. Mr. Crawford, one of the Jhansie clerks, who is at present here, is the only person who appears to have escaped from Jhansie."

NOWGONG.—In June, 1857, the military force at this station comprised the head-quarters of the 12th regiment of native infantry (numbering about 400 bayonets), 219 sowars of the 14th regiment of irregular horse, and the 4th company of the 9th battalion of native artillery, consisting of sixty men, with a light field battery attached. The temper of the whole force had, for several weeks, given occasion for much disquietude to the officer in command of the station, Major H. Kirke, of the 12th regiment; and had the reports transmitted by him to the seat of government reached their intended destination, in all probability the events that occurred at Nowgong after the outrages at Jhansie, would have been effectually guarded against, and the sufferings and sacrifices at one place alleviated, if not prevented altogether. Unfortunately, owing to the state of the country round both stations, those reports appear to have been intercepted in every case until the mischief they anticipated had been accomplished, and succour became unavailing.

About the middle of May, rumours began to prevail among the troops, of intended visits by mutinous parties from other stations, by whom they would be compelled to join in the rebellious movement; and the officers were kept in a state of unceasing activity, in fruitless endeavours to trace the source of information so productive of excitement among the men. By degrees, the temper of a considerable portion of the troops assumed a tone of indifference to the orders of their officers, and in some cases open disobedience was exhibited; but in the absence of even a single company of Europeans to enforce the orders of the commanding officer and restore discipline, it was not thought prudent to venture upon a court-martial. There were also among the troops many well-disposed men, upon whom it was considered reliance might be placed, in the event of any attempt on the part of the disaffected to break into open mutiny; and as it was not then known to Major Kirke that his despatches had been intercepted, he probably deemed it advisable to temporise until sufficiently strengthened to resort to a decisive line of action with a prospect of success.

On the 4th of June, as before observed,* the mutiny at Jhansie was inaugurated by the seizure of the Star Fort; and upon the fact becoming known to the troops, great excitement prevailed, and, as usual in all instances of Hindoo or Mohammedan impulse connected with the revolt, it first found expression in vehement declarations of attachment to their officers and of loyalty to the state; but these superficial demonstrations scarcely deceived those to whom they were offered. The wanton and unprovoked outrages committed by native troops at places where they had obtained a mastery over the European populations, had by this time destroyed all confidence in the races of which the Bengal army was chiefly composed; and a few hours sufficed to prove, that whatever suspicion of duplicity existed, it was amply justified by the result.

The occurrences at Nowgong, immediately subsequent to the outbreak at

* See *ante*, p. 271.

Jhansie, are so graphically described in the subjoined narrative by an officer of the 12th regiment, that no apology can be necessary for its introduction in these pages. The gallant author of the interesting detail says—"Our Nowgong tale is this:—On the 5th of June our men volunteered, company by company, to serve against the rebels, to revenge the honourable Company upon them. They were in the best possible spirits; they were thanked and praised, and then told the Jhansie news at a parade at 3 P.M. They were unanimous and enthusiastic in declaring that they would stand by us; so were the artillery. The cavalry were cool, and professed their allegiance, as if it were absurd to ask such a question of such honourable men. We were very glad to find the three arms show loyalty; and I thanked God, who disposes men's hearts. On the 8th we got news of poor Dunlop's death, and heard from Mouraneepore that every European at Jhansie was murdered. On the 9th the artillery company said they were anxious to serve against the rebels. We had heard, about the 1st of June, of some plot being hatched in the company, had seized four of the most mischievous, dismissed them by a word, and walked them off *instanter* to Chutterpore as prisoners. We dared not hold a court-martial; a sudden and successful blow was our only course, and this one told; the company was quiet, and, rid of its worst, was well-inclined. Our own men had all along shown us the utmost good-will, and it was unfeigned, with the exception of a few. On the 10th all was quiet till sunset, when the six artillery guns were as usual brought on our parade, and our new guards were being marched off to relieve old ones, when a tall dare-devil Sikh and two others walked forward, the former loading his piece. He made for the havildar-major, a very nice, faithful man, and shot him down. Mrs. Mawe, Mr. Smalley, and Mr. Franks and others saw him shot. He fell dead. The three Sikhs then dashed to the guns. The artillery sergeant made some attempt to defend them, and several muskets were fired at him, he says. None of the gunners stood by him, and so he made off. One sergeant-major, as big as Falstaff, did so too. One sepoy pushed aside a musket that was being fired at him. For some time we had all dined at 4 P.M., as we went early to the lines and to guards to prevent mischief. We had done dinner, and Dr. Mawe had been urging our making a move, because it was impossible that our men would stand fast after their brothers at Jhansie had rebelled, and were still so near. I had said that, great as the danger was, we could not abandon the station without orders; we could not move until carriage came, and it was almost certain that the first mention of collecting carriage would precipitate a revolt. A few days before I had sent for the government camels, to see them. They were only eight or nine; and those who wished to mutiny set abroad a story that I had sent for the camels in order to remove the treasure: it was our danger all along; and the rumour warned us that there was a party who intended to mutiny; and to stimulate the courage of some, and to quicken matters, gave out that, if they delayed, the treasure would be gone. You may fancy how anxious we were from the 23rd of April, when the fires began, till now—one event after another adding to the proof that mischief was being hatched by some.

"The 14th irregulars told us, on the 23rd of May, that all the Christians at Delhi had been murdered for their belief in Jesus. I did not alarm the others, but I knew what we might expect from them, as, with four or five exceptions, they were all Mohammedans, and very fiery ones. They were very independent after that announcement, doing duty in a gay, careless manner, that seemed to say, 'It will soon be at an end; we are merely amusing ourselves in obeying orders.' I had to go among them and give orders, and I did so with no pleasure, feeling that my life was not safe a moment with them. The native officers were chillingly polite, as Mohammedans know well how to be. Barber never would believe anything against them, and went continually to their lines to the last. I slept at nights at the corner of your compound on the back road, with two guns all ready for the irregulars, but I never got a chance.

"Well, Dr. Mawe and I had hardly ended our conversation when we heard several musket-shots in the lines. There was no doubting what they meant. I went to the top of the mess-house to reconnoitre and learn the state of things, and form a plan before going to the lines. Ewart and Townsend mounted and galloped straight to the lines. Franks had gone there some time before, and was speaking to Mr. Smalley, and he saw what happened from the first, and rode off to tell us all. Poor Townsend was only in time to see his guns in other

hands. I tried to get men together and to make a dash at the guns with Ewart, who joined me, but no one would move. They were panic-stricken or mutinous. At last I got a bugler who was too nervous to sound. I blew the 'assembly' several times, but with no effect; no more joined me than before. One gun loaded with grape had been fired over the lines, and I thought another would be fired at me for sounding the bugle. Perhaps they knew it was of little use. At any rate they did not fire. I pushed across the lines with Ewart, the men trying to force us back (to save our lives.) At last, as I saw none would accompany us, and that some of the men were against us, I made Ewart come back with me to the mess-house. More than 100 men must have collected there. The Smalleys and Dr. and Mrs. Mawe had for some time occupied the two sergeants' bungalows, which you may recollect stood on our parade at the left of the lines. The buggy road on to the parade passed between them. They thus got at once, with the two children and their two buggies, to the mess. The major and Jackson had meanwhile done their best to get the men there to attack the mutineers, but they would not budge. The major insisted on our holding the mess-house, occupying the top. Jackson reasoned him out of this before I got back. A 9-pounder that the rebels brought opposite the mess-house helped his arguments, and we all made off, the old camel-carriage and two buggies with us. The fat sergeant-major broke Mr. Smalley's buggy in five minutes after entering it. The camel-carriage soon upset, and had to be left. The two ladies went on in Dr. Mawe's buggy. The major called out to go to Chutterpore, but Dr. Mawe providentially took a road at right angles to the one intended. He knew that I had taken it when removing the artillerymen, but I had only done so to throw pursuers on a false scent; and Dr. Mawe, ignorant of this, took the same road. It leads to Gurowlee from Mrs. Powys' house, and the sowars and others, with ill intent, sought for us at Gurowlee. The rajah of that place had paid us a visit a few days before, and this confirmed the bloodthirsty ruffians in their mistake. A round shot and a shower of grape were sent after us. They did no harm, as we were not visible to the gunners. I thought at first that the guns were merely meant to terrify us and convince us we must go, but I am quite sure now it was meant to rival Jhansie. I did not know till to-day, that before I left the mess a charge of grape was fired at the tents the officers used to occupy on parade. A second was fired over the lines towards Dr. Boys' house, and two more, after a long interval, as we left the mess. Young Henry Kirke just got out of his father's compound in time to see a lot of troopers ride up with drawn swords and surround the house. A Sikh on his father's guard aimed at him, but the naik put the barrel aside, and Henry reached us safely. Providentially avarice was uppermost in the mutineers' minds. They seized our bearers and khitmutgurs, thinking they would have money, and would also know what direction the officers had taken.

"The mess khansaman was taken a prisoner with the rebels on their march, to be tortured or terrified into disgorging. I heard that they cut his head off at Allipore. The bungalows were surrounded by parties. The sepoys took what they wanted, and then they burnt house and all together, a party preventing others removing anything. The bazaar was then attacked, and the dealers stripped, and searched, and threatened. They seem to have known what was coming and to have concealed it from us, trusting to a promise that they would not be robbed, and an assurance that hostility would only be directed against us. It is a mercy the men were thus occupied, and that the moon was long in rising and the night dark, as it caused us to miss the Chutterpore-road again; we hit the Lake-road. The country between the two could not be crossed, and so Jackson said we had better make for the Lake and get his old boatman, Bowanee, to show us a cross-country road to Cawnpore. Our sepoys were dwindling off, and those with us were only ready to disperse or run from an attack. We kept quiet. The sepoys said we should be followed and cut up. I thought that it had been intended by the mutineers of the 12th to let us go; they did not; but our track was not known. They tried to find us, but failed. They sent threatening messages to rajahs in the vicinity forbidding them to shelter us; but the Chutterpore ranee, ruling for her son, did not mind them. We got to her city, Chutterpore, at daybreak of the 11th, and stayed till the night of the 12th. Poor Townsend and I then went back to cantonments. The rebels had gone on the 11th at 3 P.M. Not a bungalow had escaped the flames; the mess-house could

not be burnt. The whole country around was walking off with wood from the lines and bazaar. We left in the afternoon and slept at the Logassee rajah's, nine miles off. Major Kirke was there; his health had been failing; and now, from want of tea, wine, and beer, he was quite gone. The remains of the corps (seventy-nine sepoys, four native officers, and some havildars—your pet for one) had left Chutterpore on the night of the 12th. On the way the major took it into his head the sepoys meant to murder him, and rushed off without any warning to Logassee. He passed the night there, imagining all sorts of horrible deeds were being meditated by the rajah, who treated us most kindly. We set out early under a guard, and on the way heard that when we joined all the officers were to be murdered. The rajah said, his servant, who had been in the camp, had overheard it, so we changed our route, and wrote to Jackson to look out and join us at Churkharee, whither we went by a forced march, meaning to ask the rajah for troops to enable us to disarm the last comers of our men. They might have joined solely for mischief. But it was all an illusion; and the servant had made the tale up. The rajah sent us during the day a second message, to say he heard that something had happened. I calculated on the men being disconcerted at our not coming and postponing the assault. The men were, on the contrary, most faithful, and were greatly excited at the major's absence, and were in great suspense and pain through hearing he and I had been killed. They were actually weeping, and were determined to go no further till we came, or at least till the major did. We joined them at Malwa on the 15th at night. The rajah had treated us ill, and feared to shelter us, lest the rebels should hear of it. The dâk from Agra came in during the day, and he took heart, and then let it be known we were with him, giving us a carriage-and-four to get to Malwa. There we found all the Nowgong Christians, save two bandsmen, and the woman who was servant to you for two hours, and then made a great rumpuss about the children, and left you. I think she then must have gone with the mutineers. The Christians had hid themselves till they could get away. I half fear that one drummer, George Dick, the African, was killed by men of the 14th, near Mhow. Mr. Carne, at Malwa, was very kind, and we stayed at his house till the night of the 17th. He could not get people to obey, and had got the Churkharee rajah to take care of the district for him. On the 17th we moved off southwards, to get to the Ganges. No tents for any one. I had brought a cartload of wine, &c., from Nowgong, and a little tea I found on the road behind my house. It was useful while we had it. Our guide took us off the proper road to a village full of men; we found them all ready armed with clubs, seemingly dreading us. We passed through. I had ordered the whole not to enter till I came back from a visit, and was determined not to enter it. Some one said I had sent word to move on; and when too late I found the party in the village. The road now lay through a pass between two hills. We camped opposite it under trees. The hills were covered with men, some armed; some were in the pass too. I thought they feared us, and went towards them; so did Jackson, and said they had nothing to fear. By noon a message came that we must give 1,000 rupees, or we should not pass. I told the men to get ready to force a passage at four, and all were in high spirits for a while. But some time after, to my horror, a native officer came and said we must pay the money. We had a long consultation about it, and perceived that we must either allow the transaction or be left by the sepoys, so 700 were paid to the head of the party, and 300 more promised on our getting safe to Callingur. The man was to aid us by the way. It was very humiliating; but, after all our anger, we had to agree.

"We had nearly forty women and children to look after, and seventy-nine men were not sufficient to protect them on the march, although we were the masters now, as all our orders were obeyed, and the men were servants to us, cleaning our horses, &c.; but we could not enforce their presence with us on our way. Next morning, at daybreak, the men who held the pass fired upon us. Our men fired in the air, or without an aim, and then fell back. The major now came to his senses, and was himself, from being like a child, who spoke of a mango, or something to eat or drink, as if it were his life; and he and Jackson and Franks did their best to bring the men up to the attack; but they all melted away fast, panic-stricken. Poor Barber never had strength to do anything from the moment we started. Ewart, poor Townsend,

and I, kept our ground with a few men, ten or twelve, who stood by us, and we fired away at the rascals. One of them afterwards saw the drum-major elsewhere, and said we had killed fourteen. I saw none fall. I could not go for more men, lest the few who were standing should follow me. We kept the rascals at a distance, and long out of shot of the women. At last poor Townsend fell, shot through the breast; he said, 'My God, I am hit!' and fell, turning over and over. I lifted him, and saw the blood coming from his heart. I said, 'I think we must go.' At any rate, we all moved back. The main party were a long way off, the men I am ashamed to say, walking very quick. I knelt beside the poor fellow when we were left alone, and prayed that he might speedily rise in the resurrection to joy. I brought away his sword, and left the body. He was a brave, warm-hearted fellow, and would have been a fine officer. We walked or rode all that day till 3 P.M.; not a buggy or carriage was brought away. Mr. Mawe and Mr. Smalley walked from daylight till past noon on foot. I was alone in the rear all the time, with some of the women and two children. I sent Ewart on to find out where the main body had gone, as they were a long way out of sight. He seems to have lost his senses with the sun; for he told the corps I was in a city close to them, when I was miles behind; the main party pushed on, and every one had to follow as they best could. Our enemies followed till we came to a native chief's lands, and then stopped. The people fired on us; and we were threatened on every side. Mr. Carne, who had joined us, left us now, and went to the Ghorkoree rajah, who took him in and protected him. My work that day was terrible. I had to try to lug along two fat old women, while I carried three children on my horse, and tried to keep back the sepoys who were with me. The senior havildar got more and more savage, and wanted me to leave the children and women; but I would not, and, thank God, they did not leave us. I came at last to Mr. Smalley sitting beside his wife; she seemed dead, but it was doubtful, so I took her up before me, and gave a boy to my writer who had got hold of my horse. I was on poor Townsend's, and I went on thus some distance. It was a most arduous task to keep the utterly inert body on the horse, as I placed her as women ride; but after awhile she seemed dead. I held a consultation about it, and we left the body. I then got on foot. I was lame from an awful kick of a horse, and had only a strip of cloth on one foot; but poor Smalley was worse off, and he got on my horse, and Mrs. Tiernay behind; her two children each got a seat on the two horses, and thus I reached the main body. I found on the way a golosh the poor major had dropped; it was very useful to me. At noon, the sergeant-major died before me in a most awful fit of apoplexy; he fell as if struck, rose, staggered, fell again, and died.

"The major, ere I reached, had died of the sun too. I had lost sight of some of my party. I went slowly, and did all I could for them; but I was obliged, the country being so hostile, to join the main body, and save those on my horses. The sepoys were very glad to see me; they feared I had been murdered at Malwa; Ewart had said I had entered it with him, and that we had been fired at there, and that I had not come away. He went in alone, when I was miles behind him. His imagination was for a long time quite bewildered. For the remainder of the day we moved on as a party of officers escorted by rebel sepoys, to be killed at Banda by a nawab. The *ruse* took, and we were allowed to pass. We entered and passed through a large city. Then were fed by it. I heard our men say, 'They are great people, the sahibs,; we must treat them as such, and entertain them ere killing them.' The city men assented. We had an opportunity few have of knowing natives; hundreds surrounded us as we sat on the ground and ate chupatties and native sweetmeats. Not one said an uncivil word. Some said our rule had been very just some expressed sorrow; some, it struck me, did their utmost to get a few of us killed for the amusement of the city. At length all cleared off, it being dark. All the bandsmen and their women were gone to the city to make terms of some sort, or to shift for themselves. The sepoys told us respectfully we must shift for ourselves; they could not protect us, as all the country was against us. We all mounted our horses—Dr. and Mrs. Mawe on Mr. Townsend's horse that I lent them; Mr. Smalley and his child on my own. I was able to walk.

"We suffered terribly from thirst that night and next morning till it was light. We saw a well close to where we had

slept; we sought in a wrong direction at first. We had slept near a road; had we known it we should have gone to a distance for fear of being discovered. It was a great mercy we did not. In the morning we were attacked by villagers with long bamboos, who came about us in numbers that increased every moment. Their yells were horrible and devilish, though we had done nothing. We fired pistols, and missed them. I was commanding, and kept in the rear with Ewart, facing about now and then, and stopping the ruffians. I was horribly hampered with Mr. Smalley behind me and little Lotty in my arms. I missed the ruffians when I fired, but they missed me too. At last some armed horse and foot men joined from the road, and then a Mrs. Kirchoff—who with her husband, a sergeant under poor Powys, had joined us at Malwa—fell off her horse. I had a ruffian with a lance poised at me, and another brandishing one of their long bamboos. I had neither hand free, and missed the spearman. My two friends, however, missed me; and as I could do nothing on horseback, and the woman's husband seemed quite unable to put her on her horse again, I was wanting to get off and fight on foot, feeling we could not leave the woman, when off went my horse at a gallop. I had only a string for a bridle, and had to hold Lotty, and could do nothing to stop the horse that was always a runaway and hard to stop. Franks soon came thundering up, and my horse got worse. I was very angry, not knowing Franks was chased by a loose horse; at last we got near a frightful nullah I expected the horse to leap into, when, to my relief, he yielded, and, turning to the right, stopped short, and I thought all must have been murdered but those who had ridden off; we, however, moved on, sad, as you may suppose. I now found my poor horse had been pierced on the right hock by a lance; he had carried some distance. Franks said, 'No wonder he ran.' Poor Lotty was alive. I had the greatest difficulty in holding her; and in trying to save her the shock of the horse, often nearly lost her. A kind man, a very poor one, sheltered us part of the day; his name was Ferukh Khan. Wherever we turned that day and the next every hand was against us. We were offered water when parched with thirst, to get a chance of knocking us off our horses. At noon of the 21st, a Sunday, we lay down under some trees, and soon became aware of a concourse of armed men being close to us. The others mounted and got off a few yards. I had to pick up Lotty and mount, but had not time to do it, so I took her in my arms and let them come on. My horse could not go at all, so it was useless to attempt an escape. I had repeatedly told the others to make off under such circumstances, and see how I was treated. They did not do so. Good-feeling prompted Franks—who is a fine fellow in many respects—to remain. We were taken to a village. I need not describe what followed, but everything betokened death as certain. One old rascal looked at me maliciously, and made a hacking movement with his hand against his throat, as a suggestion of what we deserved and were to get. We were told, at last, we were to be taken to the nawab of Banda. The poor man Ferukh had said it was certain death to go to Banda, and I felt sure we should be all killed. I had a very faint hope that God might spare us. It was a great relief when we got to the nawab's palace through thousands of zealous Mohammedans, and were pulled inside the gate and assured we were safe. Mrs. Mawe was brought in next day. The rest of the party had got rid of the assailants by shooting one, and by the 21st they had crossed the river Cane, five miles below Banda; they were close to it when some villagers menaced them; they all mounted and rode off. Poor Dr. and Mrs. Mawe fell off and were not noticed, save by Sergeant Kirchoff, who had to attend to his own wife. She had gone on, and he was on foot, and he left the two. Poor Dr. Mawe had lost his hat the day before, and had suffered awfully. He died a few minutes after being left. Poor Mrs. Mawe, burned all over by the sun, went then and sat down in the river to cool her burns. By-and-by some more villagers came, dragged her out, and stripped off her clothes to get money. Others had plundered her and the doctor ere he died; she saved her marriage ring in her hair; she had to leave the body unburied, and with bare feet to walk over the burning rough road for three miles to a village, to be teased and terrified till sleep quieted all the village; next morning they sent her to the nawab. The doctor's last words were, 'Poor Lotty! I am glad to know she is safe with S——.' I am glad he thought so highly of me as to put such confidence in



my efforts, and consequent satisfaction about his child. I am glad God preserved her. We were all sixteen days at the nawab's, and got here on the 12th of July. Poor Mr. Barber was quite knocked up ere Mrs. Mawe lost sight of him; he fell as if shot, an hour afterwards, killed by the sun. Poor Ewart, the most fearless of men, died in the same way. On the 23rd they stopped, and Henry Kirke went to a village to get him a little water; though insensible, he came back with the whole village yelling like fiends at his heels; thus they could neither see Ewart nor Barber breathe their last—every one against them. One man snatched away Kirke's pistol as he gave him drink; another stunned poor Sergeant Kirchoff as he stooped to drink from the man's brass vessel; they cudgelled him till he seemed dead, then plundered him; he rose when they were gone, and God directed his steps to a village where the people sheltered him and gave him money. I think the chief called himself the magistrate of Muboa, for the man who told me of this said he was that official, who is still at Churkharee, or was when we last heard. Jackson, carrying Mrs. Kirchoff behind him (she was tied to him), got with Henry Kirke to a village in a friendly state. He was well received, and sent on here after a few days' rest. He is now second in command of a small force being raised hereabouts by the rajah of Rewah. Mrs. Mawe has left by palkee for Mirzapore, whence a steamer takes her and Lotty to Calcutta—thence she goes home. Poor woman! she suffered awfully; she expects her confinement in September. I was afraid of its taking place every day. Sergeant and Mrs. Kirchoff have gone to Mirzapore Franks and I are detained to serve with the 30th regiment here. It is loyal—that is, it consults its own interests, and is obedient. It could not well get away if it rebelled new. I pray God it may be true. I have tried to get leave to go to Allahabad, and join an expedition.

"You will feel that we who are alive have much cause to thank God. I am glad to say Jackson and Franks feel this, and see the finger of God in many events that told for us. Everything I possessed has been destroyed; my horse ruined last of all by the spear wound. I had to throw my pistol away in order to hold Lotty. How that child, two years old, lived I know not; angels must have had their wings over it. On the 19th and 20th its head was for hours bare to the sun. On the 22nd I made a rag into a sort of turban. She, aged three years in mind, during her ride was as healthy as any child in England. She felt more horrified than Leonora after her ride with William, and could not endure my approach after her mother came.

"Monday, July 20th.—I was very sorry on the 19th to lose sight of some of the stragglers, but it could not be helped. I could not keep the men back, and I could not carry more on my two horses. Thank God, all got safely to places of shelter save the wife of Mr. Langdale, who wrote for the treasure-chest office. Her husband left her, and she died or was killed. Jackson had a terrible labour in carrying Mrs. Kirchoff behind him, which he did from the 20th to the 23rd or 24th. She sat *à la Turque*, so did Mrs. Mawe behind the doctor, and not as ladies like to sit, both feet on one side. The labour was terrible to Jackson, as the poor woman was tied to him. They went forty miles one day; the women had to ride on the nearly bare backs of the horses, and must have suffered much."

Such, then, were the trials, the perils, and the sufferings of the unfortunate European community of Nowgong, in the struggle for life of its unoffending members. The following statement, by Sergeant Kirchoff, to whom reference has been made in the preceding narrative, supplies further details of interest. The letter is dated from Jubbulpore, July 2nd, and proceeds thus:—"The system of pampering, petting, flattering, and coaxing the sepoys and natives generally, which has been the fashion ever since I have been in the service (and I can bear testimony to some eighteen years), has at last borne its full fruit. Our *prestige* in India is lost for the present, and an army of 50,000 Europeans will be required to restore it. We have little to thank our masters for. Their system has been to exalt the native and lower the European; and so effectually have they done so that the former is now trying his hand at ruling us. Out of evil, however, good sometimes comes. The death-knell of the government which leaves its servants to be helplessly massacred must soon sound. Those iniquitous Black Acts must be put by for another century; that beautiful fabric of native magistracy must be demolished, and the army must be disciplined. Officers who come to India to be soldiers must not look upon their regi-

ments as a punishment, escape from which is the first step towards success in their career. An officer must be an officer, not a schoolmaster, or an inspector, or a thief-catcher, or a gardener, or a tamer of wild beasts, or anything, in fact, except a soldier.

"On the morning of the 15th the party from Nowgong, consisting of the under-mentioned gentlemen, &c., arrived at Mahoba:—Major Kirke; Captain Scott, B.M.; Lieutenant Townsend, artillery; Lieutenant Jackson, adjutant; Lieutenants Remington, Ewart, Franks, and Barber; Mr. Kirke, the major's son; Dr. and Mrs. Mawe and child; Mr. Johnson, adjutant's writer; (Mrs. Johnson was taken off by the sepoys at Nowgong); Mr. Langdale, writer; Mrs. Langdale; Bullock-sergeant Kate; Mr. Smalley, band-master; Mrs. Smalley and child; Sergeant-major Lucas, Mrs. Lucas, and two children; about twenty bandsmen and their families; several native officers, and eighty-seven non-commissioned officers and men of the 12th, and one artilleryman. Mr. Sturt, an assistant patrol, who had escaped from the Jhansie district, arrived in Mahoba a couple of days before the party, and hearing that they were at Chutterpore, joined them there, but returned with them on the 15th. Sergeant Kirchoff and Mrs. Kirchoff also joined the party on their arrival in Mahoba. On their arrival there, the sepoys expressed great dissatisfaction at not finding Major Kirke present, he having left the party suddenly the day previous, without giving any one notice, and had not since been heard of. Captain Scott and Lieutenant Townsend having also left the party at Piperah to return to Nowgong to see after some mess stores, &c., the men were murmuring that all their officers intended leaving them gradually, and they expressed a determination not to leave Mahoba until they had found the major. Fortunately, word was brought from Churkharee that Major Kirke had taken refuge there, and a most pressing letter having been sent to him to return to Mahoba, had the desired effect. He arrived there on the evening of the 16th, and, the other two officers also returning from Nowgong on the same or the next day, preparations were made for a march in the direction (I believe, but am not sure) of Nagode. We left Mahoba on the evening of the 17th, and, after a rather long march, encamped under some hills. During the day (18th) Mr. Carne, the collector of Mahoba, brought out some money (2,000 rupees I believe was the sum) which had been applied for by the Churkharee rajah. This fact was evidently known by a large party of Dacoits, who mustered in force on and behind the hills beneath which we lay encamped, as during the day they sent a message to say that unless 1,000 rupees were paid down to them they would not allow the party to pass. After some consultation among the officers, it was agreed to give them 700 rupees down, and the remaining 300 after their escorting us safely through the range of hills. The 700 rupees were accordingly paid down, and some sort of a written agreement drawn up. During the night there was a false alarm that we were attacked, owing to some horses in camp breaking loose, and several random shots were fired by the sentries; but the cause being speedily ascertained, all was soon quiet again; but on the next morning (the 19th), just at daybreak, when we were all prepared for a start, the Dacoits on the hills commenced a heavy fire on us. Lieutenant Townsend was one of the very first killed, a ball going through his heart. I saw several red-coats on the ground, and the sepoys afterwards told me that ten or twelve of them had been killed and several others wounded. The sepoys appeared to be very disheartened, and complained that their guns could not carry so far, while the matchlockmen were picking them off from the hills, behind stones, &c.; and, as they appeared to be flanking us, a retreat was commenced, leaving carts, &c., in their hands. The party then retraced its way towards Mahoba across the country, skirmishing, as the Dacoits followed for some four or five miles. During this time Captain Scott and another officer returned to the scene of the conflict for the purpose of burying Lieutenant Townsend, and, I believe, accomplished their object. Before we reached Mahoba Mrs. Smalley died, and a subahdar who had a ball in the belly also died. On reaching Mahoba, for some cause not known to me, we did not attempt to enter the place, but, skirting it, struck into the Banda-road. About a mile from Mahoba, Bullock-sergeant Raibe declared that he could go no further; we helped him into a police hut alongside the road, and there left him. Sergeant-major Lucas was the next to die; after staggering a few paces he fell, and never stirred again. About three miles

from Mahoba Major Kirke fell from his horse, and shortly after expired. He was buried under a tree close to the spot. Mr. Langdale was the next who died from the heat. The people of every village we passed turning out armed, the sepoys proposed that all our arms should be taken from us, and that we should be marched as prisoners in the midst of them to Banda, thinking thus to protect their officers. We halted at last at Kubrai, where the people disbelieving the tale that the sepoys told, wanted to take us from them by force to deal with us themselves; and as we found that the sepoys were gradually dropping off, there then not being half the original number left, it was determined by such as had or could get a mount, to make a start as soon as it got dark. The drummers and bandsmen had been promised service there by, I believe, some one called Phylwan Sing, and left us before we started. Mr. Sturt, assistant-patrol, also left disguised as a native, and such as were unavoidably left behind there intended passing themselves off as bandsmen. The following composed the party who left Kubrai on the night of the 19th:—Captain Scott, Lieutenants Jackson, Remington, Franks, Barber, Ewart, Mr. Kirke, Dr. Mawe, Mrs. Mawe and child, Mr. Smalley and child, Sergeant Kirchoff, and Mrs. Kirchoff. We took the direction of Banda, and halted before morning in a tope, very much distressed for want of water, but found on day breaking that a well was close by us. Immediately after starting this morning (the 20th) we were followed and attacked by some villagers, at first merely lattiewallahs, but these were soon joined as we proceeded by others, armed with spears and swords, and a very sharp skirmish took place. Captain Scott's horse receiving a spear in his hind leg, ran away with him, and he was followed by Lieutenants Remington and Franks and Mr. Smalley, and nothing more was heard of these four. They had also Dr. Mawe's child with them, and I believe went off in a direct line towards Banda. It was only after many very narrow escapes, and after killing three of our assailants, that we managed to get away from the remainder. After being pursued by nearly every village near which we showed ourselves, and suffering dreadfully from want of water, we at last reached the Cane river, and were intending to rest for a time in an apparently very secluded spot which we had hit upon to refresh both ourselves and our horses; but in a very short time we found we were again set upon, and had to make a run for it again. Dr. and Mrs. Mawe having fallen off the horse upon which they had been helped, and the horse running off, they were unavoidably left behind here. Of their fate it is difficult to speak. Dr. Mawe had throughout the day been in a very desponding state, several times expressing a determination to proceed to the nearest village and meet his fate at once, whatever it might be. A short distance beyond this Lieutenant Barber fell from his horse, sunstruck. The party was now reduced to the following:—Lieutenant Jackson, Lieutenat Ewart, Mr. Kirke, Sergeant Kirchoff, Mrs. Kirchoff, and an infant of Mr. Smalley's. After skirting Banda, but not daring to venture into it, we turned off in the direction of Nagode, intending to make afresh for that place, and towards evening resolved on trying our luck in a village, where we were well treated and got food for ourselves and our horses. We remained there that night, and the next morning proceeded thence, with two men as guides. After proceeding a few miles we stopped to drink at the village of Mussooree, and imprudently got off our horses to rest ourselves a little, when Lieutenant Jackson, having heard something to alarm him, passed the word to mount as soon as we could. After giving the child into Mr. Kirke's hands when he had mounted, and then assisting my wife to mount behind Mr. Jackson, by the time I reached where I had tied my own horse I was somewhat behindhand, and had scarcely got into the saddle when I received a blow with a lattee on my head from behind, and several others about the body, which of course upset me again. The remainder, however. made good their escape from thence, and were last heard of as having been seen going in the direction of Adzighur. The villagers, amongst whom I was left, after taking all I had, let me go. Beyond this my narrative is only a personal one. With great difficulty I made my way on foot to Nagode, which I reached on the evening of the 25th inst."

The narrative of the mutiny and massacre at Jhansie, and of the less bloody revolt of the troops at Nowgong, will properly be concluded by the official details of both occurrences, as transmitted to the adjutant-general of the army by Captain Scott, of the 12th regiment, who had succeeded to the command

of the party as senior surviving officer of the corps, upon the death of Major Kirke. The report is dated from Nagode, July 28th, 1857, and proceeds thus:—

"Sir,—I have the honour to report that the force at Nowgong,* in Bundlecund, mutinied on the 10th ultimo, and compelled their officers, and all who stood by them, to quit the station. Major H. Kirke, 12th regiment native infantry, commanded the station at the time. His death on the 19th idem, left me the senior survivor of the officers at the station, and it has thus become my duty to make this report. As there is too much reason to fear that reports that Major Kirke made, prior to the mutiny, cannot have got farther than, or even so far as, Cawnpore, it seems proper that I should relate what passed at Nowgong, and was entered in the reports I suppose to have perished.

"The cartridge question had been settled at Nowgong. The infantrymen there, and at Jhansie, were ashamed at the mention of it: the burning of empty bungalows had long been over when, on the 23rd of May, a sepoy of the 12th native infantry, then Major Kirke's orderly, rushed into the house, and told him that he had just got away from a party of twenty or so Poorbeeas and Bundelas, who had asked him to point out the officers' mess-house to them; they appeared to be disappointed in the non-appearance of an accomplice to guide them. The sepoy said he had consented, and making an excuse that he was hungry, got away, promising to return. Major Kirke, with his adjutant and his son, and one or two armed sepoys, went to the spot indicated, after directing the rissaldar commanding the right wing (14th irregulars) to surround it with sowars, and prevent the escape of any one. Only three men were found; one ran off, and rather than stop or make a reply beyond saying he was a sepoy, let himself be fired at three times; two other men, hiding in a hollow tree, let the party pass, and then darted off towards the artillery lines; sowars and infantry at once searched the station, and found no one. Doubt was, a day or two afterwards, thrown on the sepoy's statement by the men of the 12th native infantry, and especially by those at Jhansie; and the senior rissaldar of the 14th, next day, expressed doubts to me; but Major Kirke did not give up his belief in the man having warned him of some plot, though he seemed to think the sepoy had not revealed the facts of it. The rissaldar disobeyed orders, as if to let the man escape. The sentry at the artillery lines falsely denied any men having passed near him; and some time afterwards, when four men of the company were convicted of exciting others to mutiny, it was observed (and that after their conviction and discharge), that this sentry was one of the four. Materials for firing bungalows were found on the spot by myself two hours after, when search was made, and with them there was a peculiar stick slightly burned at one end, as if from being used to stir burning thatch. These circumstances indicated that some mischief was afoot. Whether the sepoy did not dare to tell the truth, and made up a story to put the officers on their guard, or the story was entirely untrue, it was thoroughly believed at the time that Bundelas, and others outside cantonments, meditated the assassination of the British officers; and the men of the 12th manifested an affection for them that was most gratifying. It was felt that some one of the men of the 12th had caused the bungalows to be set on fire in April; the men were then plainly told, that there could be no doubt upon this point, and also that it seemed as clear that the man was not known to more than one or two of his comrades. The display of feeling by the mass of the sepoys that thus accidentally took place, was reassuring, and it bound their officers strongly to them. In proof that the men felt that the fires were lit by one of themselves, I think it well to mention, that when I came upon the materials for firing bungalows, two sepoys eagerly examined a piece of cloth that was among them, and said that the dhoby's mark had been torn away; other sepoys, who next day saw the cloth, did and said the same.

"Next night, Major Kirke planted two guns, under an artillery sergeant, on a long, straight road that traverses the rear of cantonments, which is crossed by many fine wide roads leading to all the lines, and into the bazaars. A strong guard was close to the guns: I was posted there, and had an officer under me. Two guns were posted on the left point of the 12th native infantry lines

* Artillery—4th company, 9th battalion; strength, about 66 men; No. 18 light field battery, attached (bullocks.) Infantry—Right wing and head-quarters 12th regiment native infantry; strength, about 400 bayonets. Cavalry—14th irregulars, left wing; strength, about 219 men.

on the parade; they commanded a road leading out of cantonments. The remaining two guns of the battery were at the gun-shed, between the infantry and cavalry lines; Second-lieutenant Townsend, commanding the battery (and the only European officer present with it), was with these guns: a strong guard, with a European officer, was posted beside him. There were fears felt of the cavalry taking the guns; they furnished a number of pickets all round the station. This duty kept many of the men divided, and at a distance. Suspicion had fallen on the rissaldar commanding the cavalry, and his men: he had informed Major Kirke, on the 23rd (the day of the alarm), that his corps had learned, by letter from Delhi, that every Christian there had been murdered. He appeared to wonder at the little the Europeans knew of affairs in Delhi, while his men and himself were in communication with the place. His neglect, or disobedience of orders, a few hours after, was very suspicious; and from that night, the men and native officers, by their demeanour, awoke strong distrust in our minds: even the sick in the hospital were most insolent to the doctors, until a few days before the mutiny, when they put on another tone; it may be, to lull suspicion.

"The 23rd of May fell a few days before the Eed; and the news of the massacre of the Christians at Delhi roused a fanatic feeling, which may have given place, in the lapse of days, to an idea that their pay and earthly prospects were not to be despised. They seemed so ripe for revolt, that when Major Kirke saw that there was no danger of a foe from outside the cantonments, he kept up the arrangements I have described, as they put it out of the power of the sowars to effect anything against the infantry and artillery while they were stanch. The whole of the guns could, in a few minutes, be brought to bear on the cavalry lines, and the road to Jhansie, which the cavalry were likely to take if they mutinied, as the left wing of the corps was there. Another equally strong reason was, that no one suspected that the arrangements had respect to any foe but outsiders.

"A letter from Captain Gordon, deputy superintendent of Jhansie, had informed Major Kirke that 400 Bundlecund men had been discharged from the late 34th regiment of native infantry: and it was thought very likely that they would, on their return, try to get up an assault on the treasure-chest. The number was overrated, and the men could not have got near Nowgong by that time; this was not clear at first, and the men were not told afterwards that it was known to us that the disbanded 34th were far off. The cavalry obeyed all orders; but their faces betrayed an exultation about the revolt—that was conclusive. No signs of distrust were shown them; officers visited their pickets; and, during the day, went to the lines, and talked with the native officers: they were received with freezing politeness.

"The 12th native infantrymen, and the artillery, liked the arrangements very much; they were greatly gratified by the confidence in them shown by the officers, who slept amongst them. It gave the officers opportunities of conversing with the men; and there can be no doubt that it knit the two to each other. The arrangement had the great advantage of working well; and therefore, in such critical times, it was thought the best policy to keep it up.

"Major-general Sir Hugh Wheeler commanded the division, and when Major Kirke reported to him that he was maintaining order, and that the men were well-disposed and pleased, replied that the report was highly satisfactory. This, of course, was a paramount argument in favour of the men. All went on quietly till about the 30th of May, on which day the pay-havildar of the artillery came to Second-lieutenant Townsend, about 5 P.M., and reported that he had awoke from sleep during the day, and heard men of the company plotting mutiny around him, and that some Sikhs of the 12th native infantry were with them; this was instantly reported to Major Kirke. Next morning, it was learned from many sources that mutiny had been openly plotted the day before in the artillery lines; and it was said by men likely to speak the truth, that the only thing that prevented an outbreak was the determination of the men of the 12th to have nothing to do with it. This havildar, in the morning, spoke out more fully; a private, employed as steward or storekeeper to the battery, confirmed his evidence, and so did the subahdar Byjnath, a very fine old man, who had just been invalided after fifty years' service. Major Kirke had made all the invalided native officers remain at their old posts, and do duty; and they were most willing and useful, with the exception of Subahdar Doorga Sing and Jemadar Lall Mahomed, of the 12th native infantry, who

afterwards joined the mutineers. Doorga Sing then took a prominent part, I believe.

"The abovenamed men agreed in their evidence that mutiny had been openly plotted in the company by a strong party, to which the senior men were opposed. The strongest abuse had been applied to the old subahdar, and the havildar had been told he would be shot, because they were faithful to government. Four men were named by the subahdar as the worst of the mutineers; they were sent for quietly, with other men who could be trusted. They were told that as they were ill-pleased with the Company's service they were discharged from it. They were paid up; a guard was ready, and they were sent off at once to Chutterpore, to be kept from access to any one till further orders, lest they should work some mischief in the lines if merely told to go home. The havildar who commanded this escort, said that he had been greatly apprehensive of an attempt being made by the sowars to rescue the men. The men then had no idea that we distrusted the sowars. The men who, even after the mutiny, stuck to the officers (this havildar was one) testified surprise when I told them that the guns had been posted so as to provide against a rise of the sowars. The major thought that if a court-martial were held on the four accused, the delay might lead to an *émeute,* while a sudden blow at the root of the evil would do good. Only one man of the 12th, a Hindoo, was named as sharing in the plot; he was a well-behaved, quiet man. I believe that the Sikhs of the 12th were taking an open share in the plot, and that the artillery did not dare to denounce them. The officers put great trust in the Sikhs; the Poorbeeas were well aware of this, and it made the Sikhs formidable to them. This man was believed to be innocent; his protestations were believed, and he was not punished. I believe that the dismissal of the four men had a good effect on the artillery company; it intimidated the ill-affected, and it undoubtedly encouraged the faithful portion. Major Kirke from that night had the whole of the guns of the battery brought in front of the quarter-guard of the 12th native infantry. I think that the men of the company felt affronted and humiliated by this measure. I observed that the old subahdar, two days after the discharge of the men, gave up keeping pistols about him, and I felt that it showed he thought the men were to be trusted. Major Kirke promoted to the rank of havildar the steward Seetaram, and wrote a strong letter to General Wheeler, recommending the havildar for promotion, as a reward for their fidelity. Things went on quietly after this, and the sowars' altered demeanour led me to think they were perhaps wronged by our suspicions on the 4th of June; the men of the 12th, following the example of the 70th native infantry, sent word to their company officers that they were anxious to serve against the rebels. Four out of the five companies of the wing had done so, when, at 11 o'clock A.M., a letter brought by express was put into Major Kirke's hand; it was from Captain Dunlop, 12th native infantry, commanding at Jhansie; it had been dashed off in great haste, and ran thus:—

"'To the officer commanding at Nowgong.

"'Jhansie, June 4th, 1857, 4 P.M.

"'Sir,—The artillery and infantry have broken into mutiny, and have entered the Star Fort. No one has been hurt as yet. Look out for stragglers.—Yours, &c.,

"'J. DUNLOP.'

"Major Kirke at once sent for the native officers of the 12th native infantry; said he had received the petition from the various companies (the fifth had by this time been received), and that he was much pleased, and would report the loyalty of the wing to the governor-general. The native officers were allowed to say what they pleased about their fidelity, &c., and then the news from Jhansie was communicated. They were much dismayed and seemingly distressed. They set to work at once, and drew up a letter to the left wing at Jhansie, telling them of the right wing's offer to serve against the rebels; that they had done very wrong in mutinying, and should at once undo what they had done. The letter was at once dispatched by an express. The rissaldar commanding the irregulars was present on this occasion; he had come to speak to Major Kirke about a letter (dated the 3rd instant) he had just received from his commanding officer at Jhansie, Lieutenant Campbell, desiring him to give up the names of some sowars that he had reported to Major Kirke as using mutinous language. The truth was this: several sowars were said by a drummer of the 12th native infantry to have told him in the Suddur Bazaar that they would make crows' meat of him. The rissaldar appears to have been aware of such words having been used, and,

for some object or other, stated to Major Kirke that his younger men would be likely to talk foolishly in the bazaar, and he therefore begged that they might be forbidden the bazaar after a certain hour. Lieutenant Campbell must have heard something about this, and thereon wrote the rissaldar the above letter the day before the mutiny. The rissaldar's object in coming was to say that he had never accused any of his men of having actually used mutinous language. He was very indignant about it. The rissaldar was much discomposed at the Jhansie news; he was a grey-headed man, whose constitution was delicate, and to him it was of consequence to keep his rank and pay: the fanatical feelings the Eed festival raises in a Mohammedan had had time to cool, and he appeared now anxious to conciliate. A parade was ordered at once, and the native officers dismissed with injunctions not to say anything to the men about Jhansie until the revolt was announced on parade. The right wing, 12th native infantry, when asked if they would stand by the colours, rushed forward to them as one man, and were enthusiastic in their expressions of fidelity. The artillery company embraced their guns with expressions of devotion. The men of the 14th said at once that they would be true to government. They expressed no enthusiasm. The officers were much gratified at the men's reply, and word of it was sent to Jhansie.

"That day (the 5th June) two parties of the 14th irregulars, consisting of forty sowars, each under a native officer, were dispatched to Jhansie and Lullutpore, at the requisition of the superintendent of Jhansie, under authority from the lieutenant-governor at Agra. The Jhansie party was required to relieve one of like strength, under the command of Lieutenant Ryves, 12th native infantry. On the 7th of June a report was received from the native officer commanding the Jhansie party, to the effect that he had halted at Mouraneepore (thirty miles from Nowgong) on hearing that all the Europeans at Jhansie were murdered. The same sowar brought a letter from the tehseeldar of Mouraneepore, saying the same, and mentioning that a naik and four sepoys of the right wing, 12th native infantry, were there with some magazine stores. They had left Nowgong on the 30th of May with musket ammunition and buff-belts from Allahabad, for the deputy superintendent at Jhansie. The news of the mutiny had caused them to turn back when about ten miles from Jhansie.

"Major Kirke sent out written orders to the native officers, that if the cavalry had mutinied at Jhansie he should return, but if not, he should push on. The rissaldar of the 14th seemed very uneasy at this news; and when we said that no word had come of the 14th mutinying, he said he much feared they would, as they had very few officers, European or native, and many of the men were very young. He seemed far from anxious now that a mutiny should take place. In the afternoon of the 9th, the shepherd of the left wing mess came in and said that Captain Dunlop and Ensign Taylor had been killed on the parade-ground at Jhansie on the 5th, by the men of the 12th native infantry. The 12th men at Nowgong seemed horrified at the news; most certainly many of them were sincerely so; and that night the men of the artillery volunteered to serve against the rebels. The men seemed to be well-affected; but the bazaar people seemed to be very anxious to send away their women and children, which Major Kirke would not allow them to do. We were informed that murmurs were going about that the treasury was being emptied of small sums, and that it was to be made over at once to the Gurowlee rajah. Both tales were without foundation; but they were alarming indications that the agent of the general rebellion, who had got the bungalows lighted, and stories set afloat about cartridges and bone-dust otta, was as determined as ever to effect his intention, and that some men aided him. On the 10th a letter in English came from Tewarry Hossein, the tehseeldar of Mouraneepore, saying that he had heard of the murder of every European at Jhansie; that he had received a perwannah to the effect that the ranee of Jhansie was seated on the gudee, and that he was to carry on business as hitherto. He added, that he meant to leave the place at once, and I know that he did so. The mails that had been sent towards Jhansie on the 5th and subsequent days, came back in one bag in the afternoon: the runners had feared to enter the station. At sunset the mutiny broke out.

"Up to that moment the men of the 12th had shown the greatest good-will, attachment, and respect to their officers. I have been ten years with the men, and never

before did I see them show so much good-feeling as they had at all times done since the 23rd of May, when the alarm arose that a massacre of the officers was meditated. I believe that in the majority of the men sincerity and fidelity existed, and that many who mutinied did so under intimidation, and from an infatuated feeling that mutiny was a matter of destiny at present, Benares Brahmins having predicted it. The artillery company had been cheerful and well-disposed until the guns had been brought before our quarter-guard. The driver company were unruly for a few days in May, while an impression was abroad that the infantry would not fire cartridges; but they quieted down the moment the infantry fired; and they remained so. The artillery sergeant told me of this feeling, which went to this length—that the men paid little attention to his orders, and were very much elated. Lieutenant Townsend told me that the sergeant had reported this state of things to him; he appeared to be sure that it was a true report.

"The mutiny broke out thus:—At sunset of the 10th, the guards being paraded, a number of the men began to load, and three Sikhs at the same time stepped to the front. One of them, Kana by name, and sepoy of No. 1 company, shot the havildar-major (Ahee Maun Sing, of No. 4 company, acting as havildar-major) through the head: he fell dead, and did not move. The Sikhs then made a rush at the guns; they were drawn up on the parade-ground as usual. The artillery sergeant made some resistance; he says no one aided him, and he fled and gave information. The sergeant-major (12th) was fired at, and a sepoy, Dursun Sing, of No. 3 company, pushed the barrel aside: he was one of those who stuck to the officers to the last, and Major Kirke said that he would recommend him for the order of merit. The sergeant-major fled to the mess-house. I was told afterwards, by sepoys who remained faithful, that the quarter-guard loaded, or began to do so, to fire on the mutineers, but were stopped by a jemadar, Moharuck Ally, who asked them why they loaded without order? This jemadar a few minutes afterwards joined the mutineers, and was first (report says) in command of the wing. The first use the mutineers made of the guns was to load one with grape, and fire it into a tent that officers occupied close to the quarter-guard. They then seized the treasure-tumbrils, and placed them in the midst of the guns: the treasure-tumbrils were at the quarter-guard. Ensign Franks happened to be at the lines at the time; he saw the guns seized, and immediately went to Major Kirke's to report. All the other officers at the station were at the mess: the shots in the lines gave them the alarm. Second-lieutenant Townsend was the first to reach the lines; his guns were by that time in the mutineers' hands. Lieutenant Ewart (12th native infantry) and myself were the next. Before mounting I went to the top of the mess-house, to have an idea of what was going on.

"When I reached the magazine I found that four sentries were mounted. One of them, a Sikh, seemed not at all surprised at what was going on (being in the plot, of course.) A few sepoys were leaving the lines by a road that crosses the centre of them, and others were hanging about the magazine in a panic-stricken state. I could not induce them to advance on the guns. I hoped to collect men in such numbers that they would make a dash on them; and getting hold of a bugle, I blew the assembly repeatedly, but no one came. The mutineers, just before I did so, fired grape from a gun over the lines, and this struck terror into the men. As none would advance, I entered the lines by the cross-road, and some came on with me; others joined me from their huts, but none would move against the mutineers; indeed, myself and Mr. Ewart had great difficulty in making our way forward, as the men held our horses by the bridles, and, as far as they could, prevented our proceeding. I had ordered the magazine to be opened, that I might get a bugle out, and I was told that the sentries would not let the magazine be opened. I perceived, too, that of the men around me, some were in the plot, and wished to save Mr. Ewart and myself. The jemadar, Moharuck Ally, gave me a most meaning, warning look, and waved his hand, as a sign that I had better go. It was clear that I could effect nothing, so I went back to the mess, ordering Lieutenant Ewart to come with me. Major Kirke, and the officers with him, tried to induce the sepoys that were there (about 100) to attack the mutineers; but they all fell back, and the attempt had been given up by the time I came back.

"A party of the mutineers had now come almost in front of the mess-house, with one

had been burned—the bungalow of the sergeant-major of the 12th native infantry. The magazine of the 12th native infantry had been blown up. The men of the 12th had set fire to their lines, but very few huts were burned, as they were tiled. The artillery and cavalry lines were uninjured; so were the bazaars of the 12th, and the cavalry. A large portion of the main street of the Suddur Bazaar was burned down. One house was still burning; but I had no means of putting the fire out. A guard from Chutterpore was in the station for its protection. They were guarding some grain in the Suddur Bazaar, meaning, I believe, to keep it; and they allowed hundreds of villagers to plunder the houses of wood. I fear they have allowed the public buildings to be deprived of all their woodwork, and the huts to be stripped of their roofs merely for the timber. They could easily have prevented plunder; for Lieutenant Townsend and myself cleared the station by firing a few shots, so as not to hurt any one. I gave the official in charge of the station the most particular orders that villagers were to be intimidated, and, if that failed, shot down to prevent plunder. He, and others at Nowgong, thought our rule was over, and the station his ranee's for the future; and my orders were listened to, but not carried out.

"I found a sepoy (a Brahmin) in one hospital in the last stage of sickness, left there to starve, or be killed by dogs; and an old bedridden woman, mother of an invalided naik, and grandmother of a sepoy musician, who had left her uncared-for, to march with the rebels. I entrusted them to the moofedar of the cantonments, who resides in the village of Bellaree, close at hand, and gave his servant money for their food. This man, Bumgopal Dilchit, and his head-servant, Lalla Doma, were well-disposed towards our government, and did their best to give us information of the doings of the mutineers. On the day of the mutiny he sent us word that the forty sowars on their way back from Mouraneepore to Nowgong, had given out at Allipore (a large place, ten miles from Nowgong), that they were going back to murder all the Europeans. The moonshee of the 12th told me, when he joined us at Chutterpore, that the native officer who brought their party back, said all he could in the presence of the moonshee and the native doctor of the 12th native infantry, in the dwelling of the senior rissaldar of the irregulars, to cause a mutiny, stating that the rajah of Allipore had prepared a feast for the force, expecting it to mutiny and march to Jhansie. I forget the native officer's name; I may find it out some day. I mention the circumstance that it may not be forgotten against him; he was a tall old man, very thin-faced. Major Kirke took no notice of the information beyond mentioning it to myself and some of the officers.

"The head-quarters of the regiment marched from Chutterpore on the night of the 12th, and reached Mahoba on the morning of the 15th. Major Kirke left the party during the first march, and went to Logassee, where I met him on the night of the 13th. The rajah was very kind and hospitable to us. Next morning we left, under an escort furnished by the ranee of Nyagong. We left it—a place called Koolpeeha, on the borders of the Churkharee country—and at daybreak of the 15th reached Churkharee. The rajah, from fear of the rebels, was most unwilling to receive us, and hid us from sight. In the course of the day he heard of a dâk from Agra having reached Mahoba, and then he seemed better disposed. In the evening he no longer dreaded publicity, and sent us in a carriage to Mahoba. Mr. Carne, the deputy collector, was there; but his district was so disturbed, that he had made arrangements for the rajah of Churkharee taking charge of it.

"On the 16th, news came in of the mutiny at Banda and at Humeerpore. One party, therefore, marched, on the night of the 17th, for Callingur and Mirzapore, or Chunar, instead of Allahabad, as before intended. The guide took the party out of the way to a village (Jewroho)* in the Jalan territory. A pass between two hills was pointed out as the one we were to proceed by. Some armed men were in it and on the hills. The men in the village, too, were all provided with big lattees. We thought they were afraid of us, and assured them we had no hostile intentions. As matchlockmen were guarding the only village we had passed on the way, and the whole country seemed alarmed, we thought that no danger against us led to the men being on the hills; indeed, it was thought they were seeking their own safety. The sun was up, so the party halted under some trees a short distance from the pass. About

* It is marked in some of the maps.

moonshee and a Mohammedan native officer had taken all the Christian drummers to the city; and that the sepoy we had imprisoned at Mahoba was in the town, and had told upon us, and they could protect us no further, and we must take our way by ourselves: this was said sadly and respectfully. We left at Kubrai a writer, P. Johnson, who preferred to remain, and a Mrs. Tiernay (a wife of some sergeant that she had deserted for our sergeant-major) and her two children, as she had no chance of life with us, and I had good hopes she would not be injured at Kubrai. The sergeant of artillery was likewise left behind; he had been drunk during the day. When I passed Mahoba, he went back and entered a deserted police chowkee, to sleep there. I heard it said that he had come up just before we started: I never saw him, and he made no attempt to join us. Mr. Carne left us at Mahoba, and went to Chowkeree. The rajah received him. I have seen a letter from him, dated the 29th of June.

"The party that moved on consisted of Lieutenants Ewart, Barber, Jackson, Remington, and Franks; Dr. Mawe, 12th native infantry, and Mrs. Mawe and child; Mr. Harvey Kirke, eldest son of Major Kirke; Mrs. Smalley and child; and Sergeant Kirchoff and his wife. This man was employed at Jaitpoor, near Nowgong, in the canal department under Lieutenant Powys; he joined us at Mahoba. We had only nine horses amongst us. We moved along the Banda-road, past villagers all on the look-out for an attack. Next morning (the 20th of June) we were attacked by villagers, whose number increased every moment. They were joined by two armed horsemen and some foot-men from the road; and it seemed likely to go very hard with us, as Mrs. Kirchoff had fallen off her horse, and we were all crippled for action by having some one behind us, or a child before. While I was doing my best, my horse was struck with a spear, and instantly set off at full gallop. He was a runaway by habit. I had only a single bridle; the curb had fallen off while I had Mrs. Mawe's child before me and Mr. Smalley behind, and I could not stop the animal until it reached a nullah it could not leap. Lieutenant Franks was with me; a loose horse had attacked him and his mare, and, after chasing him round the combatants, compelled him to go straight off. Lieutenant Remington had followed us. None of the party we had left were in sight. I feared that all had been killed, save one or two who might have ridden off; we therefore moved on as fast as my lame horse could go. We were, next day (the 21st), surrounded, when resting in a mango tope, and taken to the nawab of Banda, who treated us very well for sixteen days; when, by order of Major Ellis, the political agent for Bundlecund, he sent us to Nagode. We stayed two days at Adzighur, and were very kindly treated by the ranee. We reached Nagode on the 12th instant.

"I have learned that the villagers who attacked us on the 20th drew off, on Lieutenant Jackson shooting the man who speared my horse. Mrs. Kirchoff's horse having run off, she was placed behind Lieutenant Jackson, and tied to him; he carried her thus till the 24th, when he reached Adzighur. The party then pushed on, and crossed the Cane above Banda. They halted at a nullah for a short time; but some villagers threatening them, they mounted and rode off. Dr. and Mrs. Mawe here fell off their horse; he had been suffering terribly for some time, and died in half-an-hour. The villagers plundered him and his wife before he died, and then left them. In an hour or two more villagers came down, and searched Mrs. Mawe for plunder, and then made her walk, barefooted, three miles to their village, Makkoopoor. Early in the morning of the 22nd of June, they sent her off in a dhooly to Banda. She was met on the way by a palkee the nawab had sent out when he heard of her being in their village. The nawab had sent orders to all the villagers round not to injure Europeans. Mrs. Mawe reached Banda in an hour or two's time; she had suffered terribly from the sun and fatigue. I regret to say that Lieutenant J. H. Barber died on the 20th, an hour or two after Dr. and Mrs. Mawe were left behind; he fell from his horse as if shot. Lieutenant Ewart died on the 22nd, also of sun-stroke. Mr. Harvey Kirke went to a village to get him some water, though he was insensible; he returned with a troop of villagers yelling at his heels like devils, and the party was obliged to push on. They were, shortly after this, drinking at a village, and observed a signal given by one of the villagers. Sergeant Kirchoff was too slow in mounting, and he was stunned with blows and left for dead. Lieutenant Jackson, Mr. Harvey Kirke, and Mrs. Kirchoff, were able to get away.

They were well treated when they entered the Adzighur territory; and, after resting some days, were sent on to Nagode, which they reached on the 29th of June. I am glad to say that Sergeant Kirchoff came to himself after the villagers had left him for dead, got up, and reached a village in Adzighur territory, where he was kindly treated. He was sent on direct to Nagode, and arrived here on the 24th or 25th of June. He and his wife have gone on to Mirzapore; so have Mrs. Mawe and her child. Lieutenant Jackson is at Rewah, employed as second in command of a force being raised there. Lieutenant Remington, Ensign Franks, and myself are here, detained by Major Hampton, commanding. Mr. Smalley, the 12th native infantry bandmaster, is also here; his child died on the road.

"We all found the villagers in the British territory most hostile. One man sheltered myself and party on the 20th, and gave us food. I have reported his conduct to the collector of Banda; and a sepoy of the 50th native infantry, named Rabuccus, ran after Lieutenant Jackson a long way, to say that he had a strong party at his village, and would protect him as long as he chose to remain there. Ere I left Banda, fourteen drummers of the 12th native infantry, and our artillery bugler, with their families (forty-one persons in all), reached Banda. The nawab gave the strictest orders in the city, that if any one molested them, he would blow him from a gun; he also gave the drummers some money. I have written to him to request him to advance them money (which I should be responsible for), as this is the rainy season, and there are no tents for the men and their families. I think it better to let them remain under the nawab's protection. Four of the bandsmen are missing, and one man remained at Nowgong; I saw him there on the 13th, and ordered him to go with some men of ours to Mahoba. He disobeyed me. The widow of a drummer long deceased, and her three children, I have not been able to learn anything about. I think they went to Jhansie with the rebels. She was of native extraction, but a Christian. It is said that the wife of Mr. Langdale died of the sun, or otherwise, on the road; and I fear another very old womam must have died too on the 19th of June: they had great difficulty in walking, the one from being very fat, the other from her great age. I fear very much they are dead. The drum-major at Banda informed me that he had left at Mutown (a large place between Kubrai and Banda), Sergeant Raite, of the artillery; Mr. Langdale, a writer; P. Johnson, a writer; and Mrs. Tiernay and her two children. The zemindar was very kind to them. I have written to the nawab of Banda to send for them, if they be not at Banda, and to advance them money. I have now accounted for all the Christians who were at Nowgong when the mutiny broke out.

"I heard it said that one Christian drummer was killed by a sowar near Nowgong. There is one that I have not seen since the mutiny, and I had set him down as killed. He is an African, George Dick by name; but I have heard from a khitmutgur, that he saw an African at Banda, so I hope the man has escaped. I have put him down as missing. No other Christian at Nowgong was killed, thank God, by the mutineers. I know that three of the four Christian drummers that I have put down as missing were not left behind; they left us on the 19th, seeking, I suppose, some way of their own to escape by. Only one native was killed at Nowgong by the mutineers—the acting havildar-major, Ahee Maun Sing, of No. 4 company: Subahdar Doolar Tewarry, invalided from the 12th native infantry, was wounded in the abdomen by a bullet on the 19th of June. I hear that he died a day or two after at Mahoba of his wound. Two sepoys were likewise wounded by the matchlockmen on the 19th of June: one was a Sikh, Kaun Sing; the other's name is Salegram Sing, grenadier company. Roderick, an artillery bugler, was wounded on the same occasion. The sepoys left at Kubrai went on to Banda. After leaving that place I know not where they went. I saw Jemadar Emam Bux there the day I entered the city—namely, the 21st of June.

"The government treasure that fell into the mutineers' hands at Nowgong, amounted to 121,494 rupees, as nearly as I can recollect. The colours of the 12th native infantry were taken. I know not what stores there were in the artillery magazine; it was entirely emptied. I rather think that the annual practice-supply had been received from Allahabad. The 12th got, in the magazines at Nowgong and Jhansie, 1,255 pounds of gunpowder for musketry, besides some barrels of coarse powder for

cannon, that was in the Jhansie magazine (the quantity is unknown to me); 360,000 percussion caps; 130,000 balled cartridges; 20,000 blank cartridges; about 10,000 carbine balled cartridges the 6th light cavalry left, though muskets were in store beyond the complement of the corps. Besides the bullocks of the battery, there were sixty-six commissariat ones at Nowgong.

"In respect to the mutiny of the left wing of the 12th native infantry, at Jhansie, I can give the following information:—Some days before it occurred, Captain Dunlop, commanding the wing, and the station of Jhansie too, sent over to Major Kirke letters from Major Skene, the superintendent, and Captain Gordon, deputy superintendent of Jhansie, informing him that they had learned from separate sources, that one Lucknum Rao, the servant of the ranee of Jhansie, was doing his best to induce the men of the 12th to mutiny. It was not known whether the ranee authorised these proceedings. Subsequent letters, from the same author, informed Captain Dunlop that spies, or agents of sedition, found great difficulty in entering his lines. Captain Dunlop, I believe, had not time to send more. He never seemed to think that there was any danger to be apprehended from the 14th irregulars. At Nowgong and Jhansie they let the infantry begin the mutiny. I believe the reason was solely that they wished to conceal the character of the movement—viz., its being a Mohammedan one. They were the most bloodthirsty when the mutiny did break out.

"I have learned the following particulars from three natives who were at Jhansie at the time of the mutiny. One of them was in the fort of the city of Jhansie with the party who defended it. The three told their tales separately at Nowgong, Mahoba, and Banda; and as they agree very nearly, I think the information is correct. Only the 7th company of the 12th native infantry mutinied on June 4th. It marched into the Star Fort, headed by an havildar, Goorbuccus, a very likely man. Captain Dunlop paraded the rest of the 12th, and the cavalry, and they said they would stand by him. Next day, June 6th, he was busy at the quarter-guard of the 12th, preparing shells (a thing he was likely to do.) He was returning from the post-office, where he had posted some letters, and was on or near the 12th native infantry parade when men of the 12th attacked and killed him and Ensign Taylor. I hope I may be permitted to mention here, that Lieutenant Ewart, who passed through Cawnpore in the end of May, on his way to Nowgong to join the 12th, was personally told by General Sir H. M. Wheeler to tell Captain Dunlop that he had reported of him to the adjutant-general, that 'he was a man for the present crisis.'

"The sowars there severely wounded, with pistols or carbines, Lieutenant Campbell, of the 15th native infantry, the only officer present with the 14th irregulars. He escaped to the city fort, pursued by sowars, some of whom were wounded by the officer inside it. Lieutenant Turnbull, of the artillery, employed in the revenue survey, failed to reach the fort. I suppose he was on foot; he took refuge in a tree; he was seen to climb it, and was shot down. Lieutenant Burgess, of the revenue survey department, and some of his English and Eurasian subordinates, had been living for some time in the city fort. On the evening of the 4th of June he was joined by Major Skene, his wife, and, I believe, two children; Captain Gordon, Madras native infantry; Dr. M'Egan, 12th native infantry, and his wife; Lieutenant Powys, 6th native infantry (canal department), and his wife and child; two ladies from Orai, relatives or guests to Captain Browne; and the English and Eurasian *employés* in the civil and canal departments, and salt excise. They employed their time, until they were attacked on the 7th, in getting provisions, and ammunition and fire-arms, into the fort; they piled stones behind the gates to prevent their being opened. They appear to have made great havoc among the assailants with rifles and guns, only one of their number being killed by those outside—Captain Gordon; he was shot through the head when he exposed himself at the parapet. A native who was in the fort said he was leaning over, pulling up a bucket some syce in the lower inclosure had filled with wheat. A native, who was in the city at the time, said he was firing at the assailants; but both agree that he (Captain Gordon) was shot in the head when exposing himself at the parapet; they all agreed that Lieutenant Powys was killed by Mussulmans inside the fort. The native who was inside the fort says that Lieutenant Powys was found by Captain Burgess and others, lying bleeding from a wound in

the neck, and was able to say that four men beside him had attacked him; the four were immediately put to death. One was a rissaldar (?) moonshee, another jemadar, and two were chuprassies; all four were employed in the revenue survey. The informant, who was in the city, said that Lieutenant Powys saw a khitmutgur of Captain Burgess's attempt to pull down the stones that closed the fort gates, and shot him; that this man's brother cut Lieutenant Powys down with his tulwar, and was instantly shot down by Lieutenant Burgess. The party at last were induced to open the gates, relying on the most solemn promises made to Major Skene, that the lives of all would be spared; they all walked out save Lieutenant Powys, who was alive, but unable to move; his wife was torn from him, and, with the rest of the Christians, was beheaded in a garden near or in the city; women and children were alike killed: the men are said to have pleaded hard for the lives of these last. The informant, who was inside the fortress, says, that Quartermaster-sergeant John Newton, of the 12th native infantry, and his wife and four little children, were alone spared, and taken with the rebels when they left Jhansie; he was a dark *half-caste;* he was received in September or October last from the 3rd Europeans.

"The ranee's troops joined in the attack; so, I believe, did the men of the salt excise. A Mr. Sturt, of that department, made his way from near Jhansie, disguised as a Hindoo; he joined our party on the 14th of June, and at Kubrai he disappeared, preferring to make his way alone as a native: his colour and knowledge of the language made this somewhat easy. I regret to say I have not since heard of him; he left us in the dark of evening without a word: he stated, that in consequence of the mutiny, he had received orders to come to Jhansie fort with all his men, and had moved along the salt boundary towards Jhansie, collecting his men as he went; but finding they mutinied, he had to flee for his life: he was told, ere he fled, that the heads of some murdered officers were being carried about the villages around Jhansie, and were then being exhibited in a village he was close by.

"Lieutenant Ryves was in command with the only native officer, Jemadar Lall Mahomed, and sixty men of the left wing, 12th native infantry, and forty sowars of the 14th irregulars. I was told at Mahoba by a man from Jhansie, that Lieutenant Ryves had been seen riding towards Lullutpore. I have no doubt he escaped.

"In conclusion, I beg to say that this report is made from memory. I had no documents or papers to refer to. All books, papers, &c., that we left in our quarters at Nowgong, must have perished in the flames. No trace of them was to be seen when I visited cantonments on the 12th and 13th of June; and I think I can safely state, that no records of the 12th regiment of native infantry exist, save such papers as have been forwarded to brigade and other officers. Descriptive rolls of many of the mutineers must exist in collectors' offices. Of the young men of four or five years' service, or less, only three I think joined the officers after the mutiny broke out.

"P. G. SCOTT, Captain.

"Commanding 12th Regiment Native Infantry—lately Interpreter, &c.

"P.S.—All the band and mess property, with the exception of a small quantity of stores, has been destroyed or carried off by the mutineers and villagers about Nowgong."

The following further report, by Captain Scott, terminates the official account of the mutiny at Nowgong. The communication is dated from Rewah, August 16th, 1857, and proceeds thus:—

"Sir,—As the senior survivor of the force recently stationed at Nowgong, in Bundlecund, I deem it my duty, Second-lieutenant Townsend being killed, to report to you the excellent conduct of the invalid subahdar, Byjnath, of the No. 4 company, 9th battalion artillery, and also of Pay-havildar Sirdar Khan, and private Seetaram (steward of the stores), likewise of that company, previous to the mutiny of the troops on the 10th of June. Some days before that date mutiny was being openly plotted in the lines of the company: these three men opposed the disaffected, and were threatened with death; they reported and gave evidence in the matter, that led to the mutiny then hatching being put a stop to for the time. Major Kirke at once promoted Seetaram to the rank of havildar, and notified, in station orders, that he had strongly recommended Sirdar Khan to Major-general Sir H. M. Wheeler for promotion to the rank of subahdar. The major wished him to supersede the existing jemadar, as useless a man as could be found;

he took advantage of the circumstance of his wife having died a day or two before, to keep out of the men's way, at a time when he must have well known mutiny was being plotted, and his constant presence necessary. The report made by the three named above made no difference; he feared to do his duty, and it was essential that he should be superseded.

"Some days after this, news came to Nowgong on the 5th of June, that the wing of the 12th native infantry, and the artillery, at Jhansie, had mutinied the day before. The troops at Nowgong were at once paraded in undress; the right wing at its own lines; the artillery company half-way between its lines and those of the 12th; the wing of the irregulars in their lines. The 12th and artillery were then separately asked if they would stand by the government: when it came to the turn of the artillery company, the old subahdar expressed at once his loyalty to government with a boldness and enthusiasm that did him high honour. It was a fine sight to see that old man of fifty years' service, struggling with the difficulty of weakened lungs and organs of speech time had impaired, to proclaim loudly a loyalty most of those about him had no great sympathy with; they, however, followed his example, and seized hold of the Queen's colour of the 12th, which was at hand, and said they would be loyal; on their return to their lines, they embraced their guns, and were enthusiastic about their loyalty. During their absence from the guns, Seetaram stood beside them with spikes and a hammer ready to spike them in case of the company mutinying. When the mutiny broke out, the whole battery was on the 12th native infantry parade, according to an order issued, when the report of the mutiny in the company was made: the 20th native infantry pickets or guards were being marched off, when the Sikhs dashed to the front, loading; many men, say thirty or forty, loaded too. They then killed their havildar-major, and rushed on the guns; the sergeant, Raite by name, drew his sword, and was fired at; I think one of the artillerymen interceded to save him. I cannot discover that they did anything to save the guns; indeed, in about a minute's time, they fired grape at tents on parade that the officers slept in, and subsequently two rounds more at the officers.

"The old subahdar, I am glad to say, escaped, and I hear that he was met at Kubrai, or Mahoba, by a nephew, and that he reached home. He is a noble old man; and I am sure that all who were at Nowgong, from the time mutinies began in the army, would say that he deserves some distinction, such as admission into the order of merit. After being invalided, he most willingly remained with the company, knowing well the danger there was of a mutiny taking place. I am sure he would have been most unwilling to go had he been allowed to do so. He did everything that lay in his power to avert a mutiny; and Major Kirke, commanding at Nowgong, thought most highly of him. I have heard that Seetaram and Sirdar Khan were caught by the men of their company, and would have been killed but for the interference of some rebels of the 12th, who said the guns could not be worked without them. I have also heard that Seetaram made his escape, and that Sirdar Khan was taken from Nowgong, tied on a charpoy, by the mutineers. The guns were captured at Futtehpore, and Sirdar Khan may have been killed on that occasion; but should he, or Seetaram, or Byjnath, ever turn up alive, I trust the facts I have related may be of service to them. Second-lieutenant Townsend wrote to the adjutant of the battalion when at Mahoba, on the 17th June, reporting the mutiny. The only members of the company then with him were Sergeant Raite, Naik Kundhya, and Bugler Roderick: no other joined Lieutenant Townsend after the mutiny.

"I some days ago reported to government the death of Lieutenant Townsend, on the 19th of June. The party who had followed the officer from Nowgong marched from Mahoba on the night of the 17th idem; on their way to Callingur, their guide led them into a trap. He brought them a little way off the road to a village (Seuroho) in the Salone district. The men in the village were ready in great numbers, grouped about the place, with long thick lattees in their hands; others were seen in the hills. It was thought they feared an attack from our party, and some pains were taken to assure them we had no hostile intention. We encamped a quarter of a mile from the village, at a long shot from the hills, and rested all the 18th. Next morning, as we were preparing just before daybreak to move off, the camp was fired into by matchlockmen.

The sepoys, numbering from eighty to ninety men, replied for a few minutes with a wild fire, as they could scarce see an assailant; and at length ten or twelve fell back, and could not be got to advance. Lieutenant Townsend waited, with Lieutenant Ewart, myself, and two or three sepoys, at a tree, firing at any men we could see. He showed the most perfect courage amid the confusion and the fire, which was brisk; and I regret very greatly to say that he was shot through the heart, and died in about half a minute, merely exclaiming, "O God, I am hit!" The main body was far off, in a hopeless and rapid retreat, that the officer was vainly trying to stop or to slacken; and I had to leave this brave young man's body where it fell. I brought away his sword, and gave it to a sepoy or havildar; but that night the men said they could not protect their officers any longer, and the latter had to ride for their lives: I thus lost the sword, I regret to say; but I secured Lieutenant Townsend's horse.

"I was station staff-officer at Nowgong, and the second officer there; and I think it my duty to say, that were Major Kirke, who commanded, alive, he would bestow high praise on Lieutenant Townsend, for the order his battery was in, and for his attention to his duties. I think he was a most promising young officer. I was at Nowgong all the time he was there, about two years. Sergeant Raite had, when I last heard of him, left a village called Muntuvo (where he had been most kindly treated from about June 20th to July 20th) for Banda. The nawab of the latter place sent for him at my request. I expect that he and Roderick the bugler, and his mother, who were kept for a long time at Banda, have by this time reached Nagode. The Naik Kundhya arrived there on the 7th or 8th instant; he and his wife were plundered on passing Mahoba on June 19th. They stayed there a day or two, and then moved on and reached Banda, where they stayed some time. I sent the naik back to bring his wife, along with the Christians of the 12th native infantry band that were at Banda, to Nagode. He was very likely to meet them on the way.

"Lieutenant Townsend and his battery received, at Nowgong, pay for April. He received a hundred rupees on the march from Nowgong. Sergeant Raite most probably received an advance of pay for May, on June 12th and 18th. I have requested the nawab of Banda to give him twenty rupees, and I do not doubt his having received them. Drummer Roderick probably received some pay on June 12th and 18th. The nawab of Banda paid him, at my request, fifteen rupees in July. Roderick was shot on June 19th. A bullet hit his head, but did not do much damage. I have been at Nagode for some time, and am leaving it. I reported in writing to the station staff, that the sergeant, naik, and drummer, would soon arrive. I gave him all the information I could about them.

"I have, &c.—P. G. SCOTT, Captain, 2nd Regiment.

"P.S.—I forgot to mention above that Kundhya Sing told me, on August 8th, that he had been paid in full for May. I then gave him twelve rupees for June. The advances given to the above-named—Lieutenant Townsend, Sergeant Raite, Roderick, and Kundhya Sing—were obtained from rajahs, on Major Kirke's receipts, and must be recovered from their pay for government. I am proceeding to Allahabad. Believing Lieutenant Townsend's father to be dead, I have written to Mrs. Townsend, inclosing the letter to Captain J. H. Barber, Leadenhall-street, requesting him to do his utmost to discover her correct address."

Thus, for the present, we close the detail of occurrences connected with the mutiny and massacre at Jhansie, and the less sanguinary outbreak at Nowgong. The reports of Captain Scott are so full and explanatory of the disastrous proceedings to which they relate, that it is unnecessary to dwell further upon these particular instances of sepoy treachery and cruelty. It may suffice to observe, that the brutal and cowardly murder of unarmed men, and of defenceless women and children at Jhansie, was but a faint foreshadowing of atrocities about to be perpetrated upon a larger scale, and a like description of victims, by the native soldiers of the Bengal army in every other district of British India exposed to their relentless vengeance.

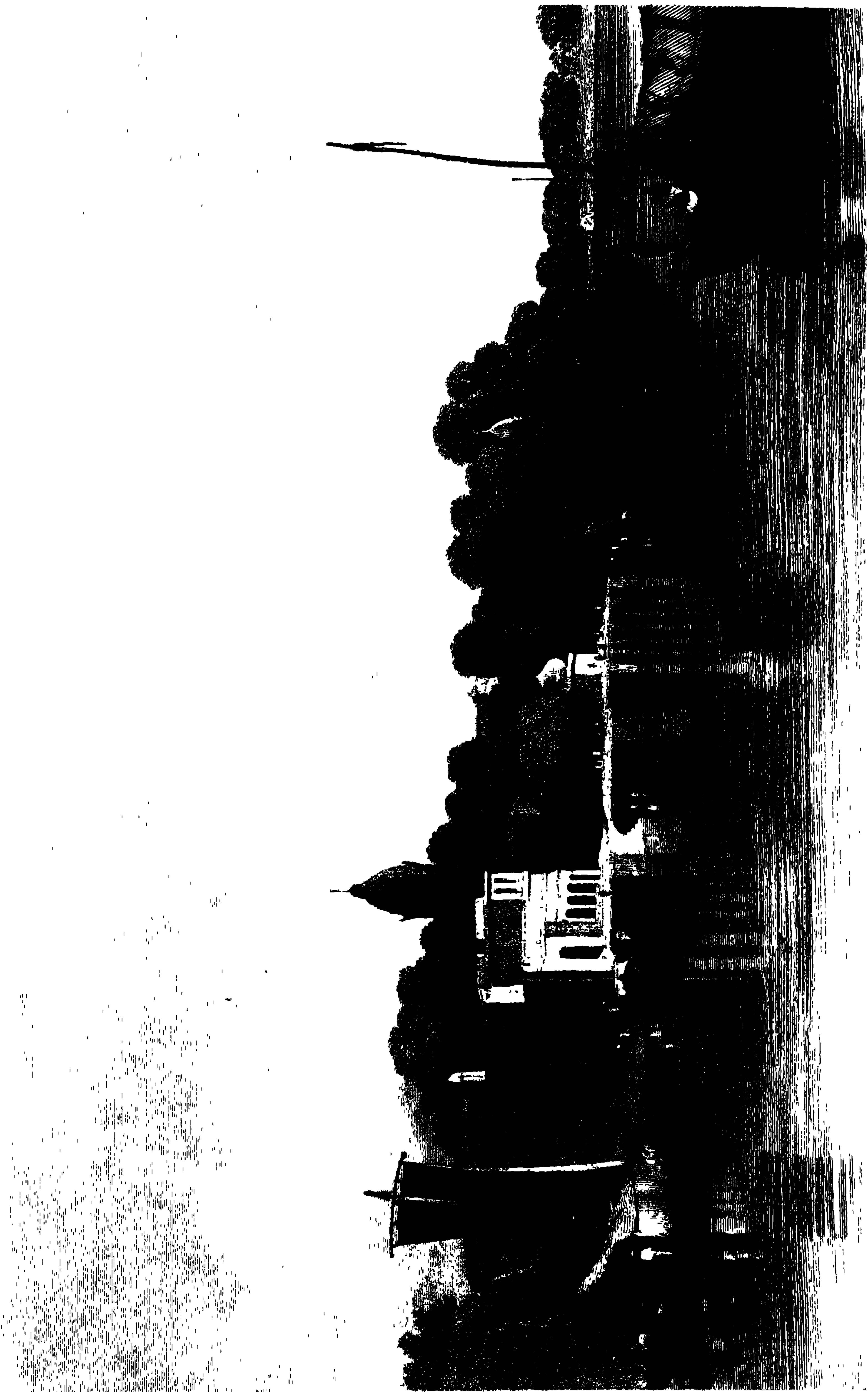
CHAPTER XVI.

THE TOWN AND STATION OF CAWNPORE; CONFIDENCE OF SIR HUGH WHEELER IN THE FIDELITY OF HIS TROOPS; EXCITEMENT AMONG THE NATIVE POPULATION; THE STATION FORTIFIED AND INTRENCHED; APPLICATION FOR TROOPS FROM LUCKNOW; 2ND IRREGULAR CAVALRY BECOME REFRACTORY; ATTEMPT TO REMOVE THE PUBLIC TREASURE TO THE INTRENCHMENTS RESISTED BY THE NATIVE GUARD; AID REQUIRED FROM THE RAJAH OF BITHOOR; NANA SAHIB'S PROMPTITUDE AND DECLARED FRIENDSHIP; TELEGRAPHIC DESPATCHES TO GOVERNMENT; PERSONAL NOTICES OF NANA SAHIB; RECOLLECTIONS OF A VISIT TO BITHOOR; UNUSUAL INFLUX OF EUROPEAN SOCIETY AT CAWNPORE; PRIVATE CORRESPONDENCE; ARRIVAL OF REINFORCEMENTS FROM CALCUTTA; EUROPEAN FAMILIES CALLED INTO THE INTRENCHMENT; LAST MESSAGE FROM CAWNPORE; STRENGTH OF THE GARRISON ON THE 4TH OF JUNE.

THE events that form the subject of this and the two following chapters of the present work, stand upon record as super-eminent in the history of even Indian cruelty, pitiless and insatiable though it be, both in conception and development. It is true that barbarities unheard-of in warfare between civilised nations, have for ages tracked the paths of Moslem and Hindoo conquerors from time to time, bathing the finest portions of the beautiful country subjected to their alternate rule with rivers of blood, and the tears of suffering millions; but the past atrocities of these fanatic races fade into insignificance, when compared with the prodigious and almost indescribable outrages that are associated with the outbreak and progress of the sepoy mutiny of 1857.

We have already noticed the circumstances connected with the movement at Meerut, and the consequent destruction of life and property at that station, followed by the almost unchecked entry of the rebellious soldiery to the Mogul capital; where the second step in the ascending scale of Indian perfidy and vengeance, was consummated by the slaughter of the European residents, as well in the streets of the city as in the palace of the king, who rashly inaugurated his transient reign by a reckless outpouring of English blood. Of the retributive justice that followed the infatuated act of that phantom king—by which he doomed his race to destruction, and himself to a childless and ignominious old age of degradation and captivity—we shall hereafter speak: for the present, all thought—all remembrance centres upon the single word—CAWNPORE!

For some time before any connected details of occurrences progressing in the upper provinces of the Bengal presidency had been received in this country, the public mind had been agitated by vague rumours of calamities, of which the nature and extent were yet unknown; and society had at last become, as it were, familiarised with an apprehension of evils connected with the Indian revolt not hitherto associated with the practices of civilised warfare. The death-wail of the strong man in his agony; the expiring shrieks of tortured and outraged women; the piteous cries of mutilated and slaughtered children, had ascended from the bloody soil of Hindostan in one loud appeal to heaven and their country; and the echo of that cry now rolled gloomily and indistinctly over the distant waters, bringing with it, to the hearts and homes of Englishmen, a sense of overwhelming horrors that seemed too great for utterance—too appalling for description. At length, however, the veil was lifted from the dire mystery; and we heard of cruelties perpetrated upon unoffending and defenceless women and children, by monsters whom it had been the fatuous policy of the Indian government to pet and humour in their eccentricities of religion and habits, until the sufferance upon which the culpable indulgences were based had become looked upon as a right, and the slightest accidental infraction of it constituted a grievance to be resented by the whole native population. In the details that eventually reached this country through the official and accredited channels of communication, there stood out one name, in connection with the outrages perpetrated, so horribly distinct and isolated in its infamy, that the mind once possessed with it, could scarcely divest itself of the hideous individuality, so as to follow out the relation of scenes and achievements that at any other time would have absorbed the whole attention of the country: and of this we may be assured, that whatever other prodigies and



horrors have yet to be recorded in connection with the progress of the unprovoked revolt of the native troops of India, the atrocities of Cawnpore will for ever be regarded as an aggregation of the foulest of crimes that can disgrace humanity; while the name of the rajah of Bithoor will be execrated as an expressive symbol of the implacable enmity and devilish malignity of the treacherous race from which he sprang. In the massacres of Cawnpore the crowning barbarity of the revolt was attained: in the person of Nana Sahib, the type of a people is presented to us, whose vows of fidelity are lures to snare the unsuspecting to destruction, and whose innate malignity to the name and practices of Christianity is only to be appeased by the wholesale sacrifice of its professors.

The town and military station of Cawnpore—formerly the capital of a district similarly named, in the upper province of Bengal—is situated on the Ganges, 123 miles north-west of Allahabad, 52 miles from Lucknow, and 185 from Agra. The ancient and modern towns of Cawnpore extend, together, for nearly five miles along the bank of the river; and being built in a sandy plain, the place is, in summer, oppressively hot, and subject to the further annoyance of overwhelming clouds of dust that penetrate the very inmost apartments. The greater portion of the houses are constructed of unbaked mud; but most of the bungalows and residences of the European inhabitants are of brick or other durable materials, well furnished, and surrounded by handsome gardens. Among the principal edifices of the modern, or, as it is frequently termed, the English town of Cawnpore, are a military hospital, theatre, assembly-rooms, a church, custom-house, and gaol. A free school, established by government in 1823, located in a handsome building, possesses a yearly income equal to £420 sterling, and is well attended by native as well as European pupils. The chief promenade of the town is a noble avenue, leading from the centre of it to the race-course, near which is a spacious plain, used by the troops as a camping-ground, and for military evolutions during the cool season. The chief part of the town proper has been rebuilt since it came into the possession of the English; the old Hindoo town, adjacent, being a place of inconsiderable importance, and chiefly inhabited by the native population. Some of the mosques with which both towns are studded, yet bear traces of their pristine magnificence.

The first intelligence of the mutiny at Meerut, and of the possession of Delhi by the rebels, reached Cawnpore on the 16th of May. The garrison of the station at that time was almost without any other than native troops, the only English regiment having, a short time previously, been transferred to Lucknow; and the force under the command of General Sir Hugh Wheeler, now consisted of the 1st, 53rd, and 56th native regiments, the 2nd regiment of Bengal light cavalry, and about fifty European invalid artillerymen. The station being built on a dead level, without any fort or place of refuge in case of extremity, it was, in every respect, ill-adapted for defence, or for the protection of the European residents. When, therefore, the news of the Meerut revolt reached Cawnpore, and it became evident that the example was one likely to be followed by the native troops in other places, Sir Hugh Wheeler at once applied his resources to the preparation of a fortified position, in which, at all events, he might securely await the arrival of succours. To accomplish this, the general selected an unfinished detached building near the centre of the grand parade, intended for a military hospital, having on its north-west side a range of other buildings, and on the north-east a church, also yet unfinished: these several edifices he connected with breastworks, and surrounded the whole by an intrenchment, within which he collected ammunition, stores, and provisions, equal to thirty days' consumption for 1,000 persons; and, thus prepared, awaited the first signal of danger to remove the women, children, and non-combatants of the station, to the shelter provided.

It does not appear that General Wheeler had, up to the end of May, any serious apprehension of the fidelity of the troops under his command, although many circumstances occurred during the interval calculated to excite suspicion. The men of the 2nd light cavalry had, without orders, sent their families home; and *punchayets*, or native meetings in the lines, were of nightly occurrence: but as no appearance of an insubordinate spirit was visible among the men, nothing but increased vigilance on the part of the European officers seemed necessary. A degree of restlessness and excitement among the towns-

people had been for some time noticed, and was attributed to the news that arrived almost daily from different places in possession of, or visited by, the rebels; but it was not of sufficient importance to call for the interference of military authority.

On the 18th of May, Sir Hugh Wheeler telegraphed as follows to the secretary to the government:—"All at Cawnpore quiet, but excitement continues amongst the people." This report was answered from Calcutta, on the following day, thus:—"You are requested to begin immediately to make all preparations for the accommodation of a European force, and to let it be known that you are doing so." These instructions were, it may be presumed, designed to impress upon the native population a belief in the approach of a large body of European troops, which might possibly have the effect of calming down an agitation that had become troublesome, and was likely, if not checked in time, to end in mischief. The consequence of the irritable state of feeling among the people was at length observed in the altered demeanour of the native troops; and had the step been practicable, there is no doubt that at this time General Wheeler would have proceeded to disarm the whole of them: but with only fifty European artillerymen to enforce his orders against three regiments, besides the cavalry, he was well aware the attempt would have proved abortive, and that, in all probability, an open revolt would be precipitated. He, however, dispatched a requisition to Sir Henry Lawrence, in command at Lucknow, for a company of her majesty's 32nd regiment, to be stationed at Cawnpore until the reinforcements he imagined to be on the road from Calcutta should arrive. On the 20th of May, the report from Sir Hugh ran thus:—"All well here, and the excitement less."

Upon the receipt, at Lucknow, of the request for European troops, fifty-five men of the 32nd regiment were immediately dispatched *en route* for Cawnpore, followed by 240 troopers of the Oude irregular cavalry. This addition to the garrison arrived at its destination late in the night of the 21st of May; and its presence was most opportune, as, early on the same day, there had been some excitement among the native troops, and particularly in the cavalry regiment; which was not allayed without difficulty and much forbearance on the part of the officers. The arrival of the little force from Lucknow put an end to any further demonstration for the moment; but, as a precaution, General Wheeler directed that all the European families should sleep near the barracks of the 32nd, and that the officers attached to the native regiments should remain in the lines with their men.

In the evening of the 21st, the following telegram was forwarded by Sir Hugh Wheeler:—

"Cawnpore, May 21st, 8 P.M.—A good deal of excitement, and some alarm, prevailed last evening regarding the 2nd cavalry. That corps had sent emissaries into the camps of the three native infantry regiments, asking if they would support them in the event of an outbreak. The avowed cause of discontent was, that their horses, arms, &c., were to be taken from them, and made over to the Europeans—I need not add how entirely without foundation; but reports of the most absurd kind are constantly circulated; and one is no sooner disposed of, than another takes its place. The Europeans shall be cared for. No mention is made of the number, or when they are to be expected; the sooner the better."—About three hours after this communication the men from Lucknow arrived.

Among other causes of disquietude that prevailed at this time, was one arising from the insecure state of the public treasure, then amounting to about seven lacs of rupees, which was kept at the collectorate, situate at Nawabgunge, some four miles from the station. With a view to its preservation from budmashes and marauders, Sir Hugh Wheeler determined upon having it removed to his fortified intrenchment; and the collector, with some elephants borrowed for the purpose from the rajah of Bithoor, and an escort, proceeded to make arrangements for its removal. This, however, the sepoy guard at the collectorate would not permit, and distinctly told the officer in charge of the escort, that it should not be removed from their custody. They were then informed by the collector, that in consequence of their disobedience of orders, a European guard should relieve them from duty, both at the collectorate and magazine; but to this threat they replied—"That shall not be as long as we are alive; because in these two posts a guard of European soldiers never was, and never shall be, placed; and, moreover, if the magazine or treasure should go on command, we will accompany it."

Upon the return of the collector from

his unsuccessful mission, General Wheeler at once determined to apply to the rajah of Bithoor, Nana Sahib (whose residence was about twelve miles from the station), for assistance to protect the treasure; and the application was promptly acceded to; 300 men, of all arms, and two guns, being immediately dispatched to Nawabgunge for the purpose, and placed as a guard over the treasury and magazine. At this time the most implicit reliance was placed upon the good faith and friendly disposition of the rajah, who, on his part, "with joined hands," assured the general and his officers that he would assist them to the greatest extent of his power, in repressing any mutinous effort of the native troops. The confidence appeared to be mutual, and not the slightest idea was entertained of the treachery that, it is possible even at that moment, meditated the destruction of the whole European community.

The following telegram of Sir H. Wheeler on the 22nd, further reports the occurrences of the 21st, and announces the arrival of a European force from Lucknow, and the aid from Bithoor:—

"Cawnpore, May 22nd, 7 P.M.—Matters took a favourable turn about half-past 7 P.M. yesterday. Up to that time, it appears that an outbreak was most imminent. I placed the guns in position, and made every preparation to meet it. The danger gave way before a quiet address to them by their commandant, through some native officers. At 11 P.M., fifty-five Europeans of her majesty's 32nd regiment, and about 240 troopers (Oude irregular cavalry) arrived, sent by Sir Henry Lawrence to my aid. This morning, two guns and about 300 men of all arms were brought in by the maharajah of Bithoor. Their being Mahrattas, they are not likely to coalesce with the others. Once the Europeans from Calcutta arrived, I should hope that all would be beyond danger. I have the most cordial co-operation from Mr. Hillersdon, the magistrate. At present things appear quiet, but it is impossible to say what a moment may bring forth."

It may not be inappropriate, at this stage of the narrative, to turn aside for a moment from the direct course of events, to record some particulars relative to the personal history of the extraordinary individual who, under the name of Nana Dhoondu Pant, or more familiarly, of "Nana Sahib of Bithoor," occupies a prominent rank in the history of the mutinies of India, and has achieved for himself a reputation stained with infamy, and overwhelmed with execration.

Of the parentage of this man, and the cause for his adoption by the late rajah of Bithoor, there are various surmises; but none more likely to be a correct one than the subjoined, which is furnished by the reminiscences of an officer of distinction in the Bombay army. Upon this authority we learn, that in the estimation of the natives of Hindostan, to be sonless is the greatest misfortune that can befall a Hindoo—the Brahmin in particular—the Brahmin prince most of all. It is not merely the desire of having a successor, or of continuing the family name, that induces this feeling, but because a father whose son shall have the honour of lighting the funereal pyre, and of performing the annual "shraads" and "muntras,"* will be doubly blessed in Kylas.† Should a Brahmin be so unfortunate as to be sonless, he must adopt a son, or (if he be a rich man) sons, to perform these necessary filial offices, by which alone he can hope to enter "Kylas," and escape the transmigrations which his religion teaches him he may have to undergo, if his "shraads" and "muntras" should not be duly performed. The former rajah of Bithoor, Bajee Rao Peishwa, was in this predicament: he was sonless, and necessarily had recourse to adoption. As a Konkanee‡ Brahmin, he naturally preferred the class to which he belonged, and from amongst it adopted several boys, one of whom was the present Nana Sahib, who is by caste a "Bhutt," or poet; and the son of a poor Konkanee Brahmin. He was born at Venn (in the Nurseerapore Talooka of the Northern Konkan), a miserable little village at the foot of the mountain of Matharan, about thirty miles east of Bombay, and close to the line of the Great Indian Peninsular railway. On the adoption of this lad by the late Bajee Rao Peishwa, he was taken to Bithoor, and soon became a favourite of his patron, who died on the 28th of January, 1851; having by his will, written December 11th, 1839, declared Nana Dhoondu Pant his heir, and the sole successor to his property, out of

* Prayers and offerings for the "manes" of the departed, essential in the Hindoo theology.

† The "heavenly abode."

‡ Konkan; the tract of country lying under the Shyadree range of mountains, commonly called the "Western Ghauts."

which he was directed to provide for the rest of the Peishwa's family.

By certain treaties of 31st December, 1802, 13th June, 1817, and 1st June, 1818, Bajee Rao Peishwa had ceded to the East India Company territories producing a yearly revenue of one million sterling; in return for which, certain territorial estates and immunities were preserved to him, and an annual income of £80,000 sterling was guaranteed by the Company to him and his heirs. At the time of the Peishwa's death, a portion of this annuity, amounting to 62,000 rupees, is said to have been in arrear.

According to the Hindoo law, an adopted son is entitled to all the rights and privileges of an heir begotten of the body of the deceased; and consequently, as the adopted son of the Peishwa, Nana Dhoondu Pant was entitled to the pension guaranteed to the heirs of Bajee Rao; but his claim was disallowed by the Company, and the continuance of the allowance was peremptorily refused.* It was also notified to the Nana, that the landed estate of Bithoor, which had been granted to the late Peishwa in order to exempt the princesses of his family from the jurisdiction of the civil courts of the Company's government, would eventually be resumed by the latter; and thus, in all human probability, an intense feeling of disgust at the injustice with which he was treated, was created in the heart of Nana Sahib, and only waited a convenient opportunity for its development in a career of unrelenting ferocity.

Another attempt to supply information relative to the origin and position of this notorious person as heir to the deceased rajah, states, that "so early as June 7th, 1827, he had adopted two boys, the sons of Brahmins, who had come to Bithoor from the Deccan. The eldest of these, Sadashew Rao, who is also called Sadashew Pant Dada, was four years old at the time of his adoption, and died before the Peishwa, leaving a son, Pandurang Rao, whom the Peishwa adopted as his grandson. The second boy, Dhoondu Pant (the Nana Sahib), is called in some letters Nana Govind, and is no doubt the son of a Brahmin named Mahadeo Rao Narrain Bhutt, who is said to have come to Bithoor from a village near Matharan, at the foot of the Ghauts, on the way from Bombay to Poonah.† The child was two years and a-half old at the time of his adoption, and was subsequently preferred by the Peishwa to the rank of eldest adopted son and heir, though, in point of fact, junior to Sadashew Rao. Bajee Rao Peishwa, at his death in 1851, left two widows, Mina Bai and Sai Bai, and a daughter by each; the one named Yoga Bai, the other Kusuma Bai. His brother, Chimnaji, had likewise left a widow and daughter, and a grandson, whose guardianship Bajee Rao had taken upon himself. The Peishwa afterwards adopted a third son, Gangadhar Rao, and also a daughter; and in the disposition of his property by will, entirely passed over the natural claims of his grand-nephew, the grandson of his brother Chimnaji, in favour of Nana Dhoondu Pant, whose mother, Gunga Bai, with his brother and uncle, were received into the family of the Peishwa."

Although the fact that Nana Dhoondu Pant was not related by blood to the deceased Peishwa, must have weakened con-

* Adoption had been recognised, and its privileges granted to Scindia, Holkar, and many other chiefs by the Company; and as yet no grounds appear to justify the refusal of this sacred principle of the Hindoos, to Bajee Rao: at all events, it is a pity that the East India Company have not been consistent in their decisions upon this head. In some, indeed in very many cases (where the pensions have been insignificant comparatively), the Hindoo law has been recognised, and the claim of the adopted son granted. In other cases, where the pension has been very considerable, or the amount of territory to be "absorbed" extremely profitable, the Hindoo law has been shelved, and the claimant favoured with a letter from the secretary to government, informing him that the "governor-general in council has dismissed his petition, but the ordinary channels of redress are open to him." He sends home an agent, who haunts the India-house and the Board of Control. At both places he is "referred to the local government"—the local government which has already decided against him! Such was the case of Nana Sahib; such was the case of the rajah of Coorg; of the ranee of Jhansie, where another frightful massacre took place; and such has been the case with numbers of Indians of rank, with whom we have not dealt either wisely or well. How much of the recent calamity that has plunged half the nation into mourning can be justly attributable to this policy on the part of the Company, we may not take upon ourselves to offer an opinion without more specific knowledge of the grounds upon which, in each particular case, that policy was based. It is not for us to suggest even the shadow of an excuse for the pitiless barbarities inflicted by the disappointed heir to the Peishwa; but upon the ground stated, there certainly does appear to have been cause for resentment, which but for the fearful vengeance that followed it, might have found sympathy in this country.

† It will be observed, that both accounts agree as to the actual parentage of the individual.

siderably, in the eyes of the Company, his claim to the state allowance, it cannot be doubted that the natives of India would regard his case very differently. An adopted son is, in their eyes, in every respect entitled to all the privileges and advantages of a son; and in many instances, this principle has been recognised and acted upon by the Company: but if, as. is stated in Kaye's *Memoirs of Sir John Malcolm* (by whom the grant of eight lacs of rupees per annum was originally conferred, upon the surrender of the Peishwa to the Company's arms), such grant was for life only, there certainly does not appear, in this particular instance, any real ground upon which his adopted son could complain of injustice. The exact words of the grant are as follows:—"Bajee Rao shall receive a liberal pension from the Company's government, for the support of himself and family. The amount of this pension will be fixed by the governor-general; but Brigadier-general Malcolm takes upon himself to engage that it shall not be less than eight lacs of rupees per annum." In this paragraph, which constitutes the actual title to the princely allowance, not a word appears to warrant the idea of its perpetuity beyond the life of the Peishwa; and the question of injustice, raised by its resumption by the Company, seems fairly disposed of. But there was another point from which the subject might be viewed, as well by the government as by the family of the deceased chief. The widows and daughters of Bajee Rao, with a perfect host of family connections, attendants, and followers, who were dependent upon him during his lifetime, were thus suddenly deprived of a maintenance; and many of them, at the time of the Peishwa's death, were of an age that precluded all probability of labouring for a subsistence, even if their position in life had allowed of their doing so. That the pension of £80,000 a-year was the means of supporting, not only the Peishwa and his family, but also a multitude of adherents, is proved by, among other things, the fact, that for two years at least after the Peishwa took up his residence at Bithoor, he had with him no less than 8,000 armed followers, the remnant of his army as an independent sovereign.* These retainers were afterwards materially reduced in point of number; but by the sudden withdrawal of the pension, and the refusal to pay the arrears due at the death of Bajee Rao, the widows and immediate family were thrown into a state of extreme distress; as, with the exception of the jewels belonging to the females, all the property of the deceased, amounting to £160,000, fell into the hands of his adopted heir, the Nana Dhoondu Pant. The cruelty of their position was, of course, greatly aggravated by the sequestration of the territory reserved to the Peishwa at the period of his surrender; by which act, on the part of the Company, the widows and daughters of a prince who, as a Mahratta chief, had at one time held the highest rank in Hindostan, were deprived of their most valued privileges, and rendered liable to be dragged into the law courts of the Company's government; an indignity held to be so great by natives of high rank, that many have destroyed themselves rather than submit to it. This indignity was, it is alleged, about to be wantonly inflicted upon these aged ladies, notices having been given to them to appear before the supreme court at Calcutta; and the (to them) extreme degradation was only prevented by the partial restoration of the "jaghire" for the lives of the two widows. Putting aside therefore the claim, real or imaginary, of Nana Dhoondu Pant to the allowance of £80,000 per annum, there was clearly a case of sufficient hardship established in the treatment of the Peishwa's own family, to excite a strong feeling of dislike and resentment towards the Company, on the part of the native population who were interested in their behalf. How far it may have operated to swell the torrent of cruelty and revenge that has converted Hindostan into one vast battle-field, it is not for us to say. With regard to the heir himself, it is more than possible that, when the mutiny had broken out, and the revolted troops had proclaimed the restoration of the Monghol dynasty in the person of the titular king of Delhi, that Nana Sahib, whose grievance was patent throughout Hindostan, received a "sunnud," or commission, from the king, acknowledging his adoption by the late Peishwa, and promising him the annuity, or perhaps the principality of his

* It may be remarked, in reference to this large force, that the resident magistrate of Cawnpore, who had the surveillance of the Bithoor district under his charge, uniformly reported, that during the entire period of their being assembled, no increase of crime or disorder of any kind was brought to his notice. This conduct would account for the good feeling existing between the rajah and the Europeans.

patron, on condition that he became a leader of the rebel army, massacred all the English, and, as an influential Hindoo, acknowledged the sovereignty and seconded the efforts of the king to establish the native independence of his country.

From the many accounts relating to this individual, that have been published, we select the following, as having evidence of a personal knowledge of the man. One informant says—"I knew Nana Sahib intimately, and always regarded him as one of the best and most hospitable natives in the upper provinces, and certainly one of the last men to have been guilty of the atrocities laid to his charge. As in the case with many natives of India, it may have been that Nana Sahib cultivated the acquaintance and friendship of the sahibs solely in the hope, that through their influence, direct and indirect, his grievances would be redressed. But the last time I saw Nana Sahib—it was in the cold weather of 1851; and he called upon me twice during my stay in Cawnpore—he never once alluded to his grievances. His conversation at that time was directed to the Oude affair. The following questions, amongst others, I can remember he put to me:—'Why will not Lord Dalhousie pay a visit to the king of Oude? Lord Hardinge did so.' 'Do you think Colonel Sleeman will persuade Lord Dalhousie to seize the kingdom (of Oude)? He (Colonel Sleeman) has gone to the camp to do his best.'

"So far as I could glean, Nana Sahib *wished* for the annexation of Oude—albeit he expressed a very decided opinion that, in the event of that measure being resorted to, there would be a disturbance, and perhaps a war—such as happened when Mr. Vans Agnew and Lieutenant Anderson were murdered by the rebellious soldiery of Moolraj, at Mooltan."

Another writer, describing the incidents of a visit to Bithoor in 1853, says of the Nana Sahib:—"As I knew him well, having partaken of his hospitalities for a month, I have no doubt my recollection of him and his affairs may be interesting. In 1853 I drove over to Bithoor, about twelve miles from Cawnpore. I started in a *gharry* (a sort of fly) early on the morning of the 1st of September, and arrived at the rajah's house, or rather one built for a former commissioner. The approach to this mansion was by a very pretty rather than a grand avenue; and on the right hand side of the drive was a very neat *parterre*, kept in as good order as any of its size at home could be. On arriving at the house I produced my basket and commenced breakfast. This being a place of resort for pic-nic parties from Cawnpore, I of course at once sent off a note to the rajah, telling him of my arrival, and, as a point of courtesy, asking his sanction to my passing the day there. I had scarcely finished my breakfast when I heard the noise of horses on the fine gravel parade in front, and was somewhat astonished to see, not the humble envoy I had sent in the shape of my sirdar-bearer, but two or three individuals, accompanied by a retinue of native sowars, with drawn swords, prancing steeds, and other showy indications of Oriental military display. These individuals proved to be his highness the Maharajah's—or as he, for obvious reasons, prefers to be called, the Peishwa's—moonshee, Prang Doss-Tewarrie; the treasurer, Baba Bhutt; and another old Mahratta distinguished personage. I was then informed that his highness was delighted to receive me with cordiality and welcome, and that he had sent them formally to request my presence at his palace (the castle which is hereafter spoken of as having been burnt down by Havelock's glorious band) in the evening, when the sun had rendered it cool and pleasant for Europeans, and indeed natives, to *Owr hana—i.e.*, 'To eat the air.' After some conversation, interspersed with most flowery and highflown, and no doubt equally empty, compliments to my nation and countrymen in general, and my humble self in particular, my guides left me, and I amused myself in looking over the house and grounds. The former is very large, and the rooms spacious and handsome; the walls are covered with stiff odd-looking pictures of former Peishwas, and amongst them the old gentleman so ably captured by Sir John Malcolm, and the man who was the first exiled chief located at Bithoor. I must not omit to state that a khitmutgur and bavarchee reported themselves to me during the day, and requested my *hookm—i.e.*, commands—for dinner, as it was his highness's wish, as I might be detained until too late to travel back to Cawnpore that night, that I should sleep in the commissioner's house. And as the sun was going down, up came an elephant, caparisoned in the usual tawdry and semi-shabby-magnificent style, surmounted by a howdah of towering

height; and upon this huge animal myself and my wife were perched, and escorted by a guard of sowars in front and rear. We were marched through numberless bazaars and native streets to the stronghold of this potentate. I was asked into the august presence of the *soi-disant* Peishwa, and found him seated upon a cushion, raised somewhat in the form of a throne of state, he (the magnate) sitting as a tailor is supposed to sit. He immediately shook me cordially by the hand; and I must not omit to state that, being myself a Bahadoor—that is, of the rank of one who wears a sword—I was not required to remove my shoes in going into his presence. He, through his moonshee, asked me many questions about the queen, the nobility of England, particularly mentioning and asking after Lord Ellenborough (Burra, buhout Burrà Lord Sahib), for whom—whether he knew him or not—he seemed to have a great respect and veneration. Whether this was assumed or not, I cannot say. He then asked me many questions about the Hon. East India Company, and appeared exhaustless in his queries about the Board of Control. These lasted about half-an-hour, and he then requested that I would make myself at home in his house, and remain so long as I pleased. He himself supplied me with a staff of servants, and furnished my bazaar (living and board) daily. He was, when I saw him, about twenty-eight years of age; he looked, however, at least forty. His figure is very fat; in fact, the very expression made use of by his own moonshee was, that 'his highness was a tight man' (*tring admee*.) His face is round, his eyes very wild, brilliant, and restless; his complexion, as is the case with most native gentlemen, is scarcely darker than a dark Spaniard; and his expression is, on the whole, of a jovial, indeed somewhat rollicking, character. During the time I was occupied in making my salaam to the maharajah, my wife was conducted by an attendant into the zenana. She thus describes her visit: of course this holy of holies was closed to my profane eyes:—I was ushered into a room in the most retired wing of the castle, through a series of doors, each door being closed and bolted immediately on my passage through. I arrived at last before a large and handsome quilted crimson silk curtain (*pindah*), which being drawn aside, I entered a large room, the floor of which was covered with beautifully-white linen, drawn tight, and fastened at the four corners of the room. I was introduced into this *sanctum sanctorum* by no less a personage than his highness's treasurer, Baba Bhutt, who, after introducing me, left me to commence a conversation with the apparently stolid inmates of the zenana. The walls of the room were one mass of mirrors, from the ceiling to the ground. The only furniture in the apartment were three Bareilly couches, on one of which sat a child of about seven years old, dressed in yellow gauze, the whole of whose breast was covered with pearls, to the amount of three lacs of rupees; the feet were bare; the ankles were adorned with large and heavy *bangles* (rings of gold), each worth about 5,000 rupees; the arms also were covered with the same description of ornaments of different sizes, extending from the wrist to the elbow. This young lady was very shy, hung down her head, and seemed much abashed at the formidable apparition of a European lady. She was repeatedly urged to speak to me by her companions, who said, 'Speak to the English lady.' At last she mustered up the courage to say, 'Ap ka misag, atcha hy mem-sahib?' ('Is your constitution in good order?') literally equivalent, in fact, to our 'How d'ye do?' This was said with her head turned and eyes averted, in the manner of the most coy and prim school-girl. The other two inhabitants of the zenana, or harem, were a girl of about thirteen years of age, and one about seventeen, dressed in similar style, and ornamented with similar jewellery. Such a liberal display of precious stones—at least on these ladies—failed to produce anything splendid in effect, none of the wearers being good-looking even for native women; the eldest, indeed, was repulsively ugly, with long yellow teeth. This lady, who appeared to be the spokeswoman of the party, and particularly amiable and affable, asked me my age, and in return told me her's. I was offered, by all these nymphs, native sweetmeats, &c. They asked me numerous questions about England; amongst others, 'Whether the ladies, and princes' wives (Begums), were kept behind a *pindah* (secluded) as they were?' and on my telling them that they went about with their faces perfectly visible in public, they seemed much astonished, but said it was 'Bout atcha' (very good), and seemed to imagine this would suit them

very well, although I must say that three plainer faces, I should imagine, never were secluded behind a *pindah*. Poor things, I pitied them; and after a little more conversation, under difficulties, I made my parting salaam, and, shaking hands with all round, I retired. They expressed afterwards the pleasure they derived from the interview, and the moonshee (Prang Doss-Tewarrie) often spoke of their having repeatedly inquired for me since. The two elder of the ladies, I was told, were married (*sardi*) to nephews of the late Peishwa, but had no family. They said, indeed, to me, 'Hummerah pas konch baba nay hy' (*i.e.*, 'We have no children.') This seemed to distress the elder lady much, as she appeared, and expressed herself to be, very fond of children. The most astonishing thing was, that the child of seven years old had been betrothed for some time, I was informed, to a grand-nephew of the late Peishwa, and, incredible as it may seem to European ears, was to be formally married to him almost immediately.—Thus ended my wife's interview and mine, which, though a very cordial and clamorous audience, was withal a somewhat stupid one. After it was over, we mounted an elephant and went to our new residence, which, for one month, I found very comfortable. The rajah, Nana Sahib, made his appearance about breakfast-time, and usually brought some handsome flowers or valuable fruit, and his emissaries besieged me daily with a long account of the wrongs he had experienced at the hands of the British government, by their having stopped the pension granted to former Peishwas on the demise of the late one, his reputed father, he being the adopted son. This kind of life continued for one month, at the end of which time I returned to Cawnpore."

As presenting another trait of individual character, we introduce the following passage from the narrative of an English officer, descriptive of a visit to Bithoor, in company with the rajah:—"On the way he talked incessantly, and among other things he told me was this—in reference to the praises that I bestowed on his equipage:—'Not long ago, I had a carriage and horses very superior to these. They cost me 25,000 rupees; but I had to burn the carriage and kill the horses.'—'Why so?'—'The child of a certain sahib in Cawnpore was very sick, and the sahib and the mem-sahib were bringing the child to Bithoor for a change of air. I sent my big carriage for them. On the road the child died; and, of course, as a dead body had been in the carriage, and as the horses had drawn that dead body in that carriage, I could never use them again.' (The reader must understand that a native of any rank considers it a disgrace to sell property.) 'But could you not have given the horses to some friend—a Christian or a Mussulman?'—'No; had I done so, it might have come to the knowledge of the sahib, and his feelings would have been hurt at having occasioned me such a loss.' Such was the maharajah, commonly known as Nana Sahib. He appeared to be not a man of ability, nor a fool."

Resuming the continuous thread of our history from the digression into which we have necessarily fallen, it appears that for several days subsequent to the 21st of May, matters at Cawnpore remained in the same unsatisfactory state as they had been for some time previous; and the disadvantages that surrounded the officer in command of the station, were not diminished by the presence of an unusually large number of European families, that had been attracted to Cawnpore before any serious apprehensions were entertained in connection with the mutiny, in consequence of a series of balls and entertainments given by the officers of the garrison to the neighbouring gentry, and who were now detained at the station on account of the insecurity of the roads. There were also a considerable number of Europeans and native converts employed in the civil departments of the establishment, for whom, with their families, protection had to be afforded.

On the 23rd of May, Sir Hugh Wheeler telegraphed to the secretary to the government thus:—"A calm appearance; more favourable, but not to be depended on." And on the 24th he again reported—"All is quiet here; but it is impossible to say how long it will continue so."—It is evident that the general felt he was standing upon the apex of a volcano: an irruption was certain; the time alone was doubtful; and the seeming tranquillity was but a precursor of the burning torrent then about to rush with devastating fury over the British occupants of Cawnpore.

The telegraph, on May the 25th, made the following announcement to government:—"Passed anxious night and day in consequence of a report, on very good authority, that there would be an outbreak dur-

a disturbance, to go straight to my company; and on hearing of all this flight to the barracks, Dowson and myself sent a hackery to take a tent down to the camp of our regiment, intending to sleep there for the future; indeed, I believe it to be the safest place, except the barracks; for there are a number of rascals in the city anxious for a row, that they may murder and plunder at their ease; and they are likely enough to come roaming about cantonments now that they are nearly deserted; but among our men I believe we are perfectly safe; and if they do mutiny, we should, at all events, have the satisfaction of being at our posts. By that evening, however, an order was issued directing all officers to sleep in the lines or camps of their respective regiments, so we did not have it all to ourselves; indeed, our commanding officer had slept in the quarter-guard the night before. Since then Cawnpore has been in a perfect state of siege. All the ladies and non-combatants sleep in the barracks or in a chapel there is near them, in great discomfort, going home in the daytime for a little rest. Large stores of ammunition have been brought from the magazine to the barracks (32nd), where the artillery are still kept, and ten days' provisions have been laid in here. There are now here fifty artillerymen and over 100 of the 32nd, while the native artillerymen are also kept at the barracks, as it is believed they will remain true; though, as it was a company of this very battalion who went over to Delhi, I don't see how these men can be trusted much more than the native infantry. I suppose altogether, with shopkeepers, &c., added to the officers, and these 150 European troops, we should muster (supposing that we all reached the barracks) about 400. In addition to this there are two squadrons of Oude irregulars, though, as these men were only taken into our service last year when we took the country, I should not put much trust in them, in spite of their being sent over by the authorities to assist us. How long this state of things will continue it is impossible to say; but if all goes well I will continue my letter in a few days, and I hope by the time the mail goes out to wind it up by saying that we are all settled down once more.

"May 31st.—It is a week since I began this letter, which I have been keeping in the hope of being able to wind it up with some better news, but to-day I must send it off. I am sorry to say that here we are just as we were a week ago—people in the barracks all night, and nearly all day. They have surrounded it with a trench and earthen parapet, and have made all as ready as they can for a row. In the meanwhile the sepoys of every regiment here declare they are 'true to their salt,' and ask what has come to all the sahibs in the station that they are in such fear. We native infantry officers show them we trust them by sleeping in their lines every night, and we have no proof whatever that they have ever intended to mutiny; but still, how is it possible to say what they may do, when, in addition to what I told you in my last letter, we know that two native infantry regiments at Ferozepore have mutinied, and been fired into and cut up by her majesty's 61st, the artillery, and 10th (the last, being natives, behaved well); while at Lahore three native regiments have been disarmed, and do duty without arms? The 9th regiment of native infantry at Allygurh, and two other small stations between this and Meerut and Delhi, have mutinied, though without committing any of the Delhi and Meerut atrocities. In one or two of the places they have quietly taken the treasure, and in the others gone off without even doing that, simply telling their officers that they would stay no longer. By far the worst news for us has, however, come in this morning by telegraph from Lucknow, viz., that all the native regiments there, except the cavalry, have risen, and the brigadier and three other officers murdered.

"All the other regiments now in Oude are, I am afraid, certain to go, and, with the irregular regiments lately raised, there will be a tremendous force. After this, if the regiments here stand firm to their officers it will be a miracle. I am still sanguine; but since the English have been in India, except perhaps in the 'Black-hole' time, there can be no doubt that our power has never been in such danger. In the retreat from Cabul things looked bad enough; and after the battle of Ferozeshah people thought the Sikhs would be in Calcutta; but then, and always hitherto, we have been fighting against open enemies; now we cannot tell who are friends, who enemies; and the worst among the latter are the very men we have been giving arms to, and teaching them how to use them. If I were in a European corps now, I should be glad indeed to have a row with these rascals, and pay them off for Delhi and Meerut; but no officer can look forward with any

degree of pleasure to a struggle with men whom he lately commanded, and took a pride in, and implicitly trusted. Thank heaven, I am not one of the croakers here, and have never been troubled with the nervousness some people have shown; but I feel utterly disgusted with the whole army, and I only wish that I might get orders to go out with my regiment or alone with my company against some of these people, so that we could put the men to the test, and see whether they really mean to stick to us or not, and end this state of suspense. I must leave off now, and send this. If there is a row here you may be sure I will stick to my company as long as we have any chance of their obeying us. I would give a great deal to see you all again; but I would give ten times as much to have a fair fight with these Lucknow or any other mutineers, and our own regiment standing to us firmly, so that we might keep our good name amid all the disgrace the Bengal army has now fallen into."

The following passages are extracted from letters written by the lady of Lieutenant-colonel Ewart (1st Bengal native infantry), residing at Cawnpore during the period referred to. The first extract is from a letter dated May 27th.

"It is not yet the mail-day, but I am induced to write while the dâk is open to Calcutta, and we are still able to communicate, lest fresh difficulties should encompass us, and you should be left without a notion of the events of these days. It is a sad history. We are living in awful realities, and we cannot see the end of them. We were apparently safe and quiet here till the 21st, when the 2nd cavalry began to show symptoms of uneasiness, and intelligence was given that a rising of the native troops was in contemplation that night. Mr. Hillersdon, the magistrate and collector, brought his wife and children in to us in the afternoon, and we agreed all to remain together. Up to this time, no suspicion having been entertained of the troops' loyalty, no preparations for defence had been made. Now, however, all were astir. The general (Sir Hugh Wheeler) telegraphed to Lucknow for succour; the European barrack at the depôt was assigned as a rendezvous, and some families went there for safety. We, however, determined to remain at our house until further alarm was given; but Colonel Ewart said he would go and sleep in the midst of his men to show that he had confidence in them; so we had only Mr. Hillersdon to stay with us. Presently (about eleven o'clock at night) he was called away to make some arrangement, so we thought it scarcely right to remain here alone. Accordingly we took our little unconscious children out of their beds, and with the ayahs off went we in the carriage to the European barracks. There we found a number of refugees in a state of great alarm of course, but for the most part composed and resigned. It was a night of fearful suspense, yet it passed away without any disturbance, and I had the happiness of seeing my husband in the morning alive and well, and we went back to our house for the day. The danger had been imminent; but the posting of six guns in front of our barracks, the state of preparation we were getting into, and the move of the officers (at least of two) to sleep among their men, seemed to have checked the ardour of the mutinously-disposed, and they put off, without abandoning, their evil design. The next day (Friday) was one full of agony and dread; and the night was more than poor human nature, unassisted, could endure. When my husband left me that night to go to his post I never expected to see him alive again, for some of his men had been overheard wildly talking of mutiny and murder, and had made a proposal to destroy their officers! Colonel Ewart himself had made up his mind that a death-stroke would be given, yet he flinched not an instant in the performance of his duty, I am happy to say. We were preserved for that night again. I could scarcely believe that my husband's voice sounded outside the tent (for we had now arranged for a tent just outside the barrack for ourselves.) After that miserable night, the Saturday following seemed like heaven, for we went to our house and spent the day quietly there—at least with such quietness as was possible with the most terrible rumours coming in throughout the day and reviving all our saddest apprehensions. Of course we returned to the depôt at night, and, for the first time since our move, exhausted nature would be attended to, and I fell asleep for some hours, and for a time shut out all the horrid realities of our situation. All Sunday was pretty quiet. The Eed came off that day and the next, when it was expected that an outbreak would occur. It did not so, however, and on Monday morning our minds were somewhat reassured by

all the Mussulmans of the 1st regiment coming in a body, according to custom, to salaam to Colonel Ewart after their prayers, and they expressed their intentions of fidelity, &c., all of which are very well, but not to be depended on now-a-days. We returned to those melancholy night quarters; oh! such a scene. Men, officers, women and children, beds and chairs, all mingled together inside and outside the barrack; some talking or even laughing, some very frightened, some defiant, others despairing; three guns in front of our position, and three behind, and a trench in course of formation all round. Such sickening sights these for peaceful women; and the miserable reflection that all this ghastly show is caused not by open foes, but by the treachery of those we have fed, and pampered, and honoured, and trusted in for so many years. Oh! I cannot dwell upon the harrowing thoughts; I must pass on to events. News came in of the 9th native infantry having turned, Allygurh and its treasury falling into their hands; Mynpoorie still held against the rebels by the collector and his police; but Etawah gone, and the insurgents on their way here. Now we believed our crisis had arrived. The appearance of successful insurgents amongst the regiments would be the signal to rise, and all we could really depend upon for defence were our position behind our guns and the help of about 150 European soldiers, forty railway people and merchants, and a few stragglers. There are two regiments of Oude irregulars; but I am not inclined to put faith in them. There are also some Mahrattas with the rajah of Bithoor, who have come to our assistance; but I can scarcely feel a comfort at their presence either. The night passed off quietly, however, and the insurgents have not yet arrived. We are in our house. About forty-five more Europeans are expected to-day, and two guns, with seven European artillerymen. A regiment of European infantry is to come up with all speed from Calcutta; but some time must elapse ere it can arrive. The general is busy now, and he spiked the guns he could not use yesterday, and laid a train for blowing up the magazine, should an outbreak occur. We are getting provisions into our position, and making preparations in the event of being shut up there altogether. The news from Delhi makes us very anxious, for any disaster there will be fatal to us here, and India must for a time at least be lost. I need not dilate upon this terrible state of things; it tells its own tale too truly. The spirit of revolt pervades the Bengal army, and it remains to be seen whether we are strong enough to put it down, or whether we must succumb to the storm. Our only chance here is to keep things quiet until reinforcements can arrive. I cannot conceal from myself that my husband is likely to be the first to fall. He says if his regiment mutinies it may walk over his body, but he will never leave it.

"For ourselves I need only say, that even should our position be strong enough to hold out, there is the dreadful exposure to the heat of May and June, together with the privations and confinement of besieged sufferers, to render it very unlikely that we can survive the disasters which may fall upon us any day, any hour. I am going to dispatch this to Calcutta to be sent through our agents there, that you may know our situation. My dear little child is looking very delicate; my prayer is that she may be spared much suffering. The bitterness of death has been tasted by us, many, many times during the last fortnight, and should the reality come, I hope we may find strength to meet it with a truly Christian courage. It is not hard to die oneself; but to see a dear child suffer and perish—that is the hard, the bitter trial, and the cup which I must drink, should God not deem it fit that it should pass from me. My companion, Mrs. Hillersdon, is delightful; poor young thing, she has such a gentle spirit, so unmurmuring, so desirous to meet the trial rightly, so unselfish and sweet in every way. Her husband is an excellent man, and of course very much exposed to danger, almost as much as mine. She has two children, and we feel that our duty to our little ones demands that we should exert ourselves to keep up health and spirits as much as possible. There is a reverse to this sad picture. Delhi may be retaken in a short time. Aid may come to us, and all may subside into tranquillity once more. Let us hope for the best, do our duty, and trust in God above all things. Should I be spared I will write to you by the latest date. As long as we can live in our house during the day, we suffer but little comparatively; but we may be shut up at any time. We must not give way to despondency; for at the worst we know that we are in God's hands, and He does not for an instant forsake us. He will be with us in the valley

of the shadow of death also, and we need fear no evil. God bless you!"

A second letter from the same lady, dated the 28th of May, says—"Yesterday we were in expectation of news from Delhi, but none arrived. All depends upon the commander-in-chief striking a successful blow there; but we hear nothing, and this suspense is dreadful. It is useless to conjecture; we must wait, and pray for strength to abide the issue, whatever it may be. John goes to his perilous duties as a soldier and a Christian should do, and keeps up an excellent spirit. Mrs. Hillersdon is sweet, calm, and gentle, and a great comfort it is to have her with me. Sometimes a message by telegraph will come in, and off he goes to the general. The other night it was an order to have the road kept open between this and Etawah, so he had to go off and send sowars (horsemen) to be posted regularly in that direction. Last night the chief of the police came to inform him that a neighbouring rajah,* with several hundred followers, was near at hand; and I believe he has come in to-day; and we hope his presence will not be the spark to raise the flame, which is kept smouldering, and which may die out if we are not molested or excited, and meet with no calamities from the north-west. You see, my dear sister, that we are living face to face with great and awful realities—life and property most insecure, enemies within our camp, treachery and distrust everywhere. We can scarcely believe in the change which has so suddenly suspended all the pleasant repose and enjoyment of life. Here we are almost in a state of siege, with dangers all around us—some seen, some hidden. We can only put our trust in God, and try to maintain an even and tranquil spirit to go through all our trials and perform all our duties as long as God sees fit to assign us any. Major Hillersdon joins us daily at our four o'clock dinner, and we stay together till half-past seven, when we go to our melancholy night quarters, behind guns and intrenchments. My husband betakes himself to his couch in the midst of his sepoys, and you can fancy the sort of nights we have to pass. These are real trials, but we have not experienced much actual physical suffering yet. John still hopes to hold his men together, so does Major H. his: indeed, no commandant seems to believe that his men can be false. But, alas! the most trusted have proved the worst, and there is not any dependence to be placed upon them. I cannot write any more. If we should be spared I hope we may have better news to give you before long. Kiss my darling H. for us, and may God bless him. John sends his best love. If peaceful times should ever return, we may hope to find pleasure in reading as well as in writing to acknowledge it. Give my love to M., and tell her how strangely we are situated."

Again this lady writes on May 30th:—"We received your letter of April 18th yesterday, just before setting off for our night quarters, behind guns and intrenchments, and we read it together by the last gleams of daylight in my dressing-room, feeling strangely and sadly the contrast between your peaceful even life and the terrible state of disorganisation by which we are surrounded. Nothing fresh has happened since I dispatched my letter *viâ* Calcutta. We are still free to spend our days at home, and no outbreak is at present apprehended from any of the troops here; our danger lies now in what may come from outside. The anxiety about the commander-in-chief's proceedings in Delhi becomes very intense, because we hear nothing material from him, although we hoped to have heard of the blow being struck some three days ago. Of course this suspense is very painful, and keeps minds uneasy. Our European force is meanwhile increasing by arrivals from Calcutta; but, after all, we shall not have above 300 English soldiers, and they may have to cope with 3,000 natives should an attack be made. But it is useless to speculate upon what may happen. We can only take the present as it comes, and do its duties and meet its trials in the best spirit we can maintain. We are more cheerful, in spite of the great anxiety and suspense; our family party is really a charming one, and we feel better able to meet difficulties and dangers for being thus associated. Dear Mrs. Hillersdon is so quiet, and gentle, and calm—never giving way to hysterical impulses, nor, on the other hand, showing any want of sensibility. I hope we may have some better news to give you before the letters go. Some small items of intelligence are rather cheering. The 29th native infantry are said to be behaving quite loyally at Moradabad. From Lucknow we have heard of the capture of four or five emissaries of rebellion by a sepoy of the 13th native infantry; so we hope some may be stanch,

* Nana Sahib of Bithoor: see *ante*, p. 301.

after all, and that the rebellion being so ill arranged, and there appearing no leader and no concert, it may die out soon and we may be at peace again. Still we are here in a most uneasy state, and are fortifying our position and laying in provisions to provide against a siege. It is a lamentable position for the governing class of a country to be in, exceedingly humiliating and disheartening; yet we must hope for better days, and in the meantime do our duty and trust in God. Several parties of the mutineers have been caught in this district with plunder upon them. Mr. Hillersdon has them confined in his gaol. Two of the 3rd cavalry are just brought in. We feel it rather dangerous work."

On Sunday, May 31st, Mrs. Ewart again writes:—"The crisis is apparently near, and all we can do is to pray for courage and strength to meet it. The troops have mutinied at Lucknow; several officers have been killed, and some wounded. This happened last night. But the second message said that all was quiet; nothing further had occurred but the burning of bungalows. The blow has not yet been struck at Delhi; there is great delay about a battering and siege-train. Not till the 9th are we to expect news, and God only knows what will become of us before that time. I am grieved to have such sad news to send you, but it is useless to shut our eyes to the dreadful probabilities. We must meet them, and implore our Father in Heaven to enable us to keep up a firm and tranquil spirit.

"I cannot write to dear Harry this time. If I am spared another fortnight I hope it may be to give brighter accounts. We are in our bungalow to-day, but hold ourselves ready for instant flight. Should the mutiny break out, dear John must be among his men, first and foremost in the endeavour to restrain them; and I, with Mrs. Hillersdon and the babes, must repair to the depôt. Whether we can hold out there remains to be seen. At any rate, dearest A——, we cannot hope to weather the storm without disaster; so let us be prepared. I cannot answer your dear, kind letter. It gives us immense comfort and satisfaction to have your assurance of kind intentions with regard to our poor little ones. If we live over this crisis we shall say more about it. If these are my last words to you, my dearest sister, be assured that we think of you with most grateful and affectionate feelings, and that we consign to your charge our dear boy with the utmost confidence that you will ever be a mother to him and do your very best for him. My sweet one here will share whatever is my fate, most likely, and that I trust to our Almighty Father, without venturing to look forward beyond the present hour. I am so glad that John is writing, for I am sure it will be more satisfactory to you having a few lines from him. He is admirable, under these painful circumstances—only desirous to do his duty, and to trust in God for the issue. I think we should all be very thankful for this, and feel great comfort in the reflection that he has done all that he could do as a noble man and soldier, and in a fine Christian spirit. I have little more to say; indeed, I cannot write anything else on these harrowing subjects. Much love to you, dearest A——, and to all dear friends and brothers and sisters."

An extract from a letter of Lieutenant-colonel Ewart, written from Cawnpore on Sunday, the 31st of May, will appropriately conclude these interesting passages.

"We are in the midst of the most imminent danger. My letter of the 19th inst. told of the outbreaks at Meerut on the 10th, and Delhi on the 11th inst. We were in hopes that the commander-in-chief would have got together a sufficient force of European troops and guns at Umballah by the 18th inst., and (that being eleven marches from Delhi) by making forced marches, might have reached Delhi by the 23rd or 24th inst. That hope has now been dispelled. After remaining in a state of painful suspense and entire ignorance respecting the commander-in-chief's movements, our general (Sir Hugh Wheeler) yesterday received a telegraph from the lieutenant-governor of Agra, conveying authentic information that the chief, having to wait the arrival of heavy guns from Phillour, cannot arrive before Delhi until the 9th of June. This loss of time is proving most disastrous. It is all we can do to keep our men in order. We hope that the recapture of Delhi will put a stop to these incomprehensible risings of the troops. But, in the meantime, if we succeed in keeping the native troops in Cawnpore quiet, I confess it will be little short of a miracle. We have now about 120 European infantry and one company of European artillery at Cawnpore; and with these and our six 9-pounder guns, the general has taken up a position in some barracks, having thrown up an intrench-

ment round these barracks. Within that intrenchment I have got a tent pitched, and E—— and the baby and our guests, the Hillersdons, go there every evening to sleep and pass the night. Hitherto we have ventured to bring them home during the day to our house, which is within half a mile of the intrenchment. The heat is so fierce in tents at this season of the year, that it is well to spare them from it as long as we possibly can. But many people remain all day in the intrenchment, some in tents, some in barracks—the latter crowding and inconveniencing the European soldiery and their families. I and my officers continue to sleep in the quarter-guard of the regiment, which we have done ever since the night of Thursday, the 21st inst. We began it that night; and a day or two after, the brigadier, by the general's desire, ordered all the officers of each regiment to sleep in the lines of their respective regiments. I have also an officer on duty in the lines during the day; but I have not yet thought it necessary to spend the day there myself. It is important to show no distrust or suspicion of our men; therefore, as much as possible, things go on in their usual course. The sleeping among them at night has the effect of reassuring them, by trusting our lives to their safe keeping, and also of aiding the well-disposed to hold in check the ill-disposed. They have not yet heard the news which we received by telegraph, of the *émeute* last night at Lucknow—at least, I do not know that they have yet heard it; but it cannot be long concealed from them, as Lucknow is only forty or forty-five miles from Cawnpore. What effect the news will have upon them remains to be seen.

"Noon.—The general has had a telegraph from the lieutenant-governor of Agra, to say, that in consequence of the two companies at Muttra (three marches north of Agra) having mutinied and plundered the treasury there—which two companies belonged to one of the native regiments at Agra—he (the lieutenant-governor) resolved upon disarming the native regiments at Agra, which operation he has successfully accomplished. We have not a sufficient strength of Europeans here to venture upon this step; nor do I think Sir H. Lawrence will venture on it at Lucknow. But Sir H. Wheeler has (to-day) received a letter from Lord Canning himself, by which we learn that European troops are arriving from Madras and Ceylon, and Burmah; and that Lord Canning is pushing them up the country as rapidly as possible—some twenty men a-day by dâk carriages, and some a hundred men a-day by bullock-train carts. If the journey of these detached parties is not interrupted by risings between Calcutta and this, we may hope to have our hands strengthened in a few days. The treasury here, containing some ten or twelve lacs of rupees (£100,000 or £120,000), is situated five miles from this military cantonment. It has been hitherto thought inexpedient to bring the treasure into cantonments; but the general has now resolved on making the attempt to-morrow. Please God, he will succeed. He is an excellent officer; very determined, self-possessed in the midst of danger, fearless of responsibility—that terrible bugbear that paralyses so many men in command. You will be glad to know that I have had the good fortune to give him entire satisfaction, by my conduct and arrangements in the command of my regiment during these troubles. He has heaped praises on me. If the troops should break out here, it is not probable that I shall survive it. My post, and that of my officers, being with the colours of the regiment, in the last extremity some or all of us must needs be killed. If that should be my fate, you and all my friends will know, I trust, that I die in the execution of my duty. And you and my brothers will be kind to E—— and my children. I do not wish to write gloomily, but there is no disguising the fact that we are in the utmost danger; and, as I have said, if the troops do mutiny, my life must almost certainly be sacrificed. But I do not think they will venture to attack the intrenched position which is held by the European troops. So I hope in God that E—— and my child will be saved. The Hillersdons and their two children have been staying with us since the 21st, when the danger became imminent, as it was no longer safe for them to remain in their own house, four miles from this cantonment. E—— sent you a letter, *viâ* Calcutta, on the 28th, which you will receive at the same time as this, I hope. And now, dear A——, farewell. If under God's providence this be the last time I am to write to you, I entreat you to forgive all I have ever done to trouble you, and think kindly of me. I know you will be everything a mother can be to my boy. I cannot write to him this time, dear little fellow.

Kiss him for me. Kind love to M—— and my brothers."

The worst forebodings of the gallant officer and his amiable lady were realised. The former, who was severely wounded while defending the intrenchment, ultimately perished in one of the boats provided by order of Nana Sahib, on the 27th of June. His lady and child were, it is believed, among the victims that sanctified the martyrs' well at Cawnpore, during the massacre of the 17th of July.

Returning to the incidents of the station, it appears that, on the 30th of May, two companies of her majesty's 84th regiment arrived at Cawnpore, having been pushed forward by extraordinary exertion from Calcutta. The accession of this valuable force enabled Sir Hugh Wheeler to relieve himself from one cause of anxiety, which had arisen from the unsatisfactory behaviour of the troopers of the Oude irregular cavalry, sent to him as a protection, whose altered demeanour had excited suspicion, and occasioned considerable embarrassment to their officers. Availing himself, therefore, of a report that had reached the station respecting the appearance of straggling bands of marauders, by whom the dâks were intercepted, and travelling was rendered dangerous, the whole of the Oude irregular horse were ordered from the station, ostensibly to protect the road communications between Cawnpore, Agra, Benares, and other places; but, in reality, that they might be got rid of without exciting suspicion of the cause that rendered their absence desirable. The *ruse* succeeded, and the troopers, in obedience to orders, marched from the station. That they did not march too soon may be gathered from the fact, that almost immediately afterwards they murdered their European officers, and, after committing various outrages and depredations on their route, joined the rebel force at Delhi. The departure of these men enabled Sir Hugh Wheeler to dispense with the fifty men of her majesty's 32nd regiment, which had also been sent to his assistance from Lucknow as before mentioned, events having occurred at that station which made their return to it desirable.

Quiet, such as it was, now prevailed in Cawnpore: it was not, however, such quiet as warranted a reliance upon its truthfulness or its duration; and it might possibly be, that with a due appreciation of its questionable worth, General Wheeler, on the 31st of the month, communicated as follows with the government secretary:—

"I would recommend Europeans to be sent up to this place as rapidly as possible. Not so much for our own protection, as—to use the exact words of the major—'this place is the trunk, and the surrounding stations are the limbs; and if Cawnpore remains right, the other places will do so also.' We are all right as yet, and I hope may continue so."

On the 1st and 2nd of June, nothing occurred to indicate an approaching crisis; and, on the 3rd, General Wheeler reported by telegraph thus:—"All quiet, but subject to constant fits of excitement."—So little, however, did he think of the excitement, and so confident was he of the sufficiency of his resources in case of disturbance, that, on the same day, he reciprocated the good offices of Sir Henry Lawrence, by detaching to his assistance a full company of his late reinforcement from the 84th regiment, and announced the removal by the following telegraphic message:—

"Sir Henry Lawrence having expressed some uneasiness, I have just sent him by dâk gharries, out of my small force, two officers and fifty men of her majesty's 84th foot. Conveyance for more not available. This leaves me weak, but I trust to hold my own until more Europeans arrive."

On the morning of the 4th of June, it was known at Calcutta that the telegraphic communication between Cawnpore and Agra was broken, and also that the Oude irregular cavalry, sent out by General Wheeler on the 30th of May to protect the roads, had mutinied and destroyed their officers. The message of the 3rd of June appears to have been the last received by telegraph from the ill-fated station of Cawnpore, as, in the official summary of events connected with the various stations of the Bengal presidency, transmitted by the Indian government to the court of directors, we find, under the head of Cawnpore—"Nothing heard from this place since the 4th instant:" and, in a despatch of the 18th of June, from the officer commanding at Benares to the secretary to the government, it is stated, that "the last report from Cawnpore was, it was in our hands; I have heard nothing from Sir H. Wheeler; the road from this to there, quite closed."*

* See Parl. Papers, Sess. 1857. It is quite clear that the "last report" here referred to, must have

During the night of the 3rd of June, circumstances had occurred in cantonments that induced General Wheeler, on the following morning, to order that the European officers of the light cavalry, and of the 1st and 56th regiments, should discontinue to sleep in the lines; but the conduct of the 53rd regiment being satisfactory, the officers of that corps were permitted, at their own request, to remain with their men. In the course of the day, an unexpected and welcome accession to the strength of the force was occasioned by the arrival of Lieutenant Ashe, of the Bengal artillery, with a battery of Oude horse artillery, consisting of two 9-pounders and a 24-pounder, with ammunition, &c., and some gunners. This officer had been compelled to retire on Cawnpore, in consequence of the mutiny and dispersion of a detachment of troops under his command while on the march to Futteghur, leaving the guns in his possession. The intrenchment being now finished, the guns of Lieutenant Ashe were placed in position, and formed a valuable addition to the means of defence. As evening drew near, it became perfectly evident that an outbreak was contemplated, and that the crisis would not be much longer delayed. Sir H. Wheeler, therefore, hastily completed his preparations for the accommodation of the females and non-combatants of the station, and ordered that they should be immediately collected within the fortification. At this time the force under his command, exclusive of native troops, consisted of eighty-three officers of various regiments, attached and unattached; sixty men of the 84th, and seventy of the 32nd regiments; fifteen of the 1st Madras fusiliers, and a few invalid gunners; the whole defensive force comprising about 240 men and six guns. There were also within the intrenchments a number of ladies and children, comprising the families of several of the officers and visitors to the cantonments, of whom there is no numerical record extant. In addition to these, were sixty-five women and seventy-six children belonging to the soldiers, and a number of civilians employed in various government departments at the station, with their families also: swelling the aggregate amount of women, children, and non-effectives, in the intrenchment at Cawnpore on the night of Thursday, the 4th of June, to somewhere about 870 persons.

It will be observed, that the position fortified by Sir Hugh Wheeler, and thus occupied, was situate without the town of Cawnpore, and at a distance from the native lines. The European officers had, for their personal safety, been withdrawn from the latter, and, consequently, the troops were left at liberty to arrange and mature their rebellious projects without the check that the presence of their officers might have imposed upon them; and they lost no time in availing themselves of the (to them) favourable opportunity.

CHAPTER XVII.

DESERTION OF THE 2ND BENGAL LIGHT CAVALRY; THE THREE INFANTRY REGIMENTS MUTINY, AND LEAVE THE CANTONMENTS; THE LINES PLUNDERED AND DESTROYED BY FIRE; SEIZURE OF PUBLIC TREASURE; NANA SAHIB JOINS THE MUTINEERS AT NAWABGUNGE WITH SIX HUNDRED MEN; ORDERS FOR THE REGULATION OF THE REBEL ARMY; RETURN OF THE REBEL TROOPS TO CAWNPORE; TREACHERY OF THE OUDE ARTILLERYMEN; THE EUROPEAN GARRISON SUMMONED TO SURRENDER; ATTACK UPON THE INTRENCHMENTS REPULSED BY SIR HUGH WHEELER; MASSACRE OF THE EUROPEANS DETERMINED UPON; THE TOWN OCCUPIED AND PILLAGED BY THE REBELS; NARRATIVE OF MR. SHEPHERD, AND OF A NATIVE OPIUM MERCHANT; REBEL INTELLIGENCE PUBLISHED IN CAWNPORE; DIARY OF A NATIVE; ATTACK CONTINUED NIGHT AND DAY; ESCAPE OF A MESSENGER FROM GENERAL WHEELER, WITH DETAILS OF HIS POSITION.

THE concentration of the European residents within the shelter of the intrenchments, had not been required one moment too soon; for as the hour of midnight

been the one already mentioned in the periodical summary of events transmitted to the court of directors, as communication by telegraph had then ceased, and Cawnpore was not in "our hands" from the 6th of June until the triumphal entry of General Havelock on the 16th of July.

approached on the 4th of June, unusual bustle was exhibited in the lines occupied by the troopers of the 2nd Bengal light cavalry, who had already been quietly occupied for some days in making arrangements for an outbreak, in which they expected to be joined by the men of the three native regiments. Finding, however, that they could not prevail upon the latter to co-operate in the movement, they resolved to act independently, and by themselves; but in order to avoid the possibility of a collision with those whom they were certain would ultimately follow their example, they fabricated a personal grievance, which, for the honour of the corps, it was alleged the men were bound to resent; and upon a plea of some imaginary slight by their officers, the whole troop assembled in a tumultuous manner, and, about two o'clock in the morning of the 5th, mounted their horses, and with loud shouts of hatred and defiance, marched out of their lines, each man having with him his arms, ammunition, and two horses. Previous to quitting the lines, these men, from some personal dislike to their quartermaster-sergeant, set fire to his bungalow, and halted a short time to exult over the destruction of his property. They then proceeded to the commissariat cattle-yard, took possession of the government elephants kept there, and finished their morning exploits at the cantonments, by wantonly destroying the residence of the cattle-sergeant. The main body of the troopers then proceeded, without further delay, towards Nawabgunge, where, as before mentioned, the public treasure was kept, under the protection of a guard furnished for the purpose by the rajah of Bithoor. Others of the corps found their way to the lines of the 1st regiment of native infantry, to try the effect of their eloquence upon the impulsive temperament of their more tardy associates in the rebellious work; and they were not mistaken in the expectation they had formed of the probable result.

In less than half-an-hour after the departure of the cavalry, the men of the 1st regiment broke into open revolt, and, with wild shouts and clamour, also left the lines, but without destroying any property, or inflicting personal injury. The noise occasioned by their desertion, gave an alarm to the troops in the intrenchment, and a gun was fired to announce that the latter were on the alert in case a surprise should be attempted. None, however, appeared at this time to have been contemplated, and the 1st infantry followed the light cavalry in the direction of Nawabgunge. Their departure was a signal to the vagabonds and budmashes of the town, who poured into the abandoned lines, commenced plundering in every direction, and completed their mischievous frolics by firing the adjacent bungalows, after despoiling them of every vestige of useful property.

As morning advanced, a reconnoitring party was sent out by General Wheeler, to ascertain the real state of affairs at the cantonment; and upon its return to the intrenchments, the Oude horse battery brought in by Lieutenant Ashe, and a company of the 84th regiment, were ordered out in pursuit of the mutineers. The little force had not proceeded far before it was recalled, in consequence of an apprehension that the men of the 53rd and 56th regiments, who were still in their lines in rear of the intrenchment, might take advantage of the absence of the pursuing party, and attack the position, which the few remaining Europeans were not sufficient to defend.

Between eight and nine the same morning, the native commissioned officers belonging to the two regiments (about thirty-five in number) waited upon the general, and reported that the whole of their men were in a state of insubordination; that they had been tampered with by the sowars; and that remonstrances were unavailing to induce them to return to their duty. While the officers were yet communicating with the general, a bugle sounded, and presently afterwards both regiments formed into columns upon their parade-ground, from whence parties were detached to collect whatever valuable property might be found in the officers' bungalows and public buildings attached to the lines of the two regiments; those of the cavalry and 1st regiment having already been cleared out and destroyed by the town rabble. The work of collection having been pursued for some time, the men of the 53rd and 56th regiments improved upon the example furnished by their compatriots of the 2nd light cavalry and the 1st infantry, by plundering the regimental paymaster's chests, the contents of which they distributed; and by carrying off the plate belonging to the officers' mess, and the colours. They also made a pile of valuable furniture, books,

&c., belonging to the European officers and their families, and set fire to it in the sight of the owners of the property, who were powerless to rescue it from wanton and unprovoked destruction; and then, after making some threatening demonstrations in view of the intrenchments (which, however, they did not attempt to put in execution), they were dispersed by a couple of shots from the long gun in position, and, without further delay, followed the route of their comrades, whom they speedily joined at Nawabgunge.

The native officers of these regiments were then ordered, by General Wheeler, to take up their quarters in the artillery hospital barrack, on the east side of the fortification, and to intrench themselves there: they were also desired to endeavour to use their influence among the sepoys and non-commissioned officers, that such of them as were unwillingly drawn into the mutinous outbreak, might retrace their steps before it became too late for pardon. The officers were energetic in their protestations of loyalty, and affected great distress at the disgrace inflicted upon their regiments by the bad conduct of the men, whose repentance for their unsoldierlike conduct they declared themselves sure of. They left the intrenchment upon their proposed errand of reconciliation, and were no more seen until found in the ranks of the assailing force—false to the very core: the last act of their military existence, in the Company's service, was one of perfidy.

As soon as it was ascertained that the mutineers had entirely withdrawn from the cantonments, carts were dispatched to the lines, under a sufficient escort, to collect whatever might have been left of the arms of men on leave, or stores, baggage, &c., and also to secure any stragglers that might be met with. The Christian native drummers of the different corps had already, with their families, sought protection in the intrenchment, into which some sick in the town hospital were now brought for safety. The consequence was, that the buildings within the fortification became overcrowded, and the inconvenience resulting was indescribable. Many of those who had found an asylum in this fortified position would, from ignorance of the real danger without, gladly have risked the chance of unknown evils, so they might escape the intolerable annoyances of the overcrowded and over-heated quarters assigned them, which however, few were destined to leave but for a premature and unhallowed grave.

At five in the evening of this day of trial and excitement, the officers and men were told-off in sections, and appointed to different posts as sentries; the civilians capable of bearing arms were also mustered, and directed to supply themselves with weapons from a store brought in from the bells of arms in the lines: they were then provided with ammunition, and placed under the orders of competent officers, whom they were directed to obey; and the internal arrangements of the position being now complete, Sir Hugh Wheeler anxiously awaited the arrival of succours to relieve him from the difficulties that surrounded him, and those who looked up to him for protection and deliverance.

From the cantonments at Cawnpore the first division of the mutinous soldiery proceeded, as we have related, to Nawabgunge, where they were speedily joined by the two regiments, which, it may be supposed, had only delayed their departure from the lines for the purpose of holding the Europeans in check, in the event of their leaving the intrenchment to protect the treasure at the collectorate, which it was a primary object of the rebels to secure for themselves. The Mahratta guard, sent for its protection by the rajah of Bithoor, offered no opposition whatever to the proceedings of the mutineers; and, in a very short time, the greater part of the money was packed in bullock-carts, and upon elephants, for transmission to Delhi. While this matter was in progress, messengers were dispatched from the rebels to the rajah, Nana Sahib, then residing at Bithoor, announcing their determination to march to Delhi, and their desire that he would place himself at their head. The wish of the mutineers was readily acceded to by the rajah, whose arrival at Nawabgunge, with 600 men and four guns, was shortly afterwards announced with great demonstrations of satisfaction. No time was lost in assuming the command of the whole force; and, as a mark of his approval of the conduct of the men, so much of the treasure as remained to be packed at the time of his arrival, was, by his order, distributed among them. The collector's cutcherry was then set fire to, and destroyed, with the public records, and whatever else it contained. This feat accomplished, the soldiers proceeded to the magazines, near which they halted while

carts and other vehicles were procured from the neighbouring villages. Upon their arrival, they were loaded with baggage (plunder) and ammunition; and about five in the afternoon, the main body commenced a march to Kulleanpore—the first stage on the route from Cawnpore to Delhi; where a halt was commanded, to enable the cavalry and others, left behind at Nawabgunge to blow up the magazines and fire the bungalows, &c., to join and resume the march.

During the halt at Kulleanpore, the officers of the rebel force were addressed by Nana Sahib, who recommended that the march to Delhi should be postponed until they had accomplished some achievement that would favourably distinguish them in the estimation of the king. Turning to the men, he said—"You have received seven rupees from the Feringhee raj. I will take care you shall henceforth have fourteen rupees, and I will supply you all with food; but you must not go to Delhi yet. Stay here a little time, and your name will be great. Kill all the English in Cawnpore first, and I will give you each a golden bracelet." The men expressed their assent to this proposition by acclamation. A subahdar of the 1st regiment was then appointed general of the army, and second in command to Nana Sahib; the havildars and naiks (sergeants and corporals) were made captains, lieutenants, and ensigns; and the following orders were issued to promote the efficiency of the troops:—

"*Proclamation for the Ordering of the Army.*—In every regiment, whether of horse or foot, there will be a colonel commandant and major, second in command, as well as adjutant. The duties of the commandant are to command his corps, to make known the orders of the sirkar's will, and to arrange all batteries and fights, when the orders of the sirkar will be performed. The second in command is below him, his companion in council and command, and when anything happens to the commandant he will take his place. The adjutant will take charge of the drills and parades of the regiment, and of such things as of old have been the custom for the adjutant to take charge of. The office of the quartermaster likewise pertains to him; and as the quartermaster was accustomed to take care of the magazine and ammunition that no one might injure them, and to keep an account of the quantity held by each sepoy, so shall he do: should there be any deficiency in the counting of them, and they are otherwise expended than in the service of the state, then he will be convicted of a fault. The Company allowance of fifty rupees shall be given to the subahdar of the company: thirty rupees for command; and from the twenty for contract shall be kept up a cobbler and a smith; and those who work for the accoutrements of the company shall be paid; and there shall be a moonshee; and ten subahdars who receive the allowance shall, among them, keep up a moonshee of their own, who, on the completion of the month, shall make out the muster-rolls and pay-abstracts of the ten companies, and sign them; he shall then give them to the adjutant. In the adjutant's office the meer moonshee, and two mohurrirs allowed him, will see that all is correct; when, having arranged the papers. he will send them to the commissariat officer. Having been prepared, then they will come to the government, which will deliver the pay. At all courts-martial the meer moonshee will write the proceedings and the opinion of the court, and the members having signed, then they will be sent to the commanding officer, who will forward them to the brigadier, by whom they will be laid before government, which will confirm or disapprove, and publish accordingly. The meer moonshee's pay shall be fifty rupees, and each mohurrir's ten rupees; and the adjutant shall be one of the ten subahdars, who will receive the allowance of adjutant in addition to his pay as subahdar. Of the two mohurrirs, one shall attend at four o'clock, to write such orders of the government as there may be, when he will take them to the adjutant's office, whence they will be made known to the regiment. To these officers for that twenty rupees shall be given. The major and colonel are separate. Their pay shall be separately drawn for, and other subahdars appointed in their places; and the sirkar will advise and determine their pay, as well as the allowance to the adjutant, which will be drawn for accordingly.—(The first orders are these.)

"In the artillery, infantry, and cavalry, there shall be four commanding officers. The pay of a colonel shall be 500 rupees, and his allowance, 250 rupees; the major's pay shall be 500 rupees; and the adju tant's allowance, in addition to his pay as a subahdar, shall be 150 rupees. The quartermaster also shall have 150 rupees, in addition to his pay as a subahdar, both of whose duties he is to do.

"Should any man of the cavalry, artillery, or infantry be slain in battle, on his account a life pension shall be granted at once to his son, or his wife, or his mother, or his sister, or his daughter. If he is wounded and unfit for service, he shall have a life pension agreeably to the regulations; and if fit for service, he shall be ready at his own house when called on. Whoever becomes old in the service shall have a pension according to the regulations; and the pay which is established at Delhi shall also be given here, from the date that the army has belonged to the state.—13 *Zekaida*, 1273 *Hijra*."

The same evening the golundauzes of the Oude horse battery, brought into the intrenchment by Lieutenant Ashe, exhibited a spirit of insubordination that required instant repression. General Wheeler, who had already sufficient cause for disquietude, no sooner received the report of their misconduct, than he paraded his Europeans, who quietly took possession of the guns, and having surrounded the refractory golundauzes, they were deprived of their arms, and turned out of the intrenchment. Enraged at this treatment, the ejected men made all haste to Kulleanpore, which they

reached in the course of the night, and reported themselves to the chief (Nana Sahib), to whom they represented the strength and available points of General Wheeler's position, and the advantage to be derived from quickly getting possession of the guns, ammunition, &c., in the fortifications, as well as of several boatloads of shot and shell lying in the canal, for transmission to Roorkee. A council of the officers was immediately held; and the information of the golundauzes being strengthened by the reports of some of the native officers (who, the same afternoon, had left the intrenchment on a pretence of bringing the mutineers back to a sense of duty), an attack upon the position was determined upon; and the troops received orders to march upon Cawnpore during the night. This retrograde movement was quietly effected; and early in the morning, the little garrison received intelligence that the mutineers, with Nana Sahib at their head, had taken up a position on the plain of Sonahdah, about two miles to the west of the intrenchment, and were making preparations to attack them. This appears to have been the first intimation received by Sir Hugh Wheeler, of the treachery of the Bithoor rajah. It should be observed, that at the council of officers held the preceding night at Kulleanpore, it had been determined that, upon the return of the rebel force to Cawnpore, all Europeans and native converts should be searched for and destroyed.

The first act of the rebel leader was to dispatch a summons to General Wheeler, requiring him to surrender the intrenched position and town to the forces of the king of Delhi; the next, to carry into effect the resolution of the council of the preceding night. For this purpose, fifty troopers of the 2nd light cavalry were dispatched to the cantonments, to ferret out and destroy such Europeans or native *employés* as might yet lurk among the ruins of their property in that quarter; while a similar number of horsemen were sent into the town itself to accomplish a like purpose. A strong body of the Nana's force then advanced towards the principal gate of the town, and, amidst much display of military parade, raised two standards, as rallying points for the disaffected among the native inhabitants. The sacred banner of Mahomet held out an invitation to the Moslems to range themselves under its green folds, for the extermination of the infidel race by which they were oppressed; and the golden-coloured standard of Humayun flaunted in the sultry air a like welcome to the followers of the most venerated sovereign of ancient Hindostan. The exhibition of these flags was but partially productive of the result desired, as about 2,000 of the Mohammedan inhabitants of the town quickly resorted to the standard of the prophet; but the flag of Humayun was not attractive to the better class of Hindoo inhabitants; those who repaired to it being chiefly *low-caste* Hindoos, and vagabonds connected with the suburbs.

While this recruiting progressed, another portion of the rebel force advanced from the camp at Sonahdah towards the intrenchment, and, without waiting for a reply to the summons of Nana Sahib, opened a sharp fire of grape and musketry. The first volley was discharged, without warning, about half-past ten o'clock in the morning of the 6th of June. The bugles immediately called the little garrison to arms, and every man rushed to his post. A fierce and effective fire was immediately opened upon the enemy, and maintained throughout the day. An assault was expected; but the rebels were content with practice at a distance. During the day, detachments of the Nana's force occupied themselves in setting fire to the bungalows and stores on the east side of the canal, and in bringing their heavy guns into the rear of the European position, from whence they kept up a destructive fire throughout that and the following day. The proximity of their 24-pounders (of which they had four) to the buildings within the intrenchment was such, that every shot told upon the verandahs and exterior works of the houses, and many went through the pukha walls of the barrack hospital, which was crowded with women and children.

The town of Cawnpore was, by the middle of the day on the 6th of June, in the entire possession of the rebel force, which, for want of an enemy to cope with, now began to pillage and illtreat the inhabitants. The palace of the nawab was battered by the guns of the riotous troops, and the outer gates having been forced, they obtained access to the interior; and after securing the person of the nawab, upon the pretext that he had concealed some Europeans from their vengeance, his residence was given up to pillage, and in a short time little more than bare walls were left to contrast with

the magnificence that had adorned them. Elate with success and its excitement, Nana Sahib now took up his quarters in the town, assuming the government of that and the surrounding districts, as representative of the king of Delhi. The occupation of the place by this man and his rebel horde, with a daily increasing augmentation of armed vagabonds, who flocked to his standard for sustenance and plunder, independent of military control, and impatient of all discipline, led speedily to the usual disastrous results among the peaceably-disposed and wealthy inhabitants of the place, whose houses were broken into and plundered without mercy; and at length, for want of European victims with whom their appetite for blood might be satisfied, they slaughtered even their own people upon the slightest real or imaginary pretext of offence.

The following details of the proceedings within the intrenchment, are from the narrative of Mr. W. J. Shepherd, of the commissariat department, who was within it from the 5th to the 24th of June; and who, from his connection with the incidents of the defence, may be regarded as a competent authority. After referring to the arrival of the rebel force led by Nana Sahib, and the preparations made for the defence of the position, this gentleman says—"We had eight guns—viz., two brass ones of the 3rd Oude battery, two 9-pounder long guns, and four of smaller size. For these, sufficient ammunition had previously been taken and buried under ground. The intrenchment was made round the hospital barracks of the old European infantry, between the soldiers' church and the new unfinished European lines; and of the two buildings thus enclosed, one had thatched rooffing, over which a covering of tiles was hastily thrown, to prevent its easily catching fire. None of the native writers (Bengalese and others) in government offices or merchants' employ went into the intrenchment; they remained in the city, where they appear to have received much annoyance from the mutineers, and some had to hide themselves to save their lives. The commissariat contractors all discontinued their supplies from the 6th, or rather were unable to bring them in, from the way the mutineers surrounded the intrenchment on all sides, permitting no ingress or egress at any time, except under cover of the night.

"On the 7th, the enemy increased the number of their guns, some of which were of the largest size available. The 24-pounder guns, of which they had three or four, proved very destructive, on account of their proximity to us; the shots from them were fired with such force as to bring down whole pillars of the verandahs, and go through the pukha walls of the hospital barracks. We had but one well, in the middle of the intrenchment; and the enemy kept up their fire so incessantly, both day and night, that it was as much as giving a man's 'life-blood' to go and draw a bucket of water; and while there was any water remaining in the large jars usually kept in the verandah for the soldiers' use, nobody ventured to the well; but after the second day, the demand became so great, that a bheestie bag of water was with difficulty got for five rupees, and a bucket for a rupee, as most of the servants of officers and merchants had deserted, and it therefore became a matter of necessity for every person to get his own water, which was usually done during the night, when the enemy could not well direct their shots. In fact, after the first three days' incessant firing, the rebels made it a practice, usually about candle-light, to cease for about two hours; and at that time, the crowd round the well was very great.

"There was no place to shelter the live cattle. Horses of private gentlemen, as also those of the 3rd Oude battery, were obliged to be let loose. A few sheep and goats, as well as the bullocks kept for commissariat purposes, were shot off; and, in the course of five or six days, no meat was to be got for the Europeans. They, however, now and again managed to get hold of a stray bullock or cow near the intrenchment at night, which served for a change; otherwise dhall and chupatties were the common food of all. Several hogsheads of rum and malt liquor were also burst by the enemy's cannon; but of this there was a large quantity, and the loss was not felt.

"On the evening of the second day of the firing, the 7th of June, I received a bullet-wound (fortunately a spent shot fired from the riding-school) in my back, while standing as sentry under the walls of the intrenchment, which kept me off duty for nearly a week. However, I could observe the movement of the enemy, who had us well surrounded, in the course of four or five days, with cannon; and the musketry

of the infantry had no bounds, as they took possession of all the bungalows, compound walls, outbuildings, &c., that had been burnt down, and were nearest to our camp. The church, which was also fired, proved the most annoying to us, as also the newly built (unfinished) European barracks. Their encroachment, however, in the latter quarter, was usually checked by the vigilance of a most brave and energetic officer (Captain Moore) of her majesty's 32nd foot, who, though severely hurt in one of his arms, never gave himself the least rest; but wherever there appeared most danger he was sure to be foremost, with his arm in a sling, and a revolver pistol in his belt, directing and leading the men how to act. This officer placed scouts with eye-glasses on the top of one of the unfinished barracks, whence every movement of the enemy could be seen, and which helped our artillery to direct their shots.

"The rebel sepoys usually took possession of the first three of these barracks; but whenever they annoyed us much, or attempted to advance nearer, Captain Moore would go out with about a dozen Europeans, in the midst of a most brisk firing, and getting under cover of the other barracks, would pepper the enemy so as to soon rout them out of their hiding-place. On such occasions, the number of killed on the opposite side was considerable, whereas our men generally escaped unhurt. It was very amusing to see the way Captain Moore used to make his men and himself pass from the intrenchment into the unfinished barracks; for whenever he found the enemy too strong for the small picket placed out to protect our scouts, and keep possession of the nearest barracks, he would collect a number of volunteers from the intrenchment, and send them out one at a time: as each man ventured out, some scores of bullets would be directed towards him, and which would make him run as fast as his legs would allow; however, the distance to run in one breath was not very great; for a lot of conveyances, bullocks, trains, &c., were placed at short distances all the way to the new barracks.

"This brave officer went out on two occasions under cover of the night, with about twenty-five Europeans at a time, and spiked the nearest guns of the enemy. But for the paucity of our soldiers, it would have been an easy matter to drive away the rebels, who proved themselves to be a most cowardly set of men, particularly the cavalry; for very often attempts were made to charge upon us; and notwithstanding the very large number of people collected on the enemy's side, apparently with that intention, under cover of the buildings and compound walls nearest to our camp, they seldom dared courageously to come out; for whenever they advanced, a few charges of canister would soon disperse them, and make them all run away as fast as ever they could.

"For the first four or five days of the outbreak, our artillery kept up a brisk firing; but after that, it was considered unadvisable to exhaust our magazine; for the rebels took great care to keep always well under cover, and we could not do much execution among them. The heat was very great; and what with the fright, want of room, want of proper food and care, several ladies and soldiers' wives, as also children, died in great distress. Many officers and soldiers also were sun-struck, from exposure to the hot winds. The dead bodies of our people had to be thrown into a well outside the intrenchment, near the new unfinished barracks; and this work was generally done at the close of each day, as nobody could venture out during the day, on account of the shots and shells flying in all directions like a hail-storm; our intrenchment was strewed with them. The distress was so great, that none could offer a word of consolation to his friend, or attempt to administer to the wants of each other. I have seen the dead bodies of officers and tenderly brought-up young ladies of rank (colonels' and captains' daughters) put outside in the verandah among the ruins, to await the time when the fatigue-party usually went round to carry the dead to the well as above; for there was scarcely room to shelter the living; the buildings were so sadly riddled, that every safe corner available was considered a great object.

"The enemy now commenced firing live shells, well heated, with the intent of setting fire to the tents of officers in the compound, as also to the thatched barrack, which, though hastily covered over with tiles, was not proof against fire. The tents, therefore, had all to be struck, as several had been thus burnt; and at last, on the 13th of June, the barrack also took fire; it was about 5 P.M.; and that evening was

one of unspeakable distress and trial; for all the wounded and sick were in it, also the families of the soldiers and drummers. The fire began on the south side of it; and the breeze being very strong, the flames spread out so quickly, that it was a hard matter to remove the women and children, who were all in great confusion; so that the helpless wounded and sick could not be removed, and were all burnt to ashes (about forty or upwards in number.) The whole of the medicines were also there, and shared the same fate. All that the doctors could save was a box or two of surgical instruments, and a small chest of medicines; so that after that was expended the sick could get no medicine. It was perfectly impracticable to save any of the wounded or the medicines, in consequence of the insurgents collecting in very large bodies in the adjacent compounds and buildings, with their muskets and swords, ready every moment to pounce down upon us; and the men were compelled to keep their places under the walls of the intrenchment, and could not bear a helping hand to those in the barracks.

"The enemy on this occasion were upwards of 4,000 in number, as a reinforcement had only just been received by them from the neighbouring stations; and it appears that they had come with a full determination to make a charge on that occasion, for they made several attempts, but were successfully repulsed by our artillery. Had they come on, there is no doubt they would have defeated us; but it is quite certain that we should have slaughtered more than half of their strength; for every man of us was determined to sell his life dearly, and our arrangement was a very good one; for each individual had five or six muskets ready charged at his command, always standing against the wall, besides swords and bayonets. Subsequent to this, almost daily attempts were made, on the part of the rebels, to take us by storm; but they could not stand our artillery, and therefore all their cannon were directed upon our guns with the intention of disabling them. In this they so far succeeded, that out of eight, only two sound ones remained when the intrenchment was vacated, as will hereafter appear.

"One morning (I believe it was the 21st of June), a very great mob was seen collecting all round our intrenchment: their dresses were of diverse patterns and descriptions (for the regular corps of infantry never came out to fight in their full dress; some few had on their jackets and caps; others even without the former; and nearly the whole dressed like recruits); for a number of Oude soldiery, or rather 'tag-rag and bobtail,' had joined them. It was their intention—as I afterwards learnt from the city people—not to spare us that day even if they should all die in the attempt; and the newly created subahdar-major of the 1st native infantry had sworn upon the Gunga-jull either to take us or die. The enemy brought large bales of cotton with them, and, placing them out, they lay under cover of the same, attempting to approach us in that manner by pushing the bales on, at the same time keeping up a brisk fire with their muskets. While this sort of thing was being done towards the south-east side from the church compound, the three new barracks were filled with upwards of 500 men, endeavouring to drive away our picket and take possession of the rest, where Captain Moore again appeared as usual; and, previously arranging with our battery to send grape from the south-west corner, he took about twenty-five more men from the intrenchment, and advancing under cover of No. 5 barrack, he sent a few volleys; then going ahead behind No. 4 barrack, he managed to drive them all into Nos. 1 and 2, where a few rounds of canister routed them out entirely, killing about thirty-five or forty of their number. In the meantime, about a hundred of the wretches, under the cotton bales, from the church compound, approached in that manner to within 150 yards of the intrenchment. This was intended as an advance force; for, shortly after, the insurgents in the rear gave a fearful shout, and, jumping off the compound walls, &c., rushed towards us, led on by the above-mentioned subahdar-major, who was a well-made, powerful man. However, almost the very first shots from our musketry caught him, and, immediately after, a few rounds of canister directed towards the enemy did great execution, killing and wounding about 200 of them, and thus causing a general dispersion. About the same time an attack upon the intrenchment on the north-east corner of us caused much annoyance; for here about 200 of the enemy kept up a dreadful firing, and it took us about an hour and a-half to silence them. I was attached to this corner, under Captain

remove the cash. The sepoys said they would not let it be removed. The collector tried in vain, and threatened to send Europeans to magazine and treasury. The sepoys, one and all, said they should not live. The collector left, and brought 300 or 400 troops, foot and horse, from the Nana's house at Bithoor, and placed them near the magazine. The Nana also promised the general and other officers his personal assistance. The Nana had thought himself aggrieved by British government refusing to continue to him the pension allotted to Bajee Rao, on the score of his being an adopted son only.

"June 2nd.—The officers found rebellion increasing every day, and therefore intrenched themselves round hospital. All Europeans, with supplies and ammunition, and one lac of rupees, went into their intrenchment on Tuesday, June 2nd. Some Mududgar told the 2nd cavalry that the sahibs were undermining their barracks, and unless they (the 2nd cavalry) left their lines, they would be blown up. The cavalry then broke out; and at midnight of June 4th, the 2nd cavalry. The *gillis* (1st native infantry) broke out, and went to burn the bungalows in the direction of the treasury and magazine. They plundered the treasury, containing near thirteen lacs, and took it away; 90,000 rupees left behind for want of carriage; this plundered by people. The magazine was taken by Nana Dhoondu Pant, who had two guns; the guns and ammunition were taken by the Nana and the sepoys, to fight the British. The Nana placed himself at their head, saying, I came, in appearance, to help the British, but am at heart their mortal enemy.

"June 5th.—The 5th June the Nana established himself in magazine, and released the prisoners, about 400 in number. He opened the armoury, and gave every prisoner any arms he wanted, on condition of remaining with him. Crowds of men armed themselves from the armoury; very many sent arms, &c., to their homes. The cavalry and regiment wished to go to Delhi to assist the king, saying they would present the treasure and ammunition to him. They went out to Kulleanpore with the Nana. But two regiments (the 56th and 53rd) had, up to this time, remained faithful, though grieved at the order of the cartridge. The mutinous regiments returned to cantonment; sent for the officers (native) and sepoys of 56th and 53rd native infantry; and after some time, and after saying that they would be outcasts of religion, they persuaded them. The rebels told the 56th and 53rd they would destroy themselves on the parade, unless they joined, and the disgrace to their religion would be on their heads; the 56th and 53rd then joined. The officers fell on the ground before the sepoys, and most of them were allowed to go to the intrenched camp. The four regiments then went to Kulleanpore.

"When the Nana saw that all the regiments were anxious to leave for Delhi, he called the officers and sepoys, and told them it was not proper to go to Delhi until all Europeans—men, women, and children—were destroyed: they agreed to return; and the whole rebel army returned on June 6th, and encamped near subahdar's tank, and placed one 24-pounder at west, one 6-pounder at north, one 6-pounder at east, and began to fire at hospital, where Europeans were collected. Supplies of ammunition were got by rebels from magazine. From that date all has been confusion; the shops of the city are plundered; Hindoos cry out, 'Ram, Ramchund is king; Mussulmans claim their head!' Houses of Bahin Allee and the sons of Nawab Aga Meer were surrounded by rebels and looted, and have taken them under charge. The houses of cantonments have been burnt. The English keep up a perpetual fire, suspending only during heat of day; rebels keep up a fire night and day.

"June 7th.—On 7th June firing continued. Darogah Azimally Khan had come in from Lucknow; the cavalry found him, and extorted one lac of rupees; shattered his house. The darogah was taken prisoner before Nana, who threatened to tie him to a hot gun; but he was released on payment of money. The rebels have murdered every Christian they could find.

"June 8th.—On the 8th of June, shooting as usual; and a number of women and children brought prisoners before the Nana, and murdered by his orders. Zemindars of neighbourhood fighting amongst themselves in payment of old quarrels. . Sepoys, making for their homes with plundered treasure, have been deprived of their plunder; and, if any excuse made, immediately murdered.

"June 9th.—Cannonading as usual. Report that General Wheeler had been slightly

wounded. One person brought a paper to the Nana from the camp, in which the officers demanded of him the reason of his opposition; they offered to go to Calcutta if permitted; the officers protested against his conduct in butchering women and children; the Nana, in reply, recommenced cannonading.

"June 10th.—Cannonading as usual. One man, one woman, and three children, and one miss, were travelling down. The head of the family had been murdered on the road; but these were let go. The cavalry got hold of them, and took them to Nana, who ordered them to be killed; they were all taken on parade and shot.

"June 11th.—Cannonading as usual; English returning but few shots. At night twenty Europeans came out and attacked the 6-pounder in position, at the west; they spiked the gun, killed ten or twelve sepoys, and returned; two Europeans killed: the Nana at this was very angry. The sepoys plundered bazaar everywhere. Two women of family of Macintosh found disguised; taken before Nana, and butchered.

"June 12th.—Cannonading as usual. Report that Europeans were coming in boats to relieve. Cavalry and two companies sent westward to make inquiries; they found that 126 men, women, and children, were in a boat sick: they had gone to Nynee Tal,* and left in hopes of getting to Calcutta; these were apprehended, brought before the Nana, who ordered all to be killed, and they were murdered; one young lady, daughter of a general, told the Nana it was cowardly to butcher women and children—told him to remember that the day of retribution would come, and it would be severe; she was then murdered. Dâk chokies, &c., destroyed. Telegraph cut to pieces. Boats had been collected; all stopped, lest Christians should escape. Import of grain stopped, and prices high."

Among the expedients resorted to by the rebel leader to deceive the inhabitants of Cawnpore, and animate the spirit of his followers, a statement, of which the subjoined is a translation, was published and distributed amongst the people by order of Nana Sahib.

"A traveller just arrived in Cawnpore from Calcutta, states that, in the first instance, a council was held to take into consideration the means to be adopted to do away with the religion of the Mohammedans and Hindoos by the distribution of cartridges. The council came to this resolution: that, as this matter was one of religion, the services of seven or eight thousand European soldiers would be necessary, as 50,000 Hindostanis would have to be destroyed, and then the whole of the people of Hindostan would become Christians. A petition, with the substance of this resolution, was sent to the Queen Victoria, and it was approved. A council was then held a second time, in which English merchants took a part, and it was decided that, in order that no evil should arise from mutiny, large reinforcements should be sent for. When the despatch was received and read in England, thousands of European soldiers were embarked on ships as speedily as possible, and sent off to Hindostan. The news of their being dispatched reached Calcutta. The English authorities there ordered the issue of the cartridges; for the real intention was to Christianise the army first; and this being effected, the conversion of the people would speedily follow. Pigs' and cows' fat was mixed up with the cartridges; this became known through one of the Bengalese who was employed in the cartridge-making establishment. Of those through whose means this was divulged, one was killed and the rest imprisoned. While in this country these counsels were being adopted, in England the vakeel of the sultan of Roum sent news to the sultan that thousands of European soldiers were being sent for the purpose of making Christians of all the people of Hindostan. Upon this the sultan issued a firman to the king of Egypt to this effect:—'You must deceive the Queen Victoria; for this is not a time for friendship, for my vakeel writes that thousands of European soldiers have been dispatched for the purpose of making Christians the army and people of Hindostan. In this manner, then, this must be checked. If I should be remiss, then how can I show my face to God; and one day this may come upon me also; for if the English make Christians of all in Hindostan, they will then fix their designs upon my country.' When the firman reached the king of Egypt, he prepared and arranged his troops, before the arrival of the English army at Alexandria, for this is the route to India. The instant the English army arrived, the king of Egypt opened guns upon them from all sides, and destroyed and sunk their ships, and not a single soldier

* These were fugitives from Futteghur.

escaped. The English in Calcutta, after the issue of the order for the cartridges, and when the mutiny had become great, were in expectation of the arrival of the army from London; but the Great God, in his omnipotence, had beforehand put an end to this. When the news of the destruction of the army of London became known, then the governor-general was much afflicted and grieved, and he lamented. In the night, murder and robbery; in the morning, neither head upon the body nor crown upon the head. The blue sky makes one revolution; neither Nadir nor trace of him remains.

"Done by order of the Peishwa Bahadoor.—13 *Zekaida*, 1273 *Hijra*."

The above specimen of Oriental "journalism"—from the Nana's "own correspondent"(?)—was read in the bazaars and at the gates of the town by the moonshee of the Rajah Dhoondu Pant with great formalities, and copies were found posted in all the places of public resort, upon the reoccupation of Cawnpore by the English troops in July.

A native writer, who appears by his narrative of the operations of the rebel force, to have been in close proximity with it during the siege, gives the following account of the mutiny and subsequent proceedings. The statement is interesting, as supplying many particulars omitted in the preceding extracts, although it varies in some instances from the details already given. The diary (for such in effect it is) commences with the plunder of the treasure at Nawabgunge, and continues down to the 12th of June inclusive.

Our extract may commence thus:—"At midnight (Thursday, the 4th of June), the 2nd cavalry and the 1st regiment of native infantry, having loaded their muskets and pistols, proceeded in the direction of the officers' bungalows with the intention of burning them, and on arrival at the treasury and magazine, they took possession of both, and commenced loading the treasure, computed at fifteen lacs (some people say more), on carts and bullocks. When about 90,000 rupees remained to be removed, no carriage being available, the native officers gave the order to plunder it, and immediately the sepoys and others carried off what remained. Having helped themselves to as much powder and ammunition as they wished, the 2nd cavalry and 1st native infantry took violent possession of two iron guns, which Dhoondu Nana had with him in his camp, near the magazine; and with these guns they proceeded to confront the European officers, and also showed a disposition to use violence to the Nana himself. At that time the Nana was present, and, with joined hands, told the sepoys that he was on their side; and that although, as far as outward appearances showed, he had come to assist the officers, yet from his heart and soul he was the deadly enemy of the English.

"After this the Nana remained with the sepoys, and they all elected him their commander; and on that day (Friday, the 5th of June) the Nana went inside the magazine and released all the prisoners, amounting to about 400, who were ironed and fettered; and, having opened the door of the armoury, gave the order that whichever prisoner was willing to follow him should arm himself with gun, pistol, or sword, as he liked best; and if any of them preferred going to their homes, they could do so. At that time hundreds of prisoners, and citizens, and sepoys, belonging to the Nana, and also to the Company, joined together, and each man took from the armoury what arms he wished; and having sent a great quantity of property to their homes, the 2nd cavalry and 1st native infantry formed the intention of going to Delhi; and their intention was to present the treasure and ammunition to the king, who is sitting upon the throne at that city, and remain in his service.

"On that same day, in company with Nana Dhoondu Pant, they encamped at the village of Kulleanpore, about five miles to the west of the city of Cawnpore; but two regiments—the 53rd and 56th—remained behind. These last-named regiments had been from the first displeased, and on account of the cartridges had shown anger; but they had not the slightest intention of creating a disturbance. However, the 2nd cavalry and 1st native infantry went down armed to their parade-ground, and called out the native officers and sepoys. After a lengthened debate among men of different persuasions, the Mussulmans having joined together, proclaimed that if these two regiments would not join them they would be outcasts from their religion, and useless, and said, 'We will cut off each other's heads and sacrifice our lives upon this very spot, and you will bring dishonour upon yourselves.' At length, after much debating, they brought these two regiments over to their own way of thinking, and made pre-

parations to go to the village of Kulleanpore, where the 2nd cavalry and 1st native infantry, and Nana Dhoondu Pant, were encamped. Several bad sepoys formed a plan to kill the officers of their respective regiments. At that time, several officers, bareheaded, fell at the feet of the sepoys and begged for their lives, and many sepoys showed them mercy and let them go, when they made off and sought the protection of the hospital or intrenched camp; while the two regiments, the 53rd and 56th, having armed themselves, accompanied the mutineers to Kulleanpore.

"When Nana Dhoondu Pant saw that the three native regiments and the 2nd light cavalry had completely thrown off their allegiance to the Company, and were thinking of going to Delhi, he, with joined hands, represented to the native officers, that it would not be correct to proceed towards Delhi until they had entirely destroyed the officers and European soldiers, and women and children, of the Christian religion; and that they should, if possible, by deceiving the officers, accomplish this grand object, or that they would be good for nothing. The native officers and sepoys approved this speech, and took council to kill all the Christians; and, plundering as they went, on Saturday, the 6th June, they returned to the subahdar's tank, near the Gwat 'Tola, and having placed a 24-pounder on the western side of the English encampment, at the distance of 500 yards, and one 4-pounder at the northern side, and another at the southern side, commenced firing upon the hospital, in which about 100 gentlemen, military and civil, and about 200 European soldiers, and, more or less, 100 bandsmen, of the Christian religion, for fear of their lives, had assembled. At that time, in the city of Cawnpore, it was as if the day of judgment had come; and when the sepoys of the infantry and troopers of the cavalry, the jingling of whose sword scabbards and the tread of whose horses' feet resounded on all sides, proceeded with guns of various sizes, and ammunition, from the magazines, through the Gwat Tola (which forms part of the suburbs of Cawnpore, towards the intrenched camp), I, the writer of this journal, was present, and saw this with my own eyes, and heard what was going on; and bodies of sepoys, both Hindoo and Mussulman, were shouting. From one side the cry came, 'Victory to Rajah Ramchund;' and some were calling out, 'Shout, ye faithful army, Allah has routed the Kafirs!' In fact, every one was saying whatever came upmost in his mind; and all the shops in the city had been closed for several days; but in whatever shop the sepoys entered to ask for sugar or goor, they plundered everything belonging to the citizen that they could find; so much so, that plunder and oppression was the order of the day. Every violent man did what came into his mind, and the troopers got possession of a note, the interest of which amounted to 25,000 rupees, belonging to Eman-oo-Doolah and Bakir Alee, sons of Nawab Aga Meer, and plundered very much property and cash and supplies, and also took these two men with them to render assistance, and gave them possession of a battery; and one troop, or thereabouts, left the cantonments and proceeded to the buildings in which the civil and revenue and judicial courts were held, and commenced firing them. At that time the state of the cantonments was such as if the people were surrounded with fire, and no citizen had hope left of his life or honour. In fact, they spoiled and destroyed the whole of the courts; and in the other direction, from all three sides, guns were fired at the English intrenchments to that extent that the ground seemed to be turning upside down. At first the Europeans fired round shot and grape upon the three batteries with great effect, killing two troopers and six sepoys; and when the sun became very hot the Europeans ceased firing for about three hours, and the whole night the firing was continued, and many round shot fell upon the parapets of the rebels' battery, and also round shot fell on all sides of the barrack; nevertheless, the sepoys and troopers proposed to discharge ten 24-pounders, and take the intrenched camp by storm, and kill man, woman, and child. The English had excavated mines near the barrack and near the road adjoining the ditch, with the intention that when these disloyal sepoys should make an assault they would blow them up; and although they (the sepoys) calculated that ten rounds from the 24-pounders would be sufficient during the night, they fired off nearly 400 rounds; but yet these spiritless men had not the bravery to make the assault.

"On Sunday, the 7th of June, the firing was commenced, according to custom, on all sides, and about one troop of the 2nd

cavalry having entered the Gwat Tola, committed a great deal of oppression upon the inhabitants; and they seized Darogah Asim Alee Khan of Lucknow, who for several years had been erecting houses near the residence of the sons of Aga Meer, and told him, 'You have brought away plenty of money from the Lucknow people by deceit; give us a lac of rupees;' and some one said that certain Europeans and women were hidden in his house. On this, without further inquiry, a gun loaded with grape was fired into his house, and two or three of his servants were killed. At last they took the darogah prisoner into their camp, and wished to tie him to a loaded gun in the presence of the Nana; but the Nana let him go on the payment of 1,000 rupees, and sent him to collect ammunition in the battery on hundreds of bullocks and elephants, and carts and dhoolies, &c., and whatever he could lay his hands upon. The burning of the officers' bungalows now commenced, and the burnt bungalows became, as it were, a black line; and whenever an Englishman or European soldier, or woman or child were found, they were put to death.

"On the 8th of June, the firing commenced on all sides as usual, and one lady and child (Christian) were seized and brought before the Nana. Afterwards, according to order, they were killed, notwithstanding that they represented they were faultless, and if it would please the rebels they might make them Mussulmans if they would but save their lives; but to do so did not come into the hearts of their executioners; and in the city and gardens there was so much villany committed that travelling became dangerous, and to kill a man was quite easy, and each landowner entertained fifty or a hundred followers, and committed deeds of oppression and plundered each other. Some forcibly cut the grain out of the fields, and others were occupied in picking up plundered property which had been thrown down, and hundreds of Rajpoots were posted on the roads, robbing the travellers; in fact, as many sepoys as plundered money from the government treasury, or any other property belonging to government, were all themselves plundered by the landowners; and if any sepoy made the slightest objection to give up his property, he was at once caused to sit upon the bed of death, and nearly 1,000 rupees on some, and on others 500 rupees, were found folded in their waistbands; and, in the city, the goods and chattels and cash of the English merchants were plundered to the following extent:—Greenway, fifty lacs; Da Gama, 10,000 rupees; Crump, five lacs; Mackintosh, one lac; J. Greenway, 40,000 rupees; Reed 10,000 rupees; Marshall, 4,000 rupees; Kirke, 50,000 rupees; and many gentlemen (merchants) escaped into the intrenched camp with their money, and many other merchants thought that the troops would not offer them any molestation; for if the government became Hindostani, they would open their shops and sell their property; but the sepoys did not pay any attention to this request, and at once killed them; and hundreds of lower class servants (*mahturanees*), &c., who wore English clothes, were shot and cut down with swords.

"On the 9th the firing was resumed, and it was reported that the general had been wounded by a gun-shot; and one English paper was brought by a man into the battery to the Nana: in that paper was written, on the part of all the gentlemen, 'We have become Hindostani; why do you, having taken the magazine, fire upon us? Give us permission, and we will go to Calcutta; and to kill women and children of our religion as you do is exceedingly bad, and such deeds were never committed under any reign;' but the Nana returned no answer, and the firing was continued as usual.

"On the 10th of June, early, the firing commenced from the 24, 18, and 4-pounders, and one lady and one grown-up young lady and three children were coming along in a carriage from the direction of the west; and on the road some one had killed the lady's husband; but, not considering it proper to kill women and children, had allowed them to escape. However, the troopers of the 2nd cavalry caught them, and brought them into the presence of the Nana, who ordered them to be killed at once, although the lady begged the Nana to spare her life; but this disgraceful man would not in any way hearken to her, and took them all into the plain. At that time the sun was very hot, and the lady said, 'The sun is very hot, take me into the shade;' but no one listened. On four sides the children were catching hold of their mother's gown, and saying, 'Mamma, come to the bungalow, and give me some bread and water.' At

length, having been tied hand-to-hand, and made to stand up on the plain, they were shot down by pistol-bullets.

"On the 11th of June the firing commenced as usual; but when the balls from the side of the rebels were fired, some fell on the parapet, and some passed over the barrack altogether, and sometimes in the barrack. At that time the gentlemen remained inside the bomb-proof house, and whenever the rebels' firing was very severe, they answered it by firing one or two rounds of grape, which killed ten or twelve sepoys; in fact, during the whole day they fired one or two rounds; and at midnight about twenty European soldiers made a sortie on the 24-pounder which was placed on the western side of the battery, under the command of Eman-oo-Doolah, son of Aga Meer, and having spiked the gun, returned. That night two European soldiers were killed; and every day, the Nana and Eman-oo-Doolah, through fear, went to the Lala Bagh, and the sepoys of the regiment on that day killed a burtonwala, and lacs of rupees and property were plundered. None dare say to the sepoys, 'You villains! what are you doing?' and one lady, the wife of Mukan Sahib, merchant, who had for four or five days been hiding under the grass of her bungalow, came out of the bungalow at evening time, and was discovered. She had, through fear, changed her appearance by putting on an Hindostani bodice, and folding a towel around her head. She was taken before the Nana, who ordered her to be killed. The writer of this journal, having gone in person, saw that the head of that lady was cut off and presented as a *nuzzur* (gift of royalty); and in the place where hundreds of Christians, and ladies and children were killed, in the direction of the Tahkhana, a crowd remained; and a Rampoori trooper, by caste a Mussulman, of the 2nd irregular cavalry, remained in the presence of the Nana, and killed these innocent ones; and whenever an order was given to slay anybody, that same trooper used to slay them.

"On the 12th of June the firing again commenced, and it was reported that from the direction of the Punjab a number of Europeans were assembled. Immediately one troop of cavalry and two companies of infantry were sent to reconnoitre, when it was found that about 136 European soldiers, and women and children, had come in three boats from some station to the east; and when they heard that in every station disturbances had taken place between Hindoos and Mussulmans, they immediately took to their boats and started, with the intention of going to Calcutta."

The writer of the foregoing passages evidently alludes to a party of Europeans, refugees from Futteghur, whose sufferings and brutal massacre, by command of Nana Sahib, furnish an episode in the tragic history of Cawnpore and its defenders, that, for the sake of continuity of events, we shall presently have occasion to notice.

Throughout nineteen successive days and nights the mutineers repeated their attacks upon the intrenchment, sometimes advancing to the assault with from four to five thousand men, as if intending to carry the position by storm; at other times, contenting themselves with a distant cannonade, and occasional volleys of musketry: but in every instance of their near approach to the fortifications, they were driven back, with severe loss for their temerity. During this period, the force under Nana Sahib had increased, by the accession of budmashes and stragglers from the mutinous regiments in other quarters, to an aggregate of more than 12,000 men. The little garrison of Sir Hugh Wheeler had, on the contrary, diminished by casualty and death to a serious extent; and as yet no succour had arrived from any quarter, although efforts were frequently made to convey intelligence of the state of his force, and the perilous condition of those under his protection, to Sir Henry Lawrence at Lucknow. Of the several messengers dispatched by the unfortunate general, one only succeeded in delivering his communication to the officer commanding at Allahabad, 143 miles from Cawnpore, in an opposite direction from Lucknow; and even that was not effected until long too late for any useful attempt at rescue. From this messenger it was, however, gathered, that prior to his departure from the intrenchment, several of the officers and men, and persons in the civil employ of the Company, had been killed by the shot of the enemy, or had sank under the pressure of unremitting fatigue and anxiety. Among those named as having fallen previous to his departure, were Brigadier-general Alexander Jack, of the 42nd native infantry; Lieutenant-colonel Stephen Williams, of the 56th; Major Waller Robert Prout, of the same regiment; Major William Lindsay, of the 10th native

infantry, acting as assistant adjutant-general; and Captain Sir George Parker, Bart., of the 74th native infantry,* acting as civil magistrate; with several other persons of both services. Many of the women and children had also, at that time, escaped by a merciful death from the horrors in store for the unhappy survivors.

CHAPTER XVIII.

PERILOUS STATE OF THE GARRISON; DREAD OF THE RAINS; RED-HOT SHOT FIRED BY THE REBELS; THE HOSPITAL BARRACK IN FLAMES; DESTRUCTION OF SICK AND WOUNDED; THE NATIVE SERVANTS DESERT; APPEARANCE OF THE INTRENCHED BUILDINGS; SORTIE BY THE EUROPEANS; SIR H. WHEELER WOUNDED; RECORD OF SERVICES; ATTEMPT TO CONVEY INTELLIGENCE TO LUCKNOW FRUSTRATED; SUFFERINGS OF THE FEMALES AND CHILDREN; CAPITULATION OFFERED BY NANA SAHIB; CONDITIONS AGREED TO, AND CONFIRMED BY OATH; EVACUATION OF THE INTRENCHMENT; THE TROOPS AND EUROPEAN FAMILIES EMBARK IN BOATS PROVIDED BY NANA SAHIB FOR THEIR CONVEYANCE TO ALLAHABAD; THE BOATS FIRED UPON, PURSUED, AND BROUGHT BACK TO CAWNPORE; SLAUGHTER OF THE MEN; WOMEN AND CHILDREN RESERVED FOR FUTURE TREATMENT; REPORT OF LIEUTENANT DELAFOSSE; MR. SHEPHERD'S NARRATIVE RESUMED; PROCLAMATIONS OF NANA SAHIB; STATEMENTS OF AN AYAH, AND OTHER NATIVES; HEROISM OF A YOUNG LADY; ESCAPE OF TWO OFFICERS; THE INDIAN PRESS.

THE unremitting attacks to which the heroic defenders of the intrenchments at Cawnpore had been subjected, and the anxieties and sufferings of the unfortunate objects of their solicitude and protection, were at length drawing to a close. The crown of the hero, and the martyr's palm, awaited each; but there was yet an ordeal through which they had to pass before the meed of their valour and endurance could be attained;—an ordeal that stamps with the brand of never-dying infamy the malignant treachery by which it was conceived, and the pitiless ferocity with which it was consummated.

From the commencement of the attack, the fire of the enemy was incessant, and occasionally it became necessary to drive back, by a sortie from the intrenchments, the advanced parties thrown out by the rebel troops. These dangerous but unavoidable operations were not unattended by loss to the besieged; and in the last of them, to which we shall presently refer, General Sir Hugh Wheeler received a wound that incapacitated him from further exertion in the field, though his gallant heart still animated those around him, and his experience dictated the measures to be adopted for prolonging the defence of the position under his command.

The discomfort of the little community within the intrenchment, was materially enhanced by a dread of the setting-in of the rains, which would have been most calamitous to all of them. Mr. Shepherd, whose narrative we have already referred to, says—"Nothing would have been more distressing than such an occurrence; for, in the first place, the holes dug in the ground by the soldiers and others, to secure themselves and children from the effects of the sun and the shot and shells of the enemy, would have been filled up. Secondly, the walls of the barracks, which, till then, afforded some shelter, were in danger of coming down, having been well shaken in many places by the 18 and 24-pounder shots incessantly

* Brigadier Jack entered the Company's service in 1823, and served through the campaign on the Sutlej; commanded the 34th regiment at the battle of Aliwal, for which he was promoted to a lieutenant-colonelcy, and received the medal; served with the army of the Punjab at the passage of the Chenab, the actions of Chillianwallah and Goojerat, and in the pursuit of the Sikhs and Affghans—for which he also had a medal, and was appointed C.B.—Colonel Stephen Williams entered the service in 1820, and served with distinction in the war with Burmah (1824-'5), for which he received a medal; for his gallantry at the siege of Maharajpore, he received the bronze star of India; served also with distinction in the battles of Jadoolapore and Chillianwallah, in the last of which he was severely wounded.—Major Waller Robert Prout entered the Company's service in 1839, and won the bronze star by his gallantry at Maharajpore; he also served with the force under Brigadier Hodson against the hill tribes in 1853.—Captain Sir George Parker entered the Company's service in 1831, and obtained his captaincy in 1845; in 1847, he became joint magistrate at Meerut, and was afterwards in charge of Akbaree: at the time of his death he was a resident civil magistrate at Cawnpore.

fired against us: and again, our muskets would have been rendered useless; for there were a great many of them, and the men were quite unable to clean them all. These muskets were always kept ready loaded, so that when occasion should require, each man could use more than half-a-dozen. In a word, one shower of rain such as generally takes place at the first fall, would have rendered the place perfectly uninhabitable and extremely insecure."

But these anticipated evils from the weather were now but of secondary importance, compared with those that actually oppressed the occupants of the enclosure. For some days after going into the intrenched works, the officers and their families lived chiefly in tents, for the sake of greater convenience; but on the insurgent troops beginning to discharge red-hot shot into the position, the tents, which could no longer afford protection, were removed, and those who had used them were necessitated to seek shelter and safety by other means, and wherever they could find them. On the 13th of June, a red-hot shot fell upon the thatched roof of one of the hospital buildings, and set it on fire. At the moment, the building contained most of the wives and children of the soldiers, and many of the sick and wounded. The flames spread with rapidity; and the confusion that ensued was so great, that about forty of the invalids were burnt to death before succour could be sent to them. The rebels probably calculated upon all the men within the intrenchment rushing to save the poor creatures from the flames, and thereby leaving the works undefended; which possibility they prepared themselves to take advantage of, and so closely approached the defences, that the soldiers were compelled to remain at their posts, and leave the shrieking sufferers to their fate. By this calamity, nearly all the medicines, surgical instruments, and hospital stores, with a great quantity of clothing, &c., belonging to the occupants of the building, were utterly destroyed, rendering the position of such as might afterwards be wounded almost hopeless. Besides this, the present evil was aggravated by the loss of the shelter the building had hitherto afforded to many of the women and children, who had now no other place of refuge but the trenches and the holes sunk in the ground, where they were compelled to remain night and day until the termination of the siege, losing, upon an average, from four to five daily by sun-stroke. The accident to the hospital building had the further ill effect of frightening the native servants, who now seized every opportunity to desert, and cruelly left the European females of all ranks to perform their domestic offices besides attending to the terrified children, and to the sick and wounded among their defenders, of whom there were now a great number.

Considerably more than a hundred of the individuals who came into the intrenchment on the 4th of June, had already sank under the effects of privation, wounds, and anxiety, and many others were killed by splinters, or crushed by the falling of the battered walls. The condition of the intrenchment and buildings at the period of the surrender, some few days subsequent to the occurrence last described, may be imagined from the following detail of an officer who subsequently visited the spot, and brought away with him a vivid remembrance of its utter desolation. He says—"The road, as you enter the town from Allahabad, passes the two buildings with their outhouses, where Wheeler, with his brave band, held his own so long against the wolf-like attacks of the rebel horde that surrounded him. These buildings formed what was called the European cavalry hospital, and right well and heroically must it have been defended. The walls are pitted with cannon-shot, like the cells of a honey-comb. The doors, which seem to have been the principal points against which the Nana's fire was directed, are breached and knocked down into huge shapeless openings. Of the verandahs which surrounded both the buildings, only a few splintered rafters remain; and at some of the angles the walls are knocked entirely away, and huge chasms gape blackly at you. Many of the enemy's cannon-shot had gone through and through the buildings; portions of the interior walls and roof had fallen; and here and there are blood gouttes on wall and floor. Never yet had I seen a place so terribly battered."

And yet, in this unsheltered post, hourly rendered less tenable by the unceasing fire of the besiegers, did General Wheeler hold out for twenty-two days against an overwhelming force, of which a large portion were disciplined soldiers, well supplied with heavy artillery.

On the 16th of June, Sir Henry Lawrence, writing from Lucknow to the com-

missioner at Benares, says—"To-day we received a letter from General Wheeler, who bravely holds out: he asks us for 200 Europeans. I would risk the absence of so large a portion of our small force could I see the smallest prospect of its being able to succour him. But no individual here cognizant of facts, except Mr. Gubbins, thinks that we could carry a single man across the river, as the enemy holds all the boats, and completely commands the river. May God Almighty defend Cawnpore, for no help can we afford. * * * I have sent the pith of this to Colonel Neill at Allahabad, to urge him to relieve Cawnpore if in any way possible."

A letter from the commissioner at Benares to the governor-general, on the 25th of June, says—"General Wheeler repulsed two attacks on the 17th instant, with great loss to the enemy." Worn out, but not dispirited, by the incessant repetition of the assaults of the enemy, Sir Hugh Wheeler, on the evening of the 22nd of June, determined to make one last effort—one grand attack upon the advanced position of the rebels, and, by driving them back, to open facilities for obtaining the supplies necessary for the sustenance of his half-famished charge in the intrenchment. Accordingly, at daybreak on the 23rd, he sallied forth with a part of his gallant but attenuated force—fell like a bursting torrent upon the surprised enemy, and drove them, panic-stricken, from the ground they occupied; but he had no cavalry with which to follow up the advantage he had obtained, and so complete his triumph. The discomfited rebels, finding they were not pursued, halted, and being shortly afterwards joined by a fresh regiment from Oude, they impetuously advanced against General Wheeler's force, threatening each flank; and being now in the numerical proportion of more than twelve to one, the Europeans were compelled to retire, fighting their way back to the intrenchment, which they reached with the loss of several men. It was in this short, but sharp struggle, that the general received the wound which disabled him from further active service in the field.

Major-general Sir Hugh Massey Wheeler, K.C.B., was at the time these pages refer to, one of the most distinguished military officers in the service of the East India Company. He was the son of Captain Hugh Wheeler of the Indian army, and great-grandson, on the maternal side of Hugh, first Baron Massey, in the peerage of Ireland. Hugh Massey Wheeler was born at Ballywire, in the county of Limerick (the seat of his grandfather, Frank Wheeler, Esq.), in 1789, and at the time of his death, had just completed the 68th year of his age. He received his early education at Richmond, Surrey, and at the grammar-school, Bath. In 1803, he entered the military service of the East India Company, and received his first commission in the 48th Bengal native infantry. In the next year, he marched with his regiment, under Lord Lake, to the capture of Delhi; and having risen steadily through the intermediate ranks, became colonel of the 48th regiment in 1845, and in the same year was appointed brigadier in command of a field force. In the following December, previous to the hard-fought battles of Moodkee and Ferozeshah, Brigadier Wheeler, with a force of 4,500 men and twenty-one guns, covered the village of Busseean, where a large depôt of stores had been collected for the army under Sir Henry Hardinge, Lord Gough, and Sir Harry Smith; and thus rendered an important service, which greatly contributed to accelerate the victories that led to the subjugation of the Sikhs. In 1848, the order of the Dooranee empire was conferred upon him for distinguished services; and he was subsequently appointed one of the aides-de-camp to her majesty. Having been repeatedly thanked by the governor-general in council, and the commander-in-chief, for his eminent services in the Sikh campaigns and in the conquest of the Punjab, he was created a knight-commander of the Bath in 1850, and appointed to the command of the district of Cawnpore, which he retained until his death. Sir Hugh Massey Wheeler, K.C.B., attained the rank of major-general in 1854.

The Indian despatches, during the war in the Punjab, show that these honours were by no means cheaply won by General Wheeler. In October, 1848, he effected the reduction of the strong fortress of Rungur Nuggul, with the loss of only a single man; and by his conduct on this occasion, earned the warmest approval of Lord Gough, then commander-in-chief, who formally congratulated the brigadier on the result, which, in his opinion, was "entirely to be ascribed to the soldierlike and judicious arrangements of that gallant officer." In the following month of November, in a despatch

addressed to the governor-general, Lord Gough states, that he "has directed the adjutant-general to convey to Brigadier-general Wheeler his hearty congratulations and thanks for the important services which he and the brave troops under his command have rendered in the reduction of the fortress of Kullalwalha," also with the loss of only one man killed and five wounded. Again, in a despatch from the adjutant-general to the governor-general, dated "Camp before Chillianwallah, January 30th, 1849," it is stated that Brigadier Wheeler, in command of the Punjab division and of the Jullundur field force, supported by Major Butler and Lieutenant Hodson, assaulted and captured the heights of Dulla in the course of his operations against the rebel Ram Sing, in spite of the difficulties presented by rivers almost unfordable, and mountains deemed impregnable. And, finally, in the general order issued by him on the receipt of the despatch of Sir W. Gilbert, K.C.B., announcing the termination of hostilities in the Punjab, the governor-general thus expresses himself:—"Brigadier-general Wheeler, C.B., has executed the several duties which have been committed to him with great skill and success, and the governor-general has been happy in being able to convey to him his thanks thus publicly." Unlike Sir Henry Lawrence, Sir James Outram, and many other distinguished Indian officers, the services and reputation of General Wheeler were almost wholly of a military character, and he does not appear to have ever been employed in political or diplomatic situations.

The dangers and privations to which the individuals within the intrenched works continued to be exposed, at length became intolerable, and expedients were vainly resorted to that might afford a chance of obtaining relief. Among other propositions to the general on this subject, offers were made, by several of the civilians, to risk the chance of detection by the enemy, if, by any possibility, information of the desperate condition to which the garrison was reduced, might thereby be conveyed to Lucknow, or some other station yet held by the European troops. One of these offers was accepted, after due consideration; and a Mr. W. J. Shepherd, of the commissariat department, was selected for the enterprise, on account of his perfect knowledge of the native habits and language. This gentleman, on entering the intrenchment, had with him his family, consisting of a wife and two daughters, with some female friends, for whose safety and rescue he was naturally anxious. In detailing the incidents of his hazardous attempt to pass through the rebel camp, he says—"I daily saw pining away before my eyes my own wife and daughter; my infant girl having been killed by a musket-shot in the head, while in her mother's arms, on the 18th of June. Besides these, I had to witness daily, hourly, the anxieties and sufferings of my two nieces, Misses Frost and Batavia, both in their seventeenth year; of my sister and her infant son, and two elderly ladies. I had also an invalid brother, twenty-two years of age; and all were dying through privation and terror. They, with all around them, were naturally desirous to be delivered from a place so full of horrors as that in which they had been shut up for nearly three weeks. As it was now considered positively necessary, for the safety of all, that some one should make an effort to obtain succour, I applied to the general, on the 24th of June, for permission to go, at the same time offering to bring him all the current information that I might collect in the city, asking as a condition, that, on my return, if I should wish it, my family might be allowed to leave the intrenchment. This, my request, was granted, as the general wished very much to get such information, and for which purpose he had previously sent out two or three natives at different times, under promises of high rewards, but who never returned. He at the same time instructed me to try and negotiate with certain influential parties in the city, so as to bring about a rupture among the rebels, and cause them to leave off annoying us, authorising me to offer a lac of rupees as a reward, with handsome pensions for life, to any person who would bring about such a thing. This, I have every reason to think, could have been carried out successfully, had it pleased God to take me out unmolested; but it was not so ordained (it was merely a means, under God's providence, to save me from sharing the fate of the rest); for as I came out of the intrenchment, disguised as a native cook, and passed through the new unfinished barracks, I had not gone very far when I was taken prisoner, and, under custody of four sepoys and a couple of sowars, all well armed, was escorted to the camp of the Nana, and was ordered to

be placed under a guard: here several questions were put to me concerning our intrenchment (not by the Nana himself, but by some of his people), to all of which I replied as I was previously instructed by our general; for I had taken the precaution of asking him what I should say in case I was taken. My answers were not considered satisfactory; and I was confronted with two women servants who, three days previously, had been caught in making their escape from the intrenchment, and who gave a version of their own, making it appear that the English were starving and not able to hold out much longer, as their number was greatly reduced. I, however, stood firm to what I had first mentioned, and they did not know which party to believe. However, they let us alone. I was kept under custody up to the 12th of July, on which date my trial took place, and I was sentenced to three years' imprisonment in irons, with hard labour, from which I was released by the European troops on the morning of the 17th."

The deplorable condition to which the garrison had become reduced, at the time of Shepherd's departure on the 24th of June, is described in the following passages from a letter written by one of the officers in the intrenchment on the same day:—

"We are in a dreadful plight here. God only knows what is to become of us! Our able and gallant leader, Sir Hugh Wheeler, received, I fear, a mortal wound in a sally made the day before yesterday, and was brought into the intrenchment, in all probability only to breathe his last among those of his own race. Nobly he fought, and most deeply and sincerely will he be regretted by his gallant little band. His wound has cast a gloom now greater than ever over our (shall I say doomed?) fates. We are short of men, no provisions, no water, and hardly any ammunition left. Now we are thinking of consulting together to capitulate to the enemy, our only and last resource; but are not 'the tender mercies of the heathen cruel?' I know not if this will ever reach you; but certainly before it can do so our fate will be decided. Oh, the wretchedness around!" The prophetic question of the writer was destined to receive a speedy and terrible solution.

It must be remembered, that of the 870 individuals who, behind the frail earthen mounds that constituted their sole barrier against a host of ferocious assailants, had endured the terror and agonizing suspense of those twenty-two days, more than 330 were women and children. Of military men, at the commencement of the siege, there were not more, of all grades, than 240; and of civilians, native servants, and sick in hospital, probably about 300 altogether. The officers and men had performed their part in the eventful drama as British soldiers ever do acquit themselves under such trying circumstances; but their number had been progressively diminished by death and wounds, and but a handful of them remained to repel the attacks of daily accumulating thousands. Great, however, as were the odds, whenever they engaged in conflict with the enemy, they proved equal to the occasion; but still it was impossible for them to attempt any enterprise of hazard without the intrenchment, with a view to raising the siege, on account of the presence of so many helpless women and children, and the increasing number of wounded of both sexes and all ages, whose sole reliance for safety from the fiendlike cruelty of the besiegers, rested upon the effectual defence and protection of the noble band shut up with them behind a frail and hastily constructed barrier of dried mud! Of the women and children, the numbers had also been greatly reduced. Many of them escaped from the evils before them so early as the first week of their confinement to the intrenched works: some exhausted by previous illness; others from excessive heat, fright, want of room, and the deprivation of proper food and wholesome air. It has been since observed, that "in the obituary of many an English newspaper, when news of the terrible calamity that followed the mutiny at Cawnpore had crossed the ocean, persons read that such a one, probably a wife or daughter of an officer, had died in the intrenchment at Cawnpore; but what that intrenchment meant, few comparatively knew, and still fewer could even guess at the sufferings by which that death had been preceded." As the investment of the position grew more and more earnest, and attack succeeded attack, the bodies of the dead of all ranks were deposited in a well outside the intrenchment, lest they should engender disease by any mode of interment within the crowded and stifling enclosure; and even this sad office could only be performed under a shower of shot and shells! After three weeks of such peril, suffering,

and starvation, the survivors of the gallant band—depressed by the disabled state of their general, worn out by incessant fatigue, and with their hearts wrung to anguish by the unutterable sufferings of the women, whose heroic fortitude was giving way at seeing their innocent babes dying of disease and want—at length were disposed to entertain any proposition, or accept any terms compatible with honour, that should hold out to them and their charge a chance of deliverance from their misery. Such proposition—such terms were offered; and, in the generous confidence of their own honourable hearts, as yet unconscious of the depths to which Hindoo treachery and revenge could descend, they were accepted. It would be well for the character of the race in the scale of God's creation, if the history of the mutiny at Cawnpore could here terminate—that the pages which through all time shall describe the incidents of the Indian rebellion of 1857, might be spared the pollution of recording crimes that can only be fitly written in letters of blood and with a pen of fire.

Early in the morning of Wednesday, the 24th of June, a sentry within the intrenchment challenged the advancing footsteps of some person who had been permitted by the enemy to approach the fortifications unhurt. The intruder was a female, who announced her desire to be admitted to the general as the bearer of a message from Nana Dhoondu Pant, Peishwa, offering terms for the surrender of the position. The circumstance was immediately reported to Sir Hugh Wheeler, who in reply desired that the Sahib Dhoondu Nana Pant, or some one on his behalf, should come to the intrenchment, in order that terms of capitulation might be formally agreed to. With this intimation the messenger returned to the city; and on the following day, an agent of the Nana, named Azimoollah, with a retinue of the rebel troops, attended near the intrenchment, and was met by Captain Moore, of the late 32nd Bengal grenadiers, who had been deputed by General Sir Hugh Wheeler for the purpose of arranging terms. At the conference, it was agreed that, upon the garrison surrendering the position it occupied within the intrenchment, and abandoning Cawnpore, with the public treasure, guns, and magazine, the lives of all the Europeans and native converts at the station should be spared, and they would be at liberty to depart with their arms, colours, ammunition, and personal baggage, in boats to be provided by Nana Sahib for their safe and immediate conveyance down the Ganges to the city of Allahabad. These terms, if not actually proposed, were certainly acceded to by the agent Azimoollah, who returned with them in writing to Cawnpore; and on the following day (June the 26th), they were solemnly ratified by "Dhoondu Nana Pant, Peishwa," under his seal and signature, with the usual oaths, that, until violated in this instance by himself, had been held sacred by the whole Hindoo race—his principal officers joining in the ceremony. By his orders, a supply of provision was then sent into the intrenchment, and nothing occurred to excite suspicion of bad faith.

At daybreak on Saturday, the 27th of June, the public treasure, amounting to about three lacs, was given over to the agents of Nana Sahib; and, shortly afterwards, the sick and wounded persons, with all the females and children, were conveyed in carriages, under an escort of the rebel troops, to one of the ghats, whither the officers and others included in the capitulation accompanied them. At this place, some seventeen or eighteen boats had been collected for their reception, and the whole party embarked with as little delay as possible; but as soon as the embarkation was complete, and the ropes securing them to the ghat were cast off, the boatmen were ordered on shore, under pretence of receiving their hire-money; and upon leaving their boats, contrived to push them into the stream. This act had no sooner been accomplished, than some guns, which had been masked near the ghat, suddenly opened upon the already wounded occupants of the boats, several of which were set on fire. The guns continued to pour discharges of grape into and over the frail vessels, and volleys of musketry were fired at the poor fugitives, numbers of whom were killed in the boats; others jumped overboard, and attempted to escape by swimming, but were picked off by the bullets of the sepoys, who followed them along the shore, and even went breast-high in the river to make surer aim. Some of the boats managed to cross over to the opposite side, that they might escape the shot of their perfidious enemies; but there they were met by some sepoys of the 17th native regiment, who, having mutinied at Azimghur, had just arrived in the vicinity,

and being attracted to the bank of the river by the report of the guns, had placed themselves in such a manner as to prevent the escape of the fugitives either way. The boats, with one or two exceptions, were then stopped on both banks, and brought back to the ghat, where the survivors of the murderous and cowardly assault were compelled to re-land; and having done so, the men were immediately shot, and the women and children—many of whom were bleeding from wounds—were conveyed to a house formerly belonging to the medical department of the European troops, called the Subada Kothee, where they were left for three days, without attendance or food, except a small quantity of parched grain and some water, their only couch being the floors of the building.

About twenty of the individuals in the boats, who, in the midst of the confusion, had jumped overboard, and were unobserved by the marksmen on the bank, swam to the opposite shore, but were cut down the moment they landed, by some troopers of the Oude cavalry, who were waiting for the purpose. One boat that escaped the fusilade, was pursued along the banks of the river for several miles, by 200 of the Nana's troops, with two guns. The miscreants intercepted the flight of their prey at a bend of the river on the second day, and compelled the fugitives to return to Cawnpore; where, on the mornings and evenings of the two succeeding days, the men of the party were blown from the guns of the insurgents; the females being sent to the Subada Kothee, to share the captivity and fate of their broken-hearted countrywomen. It was said at the time, that the females were merely to be kept as hostages; and for a few days no insult was offered to aggravate the wretchedness of their captivity and bereavement.

The subjoined extracts from a narrative of this deplorable catastrophe, by Lieutenant Delafosse—who participated in all the dangers and trials Mr. Shepherd has attempted to describe, and who fortunately survived to place upon record the detestable perfidy of the miscreant by whose orders yet more diabolical crimes against honour and humanity were about to be perpetrated—will fill-in the shadows of the picture by details only known to those who witnessed the acts to which they refer. The lieutenant says—"On the 24th of June, after being on half rations for some days, the rajah sent a half-caste woman to the trenches with a note, to the effect, that all soldiers and Europeans, who had nothing to do with Lord Dalhousie's government, and would lay down their arms, should be sent to Allahabad. General Wheeler, who was suffering from a serious wound received in the sortie of the 23rd of June, gave orders to Captain Moore, then second in command, to act as he should consider best; and the captain, on the same evening, signed a treaty to the effect, that the rajah should provide boats and carriage for the wounded and the ladies down to the river-bank; while, on our side, we were to give up what treasure we had, *but retaining our arms and ammunition.* Early on the morning of the 26th, a committee of officers went to the river to see that the boats were ready and serviceable; and everything being reported on their return as ready, and the carriages for the wounded having arrived, we gave over our guns, &c., and marched out on the morning of the 27th of June, about seven o'clock. We got down to the river, and into the boats, without being molested in the least; but no sooner were we in the boats, and had laid down our muskets, and had taken off our coats to work easier at the boats, than the cavalry (our escort) gave the order to fire. Two guns that had been hidden were run out, and opened upon us immediately; while sepoys came from all directions, and kept up a brisk fire. The men jumped out of the boats; and instead of trying to get the boats loose from their moorings, swam to the first boat they saw loose. Only three boats got safe over to the opposite side of the river; but were met there by two field-pieces, guarded by a number of cavalry and infantry. Before these boats had got a mile down the stream, half our party were either killed or wounded, and two of our boats had been swamped. We had now only one boat, crowded with wounded, and having on board more than she could carry. The two guns followed us the whole of the day, the infantry firing on us the whole of that night. On the second day, a gun was seen on the Cawnpore side, and opened on us at Nuzuffghur, the infantry still following us on both sides. On the morning of the third day the boat was no longer serviceable. We were aground on a sand-bank, and had not strength sufficient to move her. Directly any of us got into the water, we were fired upon by



thirty or forty men at a time. There was nothing left but to charge and drive them away; so fourteen of us were told to go and do what we could. Directly we got on shore the insurgents retired; but having followed them up too far, we were cut off from the river, and had to retire ourselves, as we were being surrounded. We could not make for the river, but had to go down parallel, and came at the river again a mile lower down, where we saw a large force of men right in front waiting for us, and another lot on the other bank, should we attempt to cross the river. On the bank of the river, just by the force in front, was a temple. We fired a volley and made for the temple, in which we took shelter, one man being killed, and one wounded. From the door of the temple we fired on every insurgent who showed himself. Finding they could do nothing against us while we remained inside, they heaped wood all round and set it on fire. When we could no longer remain inside, on account of the smoke and heat, we threw off the clothes we had, and each taking a musket, charged through the fire. Seven of us out of twelve got into the water; but before we had gone far two poor fellows were shot. There were only five left now; and we had to swim, while the insurgents followed us along both banks, wading and firing as fast as they could. After we had gone about three miles down the stream, one of our party, an artilleryman, to rest himself, began swimming on his back, and not knowing in what direction he was swimming, got on shore, and was killed. When we had gone down about six miles, firing on both sides ceased; and soon after we were hailed by some natives on the Oude side, who asked us to come on shore, and said that they would take us to their rajah, who was friendly to the English. We gave ourselves up, and were taken six miles inland to the rajah, who treated us very kindly, giving us clothes and food. We stayed with him for about a month, as he would not let us leave, saying the roads were unsafe. At last he sent us off, on the 29th of July, to the right bank of the river, to a zemindar of a village, who got us a hackery. We took our departure on the 31st of July for Allahabad; but met the detachment of the 84th regiment, under Lieutenant Woodhouse, before we had got ten miles, and marched off with him to Cawnpore."

The names of the sufferers by this diabolical act of perfidy, were thus given by Lieutenant Delafosse, for the information of Brigadier-general Neill, some months after the occurrence. The letter of the lieutenant is dated "Cawnpore, August 6th," and says —"I have the honour to forward, for the information of Brigadier-general Neill, commanding at Cawnpore, a list of the late inhabitants of that station as far as I can remember. Those whose fate I am certain of, I have written opposite their names; the rest, it is my firm belief, perished in the boats on the morning of the 27th of June.

"*Engineers.*—Captain Whiting, killed in the boat; Lieutenant Jervis, ditto.

"*Artillery.*—Major Larkins, wife and children; Lieutenant Dempster, killed; Mrs. Dempster and children; Lieutenant Ashburner, missing; Lieutenant Eckford, killed; Lieutenant Ashe, killed in our boat; Second-lieutenant Burney, killed in the boat; Second-lieutenant Maister, wounded; Second-lieutenant Sotheby, wounded; Dr. Macaulay, brought back in boat.

"*Cavalry.*—Major Vibart, brought back in boat; Mrs. Vibart and children, ditto; Captain Seppings, ditto; Mrs. Seppings and child, ditto; Captain Jenkins killed; Lieutenant R. Quin, died of fever; Lieutenant C. Quin, wounded and brought back in boat; Lieutenant Harrison, killed in boat; Lieutenant Manderson, Lieutenant Wren, Lieutenant Daniel, wounded and brought back in boat; Lieutenant Balfour, ditto; Lieutenant Mainwaring, 6th light cavalry, ditto; Lieutenant Bolton, 6th light cavalry, ditto; Lieutenant Sterling, 3rd light cavalry.

"*Her Majesty's 32nd Regiment.*—Captain Moore, killed in boat; Mrs. Moore, brought back in boat; Lieutenant Wainwright; Mrs. and Miss Wainwright; Ensign and Mrs. Hill.

"*84th Grenadiers.*—Lieutenant Saunders.

"*1st Bengal Fusiliers.*—Lieutenant Hanville, killed in boat.

"*1st Regiment Native Infantry.*—Colonel Ewart, wounded in intrenchment; Mrs. Ewart and child; Captain Athill Turner, wounded and brought back; Mrs. Turner, died of fever; Captain Elms; Captain Smith, killed; Lieutenant Satchwell, died of wounds in a boat; Lieutenant Wheeler, A.D.C., killed; Lieutenant Redman, killed; Lieutenant Supple, killed; Dr. Newenham and children; Mrs. Newenham, died of fever.

"*53rd Regiment Native Infantry.*—Major

Hillersdon, wounded; Captain Reynolds, killed; Mrs. Reynolds and child, died of fever; Captain Belson and children; Mrs. Belson, died of fever; Miss Campbell; two Misses Glasgow; Lieutenant Jellicoe and child; Mrs. Jellicoe, died of fever; Lieutenant Armstrong; Lieutenant Bridges; Lieutenant Master, wounded in boat; Lieutenant Thompson, wounded; Lieutenant Prout, killed; Lieutenant Delafosse, escaped; Ensign Dowson; Ensign Forman, wounded; Dr. Collyer, died of fever.

"56*th Regiment Native Infantry*.—Colonel Williams, died of apoplexy; Mrs. Williams, wounded; Miss Williams, died of fever; two Misses Williams; Major Prout, died of sun-stroke; Mrs. Prout; Captain Halliday, killed; Mrs. Halliday, died of small-pox; Mrs. Halliday's child; Captain and Mrs. Kempland and children; Lieutenant Goad, brought back in boat; Lieutenant Chalmers, ditto; Lieutenant Morris; Lieutenant Ward; Lieutenant Fagan, wounded in boat; Lieutenant Henderson, ditto; Lieutenant Jackson, 67th native infantry; Mrs. Jackson; Lieutenant Battine, 44th native infantry, wounded in boat.

"*Staff*.—Sir H. M. Wheeler, K.C.B., commanding; Lady Wheeler; three Misses Wheeler; Brigadier Jack, died of fever; —— Jack, Esq., killed; Colonel Wiggins, killed in boat; Major and Mrs. Lindsay, died of fever; Captain and Mrs. Williamson and child, 49th native infantry; Rev. Mr. and Mrs. Moncrieff and child; Dr. Garbett, died of fever; Dr. and Mrs. Allen; Sir G. Parker, Bart., 74th native infantry, killed from sun-stroke; Dr. and Mrs. Harris; Miss Brightman, died of fever; Dr. and Mrs. Bowling and child; Dr. Chalwin, veterinary surgeon, killed; Mrs. Chalwin; Miss White; Lieutenant Harris's child; Mrs. Wade, died of fever; Mrs. George and three Misses Lindsay; Ensign Lindsay, 11th native infantry; Mrs. Blair, brought back in boat; two Misses Blair, one died of fever; Mrs. Fraser, 27th native infantry, brought back in boat; Mrs. Evans; Mrs. Darby and infant; Miss Bisset; Mrs. Swinton and three children; Miss Cripps; Charles Hillersdon, Esq., civil service, killed; Mrs. Hillersdon and child, died of fever; Mr. and Mrs. M'Killop, civil service, killed; Mr. Stacey, wounded; Captain Angelo, ditto; Mr. Bains and Mr. Miller, wounded and brought back in boat; Mr. Latouche; —— Hillersdon, wounded; Dr. and Mrs. Boyes; Mr. Cox, late 1st fusiliers, killed; Mr. Cumming, brought back in boat; Mr. and Mrs. Anderson; Mr. Cook; Mr. Campbell; Rev. Mr. and Mrs. Haycock; Mr. Christie, died of fever; Mrs. Christie and family; Mr. and Mrs. Fagan and family; Mr. Greenway and family; Mr. Thom Schirne, merchant; Mr. Shencair; the whole of the married women and children of the 32nd regiment; and the 1st company, 6th battalion artillery, with the women and children belonging to the company; Mrs. Shore; Mrs. Eckford; also many persons who came into the intrenchments, with their families, and whose names I do not know.

"H. G. Delafosse, Lieutenant,
"53rd Regiment Native Infantry."

Returning, for the sake of corroboration, to the interesting narrative of Mr. Shepherd, from the period when the surrender of the intrenchments began to be contemplated by the remnant of its defenders; we read—"It is true there were provisions yet left to keep the people alive on half-rations for the next fifteen or twenty days. Of grain we had a large quantity, and it formed the principal food of all the natives with us, which they preferred to otta and dhall, as it gave them no trouble as regards cooking; for a little soaking in water was sufficient to make it fit to eat; and many scrupulous Hindoos lived the whole period entirely upon it. But, taking into consideration all the distressing circumstances related above, our brave men repeatedly requested permission to sally out at night and take possession of the enemy's guns, or, in case of failure, die an honourable death, rather than be thus tormented by a set of cowardly natives. Many officers, also, were of the same opinion; but, from a false hope of receiving a reinforcement from Lucknow, and the exceedingly great, though natural, attachment of the women to their respective husbands, fathers, and brothers, such a course was put off from day to day, which, if attempted, would, without doubt, have been attended with complete success; as I learn, that latterly the cannons used to be almost entirely abandoned by the soldiery during the night, and only a few golundauzes kept loading and firing them; the musketry was kept up by a handful of sepoys placed here and there, more for appearance sake than with any intention of doing us much injury: though during the day it was not so; but, on the contrary, every exertion appeared

to be used by the wretches to torment us; and, as I now find, it was a matter of wonder and astonishment, not only to the rebels, but to every person in and near Cawnpore, how it was possible for a mere handful of people to exist so long, under such difficulties, without suing for peace or offering terms. However, such a course was in contemplation in the intrenchment when I left (as above, on the 24th of June); but, instead of a proposal of this nature coming from our camp, that same afternoon a message was sent by the Nana to General Wheeler, offering to let him and all his people go to Allahabad unmolested, if he would consent to vacate the intrenchment and abandon Cawnpore; and, at the same time, make over to him all the public treasure, the guns, and magazines in the camp. This message was brought by a very aged European lady, Mrs. Greenway, who, with one of her three surviving sons, Edward Greenway (of the firm of Greenway Brothers), and some others of her relatives, had sought refuge in a village belonging to the firm, called Nujjub Gurle, about sixteen miles from Cawnpore, thinking that the insurgents would not proceed so far away to molest them. In this, however, they were mistaken, like all the rest in Cawnpore; for the Nana soon found them out, and would have killed them there and then but for a promise on their parts to give a ransom of a lac of rupees: they were kept alive, and taken care of.

"Thus this poor aged and respectable lady was made the medium of communication between the rebel chief and the British general at Cawnpore. I would here beg to be understood, that what I now write has been gathered from different sources; for I was placed in gaol, and had not the opportunity to see for myself: however, I have taken care to convince myself of the authenticity of the information I herein insert.

"The following day (June 25th) was fixed by the general for an interview with any person whom the Nana might appoint to arrange matters; and, accordingly, at about noon, a man, named Azimoollah, with a few of the ringleader sowars of the 2nd light cavalry, came to the camp, and were received by the general in one of the unfinished barracks outside the intrenchment. Azimoollah, who could read and write English, attempted to open the conversation in that language, but was prevented from doing so by the sowars. It was agreed upon, on the part of our general, that all the government money, the magazine in the intrenchment, with the guns (two only of which were in serviceable order, the rest having been rendered useless by the enemy's cannon), should be made over to the Nana; and, in return, the Nana should provide tonnage, and permit every person in the intrenchment to proceed to Allahabad unmolested. This agreement was drawn up in writing, signed, sealed, and ratified by a solemn oath by the Nana. All hostile proceedings were stopped on both sides from the evening of the 24th. The 26th was employed by the English people in preparing for their journey, and a few officers were allowed to go on elephants to see the boats provided as above.

"On the morning of the 27th, a number of carts, dhoolies, and elephants were sent to the intrenchment by the Nana, to enable the women and children and sick to proceed to the river-side. It is reported that the persons who came out that morning from the intrenchment amounted to about 450, and a general plunder took place of what property the officers and others were obliged to abandon in the intrenchment. The men and officers were allowed to take their arms and ammunition with them, and were escorted by nearly the whole of the rebel army. It was about 8 o'clock A.M. when all reached the river-side—a distance of about a mile and a-half: those who embarked first managed to let their boats go; thus three or four boats got off a short distance, though deserted by their crews; but the rest found difficulty in pushing them off the banks, as the rebels had previously had them placed as high in the mud as possible, on purpose to cause delay. In the meantime, the report of three guns was heard from the Nana's camp, which was the signal (as previously arranged) for the mutineers to fire upon and kill all the English; and accordingly the work of destruction commenced. The boats' crews and others were ordered to get away; some of the boats were set on fire, and volley upon volley of musketry was fired upon the poor fugitives, numbers of whom were killed on the spot; some fell overboard, and attempted to escape by swimming, but were picked off by the bullets of the sepoys, who followed them on shore, and in breast-deep water. A few boats crossed over to the opposite bank; but there a regiment of native

infantry (the 17th), just arrived from Azimghur, had placed itself in such a manner as to prevent their escape. The boats were then seized upon on both banks, the river not being very broad, and every man who survived was put to the sword. The women and children, most of whom were wounded, some with three or four bullet-shots in them, were spared and brought to the Nana's camp, and placed in a pukha building called 'Subada Kothee,' and for the first three days no attention was paid to them, beyond giving them a small quantity of parched grain each daily for food and water to drink, leaving them to lie on the hard ground, without any sort of bedding, mats, &c.

"One young lady, however, was seized upon (reported to be General Wheeler's daughter), and taken away by a trooper of the 2nd light cavalry to his home, where she at night, finding a favourable opportunity, secured the trooper's sword, and with it, after killing him and three others, threw herself into a well and was killed.

"At sunset of the same day (27th of June) the Nana had a general review of all his troops, said to consist of corps, or portions of corps, noted in the margin,* and which had joined at Cawnpore, from time to time, since the 5th of June, 1857, which assembled on the plain of Sonhada, on the north of our vacated intrenchment. Here three salutes were fired from the heavy guns: one of twenty-one guns for the Nana as sovereign; nineteen guns for his brother, Balla Sahib, as governor-general; seventeen guns for Jowalla Pershaud (a Brahmin), as commander-in-chief: after which the so-called governor-general gave a short speech to the army, praising them for their great courage and bravery in obtaining a complete victory over the British at Cawnpore, and promising them a lac of rupees as a reward for their labours, which, however, was put off from day to day, and the army never saw a pice of it. The Nana and his staff then returned to their tents under the same salutes.

"In the meantime, people followed after the advanced boats, that had gone adrift at the first setting off, and which contained a good number of officers, soldiers, and their families; they went a few miles, but returned without success. The boats did not, however, escape altogether, but were captured by the zemindar of Dowreea Kheyra, named Baboo Rambux, near Futtehpore, and the fugitives, about 115, were all sent back on carts to the Nana. They reached on the 1st of July; and on the evening of the same day all the men and officers (about seventy-five or eighty) were killed in cold blood. An officer's lady, with her child, clung to her husband so that it was impossible to separate them, and they were killed together. The women and children on this occasion amounted to about thirty-five in number: making a total of the prisoners, including the old lady, Mrs. Greenway, her son Edward, and three members of their family, about 150 in all. These were then removed from the Subada Kothee into a small building (near the assembly-rooms), adjoining the medical depôt, lately occupied by Sir George Parker; where they remained in close custody, receiving only a small quantity of dhall and chupatties daily for food for the first few days, after which a little meat and milk for the children was allowed, as also clean clothes were issued from those forcibly taken from the washermen of the station, who had them for wash previous to the outbreak. A sweeper-woman and bheestie were also allowed some. Five of the sufferers died in bondage from want of care and attention. It is not easy to describe, but it may be imagined, the misery of so many helpless persons, some wounded, others sick, and all labouring under the greatest agony of heart for the loss of those so dear to them, who had so recently been killed, perhaps, before their own eyes, cooped up night and day in a small, low, pukha-roofed house, with but four or six very small rooms, and that in the hottest season of the year, without beds or punkas, for a whole fortnight, watched most carefully on all sides by a set of unmannerly, brutish, rebellious sepoys.

"It is reported that the lives of the poor women were spared by the Nana from bad motives, and that he appointed a wicked old hag to persuade the helpless creatures

* 2nd light cavalry; the 1st, 53rd, and 56th regiments of native infantry, of Cawnpore; 1st and 2nd Oude irregular cavalry, and two regiments of Oude native infantry, from Lucknow; 17th regiment of native infantry and 13th irregular cavalry, from Azimghur; 12th regiment of native infantry, 14th irregular cavalry, and No. 18 field battery, from Nowgong; a detachment of the 10th native infantry, from Futteghur; a detachment of the 6th native infantry, from Allahabad; three Nowabie regiments, from Lucknow; two half regiments of newly-raised infantry at Cawnpore; besides a great mob of zemindars, &c., of neighbouring districts, who came well-armed to assist the Nana.

to yield to his wishes; this message, I learn, was conveyed to the women with great art, accompanied by threats and hopes; but it is pleasing to find that it was received with great indignation and a firm resolution to die, or kill each other with their own teeth, if any forcible means were employed to seduce them.

"All this while the Nana continued to receive many more troops, which, after mutinying, had left their respective stations, and poured from all sides into Cawnpore; so that, about the 10th of July, there were near upon 20,000 armed fighting-men of all classes at his command, and the depredation they committed in the city was excessive; many rich Mahaguns were plundered and reduced to beggary, and the poorer classes of people suffered in proportion: every person who appeared respectable, or well-to-do in the world, was assailed, and his house searched, under the plea of having Europeans hid in it; but really for no other purpose than to plunder whatever property he might have worth taking. It is impossible to describe all the wickedness these wretches committed during so short a time.

"Fresh corps were being raised, and recruits daily entertained; a new horse battery was formed. The zemindars all around were directed to bring in the revenue due by them; new offices were created and bestowed daily upon favourites. The Ganges canal (built with so much trouble, and at so great a cost to government) was bestowed upon the villain Azimoollah, who, together with about 150 of the Mussulman troopers of the 2nd regiment of light cavalry, and Tuka Sing (subahdar of the same regiment, created a brigadier-general of the Cawnpore division at the time), were at the bottom of all mischief. It was through their instigation that the Europeans were killed in cold blood, as described above, as also the gentlemen and ladies, with their families, that had arrived from Futteghur while our intrenchment was besieged, who were also murdered in the most inhuman manner by the above wretches.

"The Nana caused to be proclaimed, by beat of tom-tom throughout Cawnpore and its districts, that he had entirely conquered the British, whose period of reign in India having been completed, they were defeated at Delhi, Bombay, &c., and dare not put foot in Cawnpore any more, as he was well prepared to meet any number, and to drive them away from all India."

The following are translations of three of the proclamations referred to. The originals are in the possession of the authorities at Calcutta. The first of these documents is dated the 1st of July, and runs thus:—

"As, by the kindness of God and the good fortune of the emperor, all the Christians who were at Delhi, Poonah, Sattara, and other places, and even those 5,000 European soldiers who went in disguise into the former city and were discovered, are destroyed and sent to hell by the pious and sagacious troops, who are firm to their religion; and as they have all been conquered by the present government, and as no trace of them is left in these places, it is the duty of all the subjects and servants of the government to rejoice at the delightful intelligence, and to carry on their respective work with comfort and ease."

Proclamation, also dated the 1st of July, and issued by order of the Nana:—

"As, by the bounty of the glorious Almighty God and the enemy-destroying fortune of the emperor, the yellow-faced and narrow-minded people have been sent to hell, and Cawnpore has been conquered, it is necessary that all the subjects and landowners should be as obedient to the present government as they had been to the former one; that all the government servants should promptly and cheerfully engage their whole mind in executing the orders of government; that it is the incumbent duty of all the ryots and landed proprietors of every district to rejoice at the thought that the Christians have been sent to hell, and both the Hindoo and Mohammedan religions have been confirmed; and that they should as usual be obedient to the authorities of the government, and never to suffer any complaint against themselves to reach the ears of the higher authority."

Order, dated the 5th of July, to the city *kotwal* (mayor), by the Nana:—

"It has come to our notice that some of the city people, having heard the rumours of the arrival of the European soldiers at Allahabad, are deserting their houses and going out into the districts; you are therefore directed to proclaim in each lane and street of the city, that regiments of cavalry and infantry, and batteries, have been dispatched to check the Europeans either at Allahabad or Futtehpore, that the people should therefore remain in their houses without any apprehension, and engage their minds in carrying on their work."

Another participator in the sufferings of the gallant band at Cawnpore, says of his companions:—"After having endured every discomfort from want of fresh provisions and water, and from the inclemency of the weather, as also from the dilapidated state of the barracks in which they had taken shelter, want of every kind of provisions obliged them at last, on the 26th of June, to accept terms of peace. The Nana and his

principal officers solemnly promised, on oath, to have them conveyed safely to Allahabad. Boats were prepared for them; elephants, hackeries, &c., were brought to the intrenchment, for conveying them to the boats; and on the morning of the 27th of June, the inmates of the intrenchment came out, and proceeded to the ghat where the boats had been kept in readiness, escorted by a number of sowars and sepoys, some of whom, on reaching the bank of the river, called out to the boatmen that they should leave their boats, and come up to receive their pay. When they found that all the boatmen had done as they desired, they commenced firing volleys from the high banks on the officers, &c., some of whom were embarked on the boats, while others were standing by them. A regiment of Oude irregulars had just arrived on the opposite side of the river; and the men belonging to that corps also fired at the officers. After several volleys had been fired, the savage mutineers put the greater portion of the officers and men to death with their swords, a number of them having escaped in one or two boats; but they were subsequently caught at some place below Jaujmon, and brought to Cawnpore after two or three days, when they were all killed. Among them was Captain Seppings, the officiating deputy paymaster. The ladies and children were then brought on country carts into the premises of the medical department, where they remained in close custody for nearly three weeks, hardly receiving any refreshments. The diet or food allowed them was only two or three *chupatties* (bread), and a little dhall to each. They had their old clothing to wear, sleeping on the bare ground. After a few days their condition was somewhat changed by the Nana's order—cleaned or washed gowns, &c., to be provided, and meat supplied to them daily; a few servants, khitmutgur, &c., were also employed to attend them."

A person named Nujoor Jewarree, employed as a spy, and who is described as an intelligent man belonging to the 1st native infantry, gives the following account of the proceedings at Cawnpore, in which many of the above-named persons unfortunately suffered:—

"When the Nana's guns opened on the boat in which Wheeler Sahib (the general) was, he cut its cable, and dropped down the river. Some little way down, the boat got stuck near the shore. The infantry and guns came up and opened fire. The large gun they could not manage, not knowing how to work the elevating screw, and did not use it. With the small gun they fired grape tied up in bags, and the infantry fired with their muskets. This went on all day. It did not hurt the sahib-log much. They returned the fire with their rifles from the boat, and wounded several of the sepoys on the bank, who therefore drew off towards evening. The sepoys procured a very big boat, into which they all got, and dropped down the river upon the sahibs' boat. Then the sahibs fired again with their rifles and wounded more sepoys in the boat, and they drew off and left them. At night came a great rush of water in the river, which floated off the sahibs' boat, and they passed on down the river; but owing to the storm and the dark night, they only proceeded three or four koss. In the meantime, intelligence of the sahibs' defence had reached the Nana, and he sent off that night three more companies of the native regiment (1st Oude infantry), and surrounded the sahibs' boat, and so took them and brought them back to Cawnpore. Then came out of that boat sixty sahibs, and twenty-five mem-sahibs, and four children—one boy and three half-grown girls. The Nana then ordered the mem-sahibs to be separated from the sahibs, to be shot by the *gillis pultun* (1st Bengal native infantry); but they said, 'We will not shoot Wheeler Sahib, who has made our pultun's name great, and whose son is our quartermaster; neither will we kill the sahib-log. Put them in prison.' Then said the nadire pultun, 'What word is this? Put them in prison; we will kill the male.' So the sahib-log were seated on the ground, and two companies of the nadire pultun placed themselves over against them, with their muskets, ready to fire. Then said one of the mem-sahibs (the doctor's wife she was; I don't know his name, but he was either superintending-surgeon or medical store-keeper), '*I will not leave my husband; if he must die, I will die with him.' So she ran and sat down beside her husband, clasping him round the waist. Directly she said this, the other mem-sahibs said, 'We will also die with our husbands:' and they all went and sat down beside their husbands. Then their husbands said, 'Go back:' but they would not.* Whereupon the Nana



ordered his soldiers, and they going in, pulled them forcibly away, seizing them by the arm; *but they could not pull away the doctor's wife, who there remained.* Then, just as the sepoys were going to fire, the *padre* (chaplain) called out to the Nana, and requested leave to read prayers before they died. The Nana granted it. The padre's bonds were unloosed so far as to enable him to take a small book out of his pocket, from which he read; but all this time, one of the sahib-log, who had been shot in the arm and the leg, kept crying out to the sepoys, 'If you mean to kill us, why don't you set about it quickly, and get the work done? Why delay?' After the padre had read a few prayers, he shut the book, and the sahib-log shook hands all round. Then the sepoys fired. One sahib rolled one way, one another, as they sat; but they were not dead, only wounded; so they went in and finished them off with swords. After this, the whole of the women and children (that is, including those taken out of other boats), to the number of 122, were taken away to the yellow house, which was the hospital. This was the Bithoor rajah's house in the civil lines, where I and four more sepoys were confined, and where I had the opportunity of talking to the sergeant-major's wife."

The remainder of this person's narrative will be hereafter referred to.

A native woman in the service of Mrs. T. Greenway, as ayah, gives the following account of this deplorable tragedy. It is presumed that the Mrs. Jacobi named by this person, is the individual mentioned by Lieutenant Delafosse as the "half-caste," employed by Nana Sahib to convey his offer of conditions for the surrender of the intrenchment. Commencing with that occurrence, the ayah proceeds thus:—

"Mr. Jacobi's wife was hiding in one of the nawab's houses, and was discovered by a sowar, who took her to the Nana Sahib in Hindostani clothes, having caught her at one of the ghats crossing to Lucknow, as the nawab was sending her there for safety. The Nana imprisoned her with one Mrs. Greenway. The sepoys were by this time becoming disgusted at the fight continuing so long, and said, 'If you don't keep your promise with us, we will kill you.' On this the Nana said, 'Don't be alarmed, I will give you more than I promised.' He then said to Mrs. Jacobi, 'Will you take a note to General Wheeler?' She said, 'Yes;' the letter was written, and sent by Mrs. Jacobi to the general; she was not at first allowed to come near the camp by the soldiers; but when they heard the English voice they allowed her to do so. The contents of this letter were, 'It is far better for you who are alive to go at once to Allahabad, unless you wish to continue fighting; if so, you can do so. Let Cawnpore be given up, and you shall be saved.' On reaching the intrenchment, General Wheeler saw Mrs. Jacobi, and, after having read the note, said, 'I cannot agree to anything sent this way by letter; if the Nana has any proposition to make, tell him to make it in person.' Mrs. Jacobi took this reply back to the Nana, who said, 'If the Europeans will cease firing, I will go;' and sent back a reply. The general said, 'Let both sides cease firing during the conference:' it was agreed to. On the following day the Nana, his brother Baber Dutt (?), and nephews, and a large party of soldiers, came up to the intrenchment. General Wheeler was ready to meet them. The Nana said, 'Take away all the women and children to Allahabad, and if your men want to fight, come back and do so. We will keep implicit faith with you.' General Wheeler said, 'You take your solemn oath, according to your customs, and I will take an oath on my bible, and will leave the intrenchment.' The Nana said, 'Our oath is, that whoever we take by the hand, and he relies on us, we never deceive; if we do, God will judge and punish us.' The general said, 'If you intend to deceive me, kill me at once; I have no arms.' The Nana replied, 'I do not intend to deceive you; everything is prepared and ready.' The general asked the Nana, 'Are all our servants to go with us, or do you supply us with servants?' The reply was, 'Yes.' On the following day, though suspicions were entertained of the faith of the Nana's party, still they hoped all was right. The Nana sent on Sunday to say the servants were not to go, as the ladies and women could look after themselves. On this being heard they were all alarmed. At 7 A.M. the mutineers surrounded the intrenchment and all the Englishmen in their power; the servants ran away, and were cut down; a few escaped; all were alarmed. The rebels reached (?) the intrenchments, and said, 'Come to the boats; all is ready.' Ladies and children were sent on elephants, dhoolies, &c., and the men marched to the river,

and then embarked on the boats. When they all saw food prepared, and all comfortable, they were delighted. When a few had gone on board, and others were waiting to embark on the river-side, a gun opened on them with canister (this gun and others had been masked); one boat took fire, and then another gun opened, and four boats were fired; on this, those who escaped the fire jumped into the water. The sepoys also fired muskets; the sowars entered the water on horseback, and cut numbers down. Fifteen boatloads of English were massacred; 108 women and children escaped this massacre, but many of them were wounded. The Nana said, 'Don't kill these; put them in prison.' One boat, in which General Wheeler was, was pulled off by the soldiers. The poor people, on the burning of the boats, and when in the water, were calling on God for help. A daughter of General Wheeler's was taken off by a sowar and put into his house along with his wife, near the church. This girl remained till nightfall; and when he came home drunk and fell asleep, she took a sword and cut off his head, his mother's head, two children's heads, and his wife's, and then walked out into the night air; and when she saw other sowars, she said, 'Go inside and see how nicely I have rubbed the rissaldar's feet.' They went inside, and found them all dead. She then jumped into a well and was killed. From fear of what this girl had done, none of the rebels would have anything to say to the Englishwomen, whom the Nana at first proposed to give to the soldiers: 115 women and children were imprisoned with scarcely any food for six days, except gram and such stuff. The boat containing General Wheeler, and other ladies and gentlemen, got off for twenty-two miles, when they were seized by the zemindars of Joagnuhar, and had their hands tied behind them, and were taken back to the Nana. Mrs. Read, Thomas Greenway, Mrs. Kirkpatrick, Mrs. M'Kenzie, and Captain M'Kenzie and Dr. Harris, and several Europeans, were among the party. The Nana was much pleased. Owing to the general's old age, he said, 'Loosen his arms.' Hoolar Sing, kotwal of Cawnpore, said, 'Don't do so.' The Nana said, 'Take them to the guard, and let the others remain where they are.' One sepoy and sowar killed each a European. Dr. Harris was wounded with two balls, and then addressed the rebels:—'Shoot me or kill me; my countrymen will revenge my death before long.' Two sowars then cut him down, and he died. If the zemindars had not seized this boat, all would have been saved in it. Those ladies who were first in the Nana's prison, had their food of the worst description from the bazaar. Ten days after this he sent them to a house near the assembly-rooms. Then the Nana wrote to Delhi, mentioning the number of women and children whom he had taken, and soliciting instructions regarding them. A reply was received that they were not to be killed. The Nana then entertained servants for the prisoners."

There are some discrepancies in the foregoing versions of the affair, which may perhaps be considered excusable on the ground of the confusion and bewilderment such occurrences as those described by the ayah would be likely to produce; but in the main facts, as related by the several parties, there is but little difference. With regard to the statement respecting the youngest daughter of General Wheeler, there is perhaps no reason for doubting, that some retributive act, of the kind alleged, did actually take place, from the prevalance of the reports detailing such an occurrence. In the narrative of Mr. Shepherd, it will be remembered the affair is alluded to thus:—"One young lady, however, was seized upon (reported to be General Wheeler's daughter), and taken away by a trooper of the 2nd light cavalry to his house, where she, at night, finding a favourable opportunity, secured the trooper's sword, and with it, after killing him and *three* others, threw herself into a well and was killed." Shepherd, who does not profess to state the occurrence as of his direct personal knowledge, says, "after killing him and three others." The ayah distinctly specifies four others—the mother, two children, and the wife! It seems incredible that a young lady, reared amidst the refinements of high European society in India, could have had resolution, or physical energy, even in a state of absolute and uncontrollable frenzy, to commit a succession of acts amounting in the aggregate to one of such surpassing horror. Besides, a third version of the tale (and by far the most probable one), represents the heroic girl as defending herself from the brutal and licentious attack of four miscreant sepoys, with one of her murdered father's revolvers, which she had contrived to secrete, and successfully used, to preserve herself from dishonour. That

in the excitement, terror, and desperation of the moment, the noble but ill-fated young lady should then have plunged into the well, to escape the atrocities that would in all probability have followed the discovery of her justifiable but desperate act of self-defence, may be reasonably assumed as a natural consequence of the frightful circumstances that surrounded her.

The fall of Cawnpore is thus noticed in a telegram of Brigadier-general Havelock, transmitted to the commander-in-chief on the 2nd of July:—

"A report of the fall of Cawnpore received from Lawrence, but is not believed by the authorities at Allahabad. Sir. H. writes as follows:—'On the 28th of June, at 10 P.M., every reason to believe that the Cawnpore force has been entirely destroyed by treachery.'"—Again, on the 3rd, General Havelock telegraphs:—"The news of the entire destruction of the Cawnpore force confirmed by Cossids, who carrying letters from Lucknow to Allahabad, witnessed it. They say, that the Nana swore to send the garrison in boats to Calcutta; but that, as soon as the Europeans got into the boats, the guns opened on them. The fugitives made for the opposite bank, and were entirely destroyed by a large body of cavalry."

So incredible did the news appear, that the civil authorities unhesitatingly declined to believe it. Mr. H. Tucker, the civil commissioner at Benares, telegraphed on the 4th of July, to the governor-general:—"General Havelock's telegram as to the fall of Cawnpore is not believed here. The circumstances are very improbable, and like a *ruse* to delay the column."* The doctrine of improbabilities appears to have been a favourite one to fall back upon by the civil authorities generally at this period of the rebellion. With the exception of Lawrence, Colvin, Gubbins, and one or two others—men of judgment and energy—there was constantly exhibited an insurmountable reluctance to believe in the extent or gravity of the evil; and a reluctance equally great to act, when convinced of it, unless the mischief lay upon their own thresholds.

From the wholesale butchery that consummated Nana Sahib's oath of good faith, on the 26th of June, two officers of the 56th regiment fortunately escaped; although they were not equally fortunate in surmounting subsequent perils. These gentlemen had been sent on detached duty, on the 2nd of June, with 200 men, to Ooral, a village some miles from Cawnpore, and were consequently away from the cantonment when the troops mutinied; but when intelligence of the revolt at that place reached Ooral, and it became known that the 56th regiment had thrown off its allegiance, the men on detachment duty did not hesitate to follow the example set them by their comrades at head-quarters. The two officers had barely time to escape with life, and galloped off, having with them nothing but the clothes they wore at the moment, their swords and revolvers. Thus accoutred for a perilous flight through a country festering with rebellion, and swarming with wretches more bloodthirsty than even the ferocious animals that inhabited the jungles they were compelled to traverse, they found their way to various places; sometimes encountering deadly enemies—at others, a friendly reception. At one point of their wanderings they met two brother-officers escaping from mutinous soldiers at Humeerpore; and, in company with them, "rowed boats, swam rivers, entered villages (where they were plundered of their horses, weapons, and clothes); sometimes without food; sometimes subsisting on a scanty repast of chupatties and water—occasionally picking up bits of native clothing to cover the nakedness to which they were reduced: and thus, during seven-and-thirty days, these gentlemen wandered, homeless and friendless, through a country that, only a few months previous, appeared not to shelter an enemy." Of the two officers from Cawnpore, one died in the jungle; the other (Ensign Brown) ultimately joined a body of English troops at Futteypore.

A publication of great merit,† in referring to the prolonged and desperate resistance that we have seen terminated by a crime till then unparalleled in the history of Indian duplicity, says—"Our English history has many records of noble fortitude and unshrinking constancy in positions of extraordinary peril, and our Indian history is full of them. The career of our victory began with Clive's arduous triumph at Arcot; and since that time, India has witnessed the defence of Seetabuldee by Sir R. Jenkins, of Jellalabad by Sale, and of Candahar by Nott; and in furnishing Pot-

* Referring to a force under Major Renaud, then on its way from Allahabad to Cawnpore.

† *The Friend of India*, July, 1857.

tinger and Todd for the defence of Herat, inspired Butler and Nasmyth to throw themselves into Silistria, and Lake and Thompson to share the honours and the privations at Kars. But there is seldom a record of any defence so desperate and so heroic as that of Cawnpore by Sir Hugh Wheeler. When the news of the mutiny at Meerut reached him, he was in a town of a hundred thousand people, many of them armed, and many of these Mussulmans; he had no fort, and his troops were disaffected sepoys. Nevertheless, by the mere force of character, and the display of unshaken courage and confidence, he overawed the minds of all around him, and held his position till the 5th of June. All that time he had with him a few Europeans, who had been hastened up by the dâk carriages from Benares; but the whole force, consisting of soldiers of the Queen's 84th and the Madras fusiliers, and some artillerymen, did not exceed 150 men. The sepoys mutinied; and then he had only this force of 150 men to rely on, with about 40 officers of various regiments. With this small body of troops he had to protect the depôt of the Queen's 32nd, consisting of 120 women and children, and the whole Christian population of the place, which included civilians, merchants, shopkeepers, engineers, clerks, pensioners, and their families, to the number of nearly 400 persons. He had very short supplies of food and ammunition; and he was separated from the Ganges by a road, and by a line of houses with their compounds. Against him were assembled a body of men, probably exceeding 4,000 in number, animated with fanatical rage, and well supplied with ammunition, assisted by artillery, and led by a miscreant capable of any atrocity, and mad with disappointed ambition. Lucknow was not fifty miles off; but no help could be expected from that quarter; and relief from Allahabad was soon rendered doubtful by the tidings that there had been a mutiny there, and that a large body of insurgents had assembled in the city. From the first, it was doubtful if the intrenchments could be held for two weeks; but when the enemy obtained mortars, and sent shells among the crowded garrison, every day's resistance was protracted in despair. Many officers fell; the supplies were exhausted; all hope of relief seemed gone; the news of approaching help from the Delhi force, which once reached them, proved false; and it was resolved to make a sally, and, if possible, drive off the assailants. It may be supposed that everything which human daring could do, was done that day; but the forces of the enemy were overwhelming; they were enabled to use their artillery, and the dauntless leader of our countrymen fell mortally wounded. He was carried back to die; and then, reduced to the last extremity, the small remnant of the troops made terms, securing a safe passage down the river for the women and children, and all their other companions. This was on the 27th of June. It was the only resource left. But it only adds one more to the long catalogue of proofs, that it is infatuation to trust a Mahratta. Nana Sahib well knew how to keep the word of promise to the ear, but break it to the hope. He let the whole party embark and depart, and mocked them by permitting them also to take the treasure from their intrenchments. Then comes the moment for successful treachery. Suddenly his guns opened on the helpless fugitives. Some of them attempted to escape to the opposite side; but there they were met by cavalry, who waded into the water to hasten the work of destruction. One boat, which escaped some miles, was brought back, and doubtless completed the satanic joy of the assassin. The few who were preserved were kept as hostages, in the hope, that if the tide of success turned, he might purchase with them his own worthless life, and pardon for his crimes. But the last accounts speak of him as having perfected his massacre, and destroyed his last victim."

Such, however, was not the case; the measure of his iniquity was not yet full—"his massacre" had not yet been "perfected," or his pitiless vengeance glutted, even by the sacrifice of unarmed and wounded men: the slaughter of defenceless women and young children was yet wanting to supply a fitting climax to the solitary triumph of Nana Sahib.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE STATION AT FUTTEGHUR; DOUBTFUL FIDELITY OF THE 10TH REGIMENT; THE FORT PREPARED FOR DEFENCE; RUMOURED APPROACH OF THE SEETAPORE REBELS; ALARM OF THE EUROPEAN RESIDENTS; FLIGHT OF THE CIVILIANS AND FEMALES IN BOATS; MUTINY OF THE 10TH REPORTED; THE FUGITIVES SEPARATE FOR DHURRUMPORE AND CAWNPORE; LIST OF VOYAGERS TO THE LATTER STATION; THE 10TH RETURN TO THEIR DUTY; MURDER OF THE CAWNPORE FUGITIVES ON THEIR WAY DOWN THE GANGES; THE DHURRUMPORE PARTY RETURN TO FUTTEGHUR; SPONTANEOUS LOYALTY OF THE 10TH; ARRIVAL OF THE 41ST NATIVE INFANTRY OPPOSITE FUTTEGHUR; REVOLT OF THE 10TH; THE TREASURY PLUNDERED; EUROPEANS TAKE SHELTER IN THE FORT; QUARREL AND FIGHT BETWEEN THE 41ST AND 10TH REGIMENTS FOR A SHARE OF THE PLUNDER; THE FORT ATTACKED; DEFENCE OF THE BESIEGED; MINES EXPLODED, AND ATTEMPTED ESCALADE FRUSTRATED; LOSSES OF THE GARRISON; ANOTHER ESCAPE BY THE RIVER; LIST OF EUROPEAN FUGITIVES; THE BOATS ATTACKED; REACH CAWNPORE; SLAUGHTER OF THE MEN; WOMEN RESERVED; NARRATIVE OF MR. C. S. JONES; CORROBORATIVE DETAILS; DESCRIPTIVE LETTERS OF EUROPEAN OFFICERS.

IT is necessary to diverge, for a short time, from the direct current of events at Cawnpore, that we may connect with the dire tragedy yet to be enacted at that place, a catastrophe more revolting in its monstrous details than even that described in the few preceding pages, and forming an important accessory to the future historical fame of the rajah of Bithoor.

Towards the latter part of the month of May, 1857, much anxiety was occasioned to the European residents in the vicinity of Futteghur*—a military station on the Ganges, near Furruckabad (Happy Abode), a town in the district of Agra, from which city the station was distant about ninety-five miles—in consequence of the dâk communications with the surrounding country becoming uncertain, and being eventually cut off by straggling bodies of mutinous soldiers that had overrun the district; and the alarm was not diminished by intelligence that a strong body of rebel cavalry was approaching the station. At this time, the troops in cantonment at Futteghur consisted of the 10th native regiment of infantry, under the command of Colonel Smith, with some European officers; and circumstances had occurred to warrant suspicion of the fidelity of the corps, if the tide of rebellion should surge up in its immediate neighbourhood. It had, therefore, been considered prudent to anticipate the probability of such an event, by putting the fort in as good condition to withstand an attack as possible, and to store in it a good supply of ammunition and provisions for the use of the European families, in the exigency of their being obliged to shut themselves up within its walls. At the same time, arrangements were made to secure the means of flight, if that alternative should become desirable; and some boats were hired, and kept in readiness, to convey the whole of the European community down the river to Cawnpore, where it was believed Sir H. Wheeler, with an English garrison, would be able to afford them protection.

In this unsatisfactory state matters continued during several days, until, on the 3rd of June, information arrived at the station of the revolt and massacres at Shahjehanpore and Bareilly, and that a large body of insurgents from Oude were then approaching the opposite bank of the river, with the intention to cross to Futteghur. A consultation was immediately held; and as there were no possible means at hand for successfully resisting an attack by the rebel force, even if the 10th could be relied on, it was thought advisable to accept, for the women and non-combatants, an offer of protection volunteered by a friendly zemindar, named Hardeo Buksh, who resided in a village called Dhurrumpore, on the Oude side of the Ganges, about twelve miles below the station. A flight to his residence was therefore at once resolved on; and the preparations for departure were complete, when

* This small station is of English origin, and was established as the cantonment for Furruckabad, from which town it is distant about three miles. The latter place has been of some importance in its time, and still contains a population of about 60,000 persons. Tents of a large and superior manufacture are the chief production of the industry of the inhabitants. Furruckabad has a strong mud fort adjoining the palace of the nawab, who has long been a stipendiary of the Company; and the chief civil authorities of the district have generally resided in the town, or its immediate vicinity. There was also a small fort in the vicinity of the cantonment at Futteghur.

some delay arose, through the civilians declaring they would not quit the scene of anticipated danger, unless the magistrates, Messrs. Thornhill and Lewis (who desired to remain at their posts with the military officers as long as possible), would consent to share the flight and fortunes of the rest of the party. After some hesitation, the desire of their friends prevailed with the magistrates; and at one o'clock in the morning of Thursday, the 4th of June, the whole of the females and children, and persons in civil employ, embarked, and quietly dropped down the river without exciting any alarm on either bank.

Upon the successful departure of the boats, the military officers repaired to their quarters in the fort; but, in the course of the same day, some of them overtook the fugitives, with intelligence that the 10th regiment had mutinied, insulted the colonel, seized the treasure, and fired on their officers, and that there was no probability of the escape of any of those that then remained at the fort. In addition to this ill news, it was stated that the Oude rebels were crossing, in great force, at one of the ghats a few miles down the river; and as the natives on both banks had already shown some hostile indications, and the chances of escape were likely to be diminished by the great number of the fugitives, it was determined that they should separate; Mr. Probyn (the collector of Futteghur), with about forty of the party, proposing to accept the offer of the zemindar at Dhurrumpore, and the rest proceeding on their way to Cawnpore. The last-mentioned division amounted to 126 persons, nearly all of whom were civilians and non-combatants. Most of these individuals had wives with them; and the children belonging to the whole, far exceeded the adults in point of numbers. The inability of the party to resist any serious interference, may therefore be imagined; but it is stated, that the fugitives, who occupied three boats, succeeded in reaching the neighbourhood of Bithoor about the 12th of June, without any previous interruption or annoyance. The following is believed to be an accurate list of the persons who left Futteghur on the 4th of June, and proceeded in the hope of finding protection with Sir Hugh Wheeler at Cawnpore:—

Mr. and Mrs. J. R. Monckton and child (engineer); Mr. and Mrs. Freeman; Mr. and Mrs. Campbell and two children; Mr. and Mrs. Johnston; and Mr. and Mrs. Macmullen (missionaries); Mr. Alexander; Mr. and Mrs. Ives and daughter (agent to the North-west Dâk Company); Mr. and Miss Maclean (planter and merchant); Mr. and Mrs. Guise (planter and merchant); Mr. and Mrs. Elliot and five children (superintendent of Dhuleep Sing's estate); two Misses Ray; Mr. and Mrs. Palmer and nine children (deputy collector); Mr. and Mrs. Macklin and eight children (head-clerk, collector's office); Mr. and Mrs. Joyce and four children (shopkeepers); Mr. and Mrs. R. Brierley and child (boat agent and coach-builder); Mr. and Mrs. J. Brierley and two children (clerk, collector's office); two Misses Brierley; Miss Finlay; Mr. Finlay and family; Mrs. Shepherd and family; Mr. and Mrs. Madden and family (clothing agency); Mr. and Mrs. Kew and family (postmaster); Miss Kew; Mr. and Mrs. Catencar (inspector of post-offices); Mr. and Mrs. Sheils and two children (schoolmaster); Mr. and Mrs. Cawood and three children (clothing agency); the head tailor of the clothing agency and family (name unknown); Ensign Byrne (10th native infantry); Mr. Billington (clerk); the head blacksmith and family G.C.A. (name unknown); Pensioner Faulkner and family; and Mrs. Macdonald and family.

Upon the arrival of Mr. Probyn and his party at Dhurrumpore, the officers already noticed as having reported the mutiny of the regiment, and the probable destruction of their comrades, were agreeably surprised by intelligence awaiting them, to the effect that Colonel Smith, and the officers who had remained with him at Futteghur, had prevailed on the men of his regiment to return to their duty, and that no appearance of further danger existed at the station. Mr. Probyn immediately directed that horses should be got ready; and, accompanied by his two military friends, rode back to the fort, to satisfy himself of the real state of affairs, which he found to accord with the report of the morning. The officers of course resumed their duties under Colonel Smith; and Mr. Probyn, after remaining at the fort two days, in which he arranged some business of his collectorate (left imperfect by his hasty flight), returned to Dhurrumpore, where, with his family and Mr. W. Edwards, the collector of Badaon, he continued under the protection of Hardeo Buksh, until the latter was threatened with death by the Oude

rebels, for the crime of harbouring the Feringhees.

Of the fate of the first division of the Futteghur community, which left that station on the 4th of June, we have the following brief detail, gathered from various reliable sources. The narrrative of Nerput, the opium agent, to which we have already referred,* gave the first intimation of a frightful act of bloodshed perpetrated upon some European fugitives in the neighbourhood of Bithoor, about the 12th of June; on which day he writes—"Report that Europeans were coming in boats to relieve Cawnpore; and two companies [of the Nana's troops] sent westward to make inquiries, they found that 126 men, women, and children were in boats sick. When the boats arrived at the part of the Ganges opposite Bithoor, the brother of the rajah stopped them, brought the people on shore, and shot every one. He then had their bodies tied together, and threw them into the river." Another native resident at Cawnpore, also before referred to,† states in his examination before Colonel Neill, that "on the 12th of June, just as the customary daily cannonading of the intrenchment was about to commence, a report came in that Europeans were approaching from the west. Immediately a troop of cavalry, and two companies of infantry, were sent to reconnoitre in the vicinity of Bithoor. There were found three boats, containing about 130 men, women, and children. The troopers seized them all, and took them to the Nana, who ordered that they should all be killed; and sundry Rampoorie sowars, whom the Nana kept with him for the express purpose, killed them all. Among them was a young lady, the daughter of some general. She addressed herself much to the Nana, and said, 'No king ever committed such oppression as you have; and in no religion is there any order to kill women and children. I do not know what has happened to you. Be well assured, that by this slaughter the English will not become less; whoever may remain will have an eye upon you.' But the Nana paid no attention, and showed her no mercy, and ordered that she should be killed, and that they should fill her hands with powder, and kill her by the explosion."

So complete was the destruction of this ill-fated company, that, beyond the fact of their inhuman murder, it is not probable much can ever be placed on record. They merely preceded their friends in the last trial that was to purify them for a happier state of existence; and as no detail of personal indignity has come down to us, in connection with the females and children of the party, their experience of the bitterness of death may, of the two, have been the least terrible.

The other portion of the fugitives stayed at Dhurrumpore only a few days, in consequence of the excited state of the district around them; and as they were themselves conscious that the position in which they were placed was not one on which they could rely for protection, if the rebels should persevere in seeking for them, it was determined to return to Futteghur; which, with the exception before mentioned, they accordingly did on the 13th of June; most of them then sleeping in the fort, and resorting to their several duties each morning. The boats were, nevertheless, still kept in readiness, in case a necessity should arise for again leaving the station. At this time the treasury belonging to the collectorate was removed to the parade-ground of the cantonment, and placed under the charge of Lieutenant Vibart, of the 2nd cavalry, who had a party of (it was believed) reliable men, with one gun for its protection.

An incident occurred about the 16th of June, calculated to inspire confidence in the loyalty of the regiment; and it certainly seems to have had the effect of removing any doubt that previously existed of the good feeling of the men, some of whom, by desire of their comrades, handed to Colonel Smith, on that day, a letter, addressed to the regiment by a subahdar of the 41st regiment (on its way from Seetapore *viâ* Shahjehanpore, and then but a few miles distant from Futteghur, on the opposite side of the river), calling upon the men to murder all their officers, as they (the 41st) had already done, and to seize the treasure, and join them on their way to Delhi, with the guns and ammunition. A subahdar of the 10th then informed the colonel, that in reply to this letter, the men had said, "they had served the Company Bahadoor too many years to turn traitors; that they were determined to abide 'faithful to their salt;' and advised the men of the 41st not to attempt to cross the river as rebels, or they would certainly oppose them." In confirmation of their assurances

* See *ante*, p. 323. † See *ante*, p 329,

of fidelity, the sepoys of the 10th voluntarily and actively assisted in destroying the bridge of boats at Futteghur, and in sinking whatever vessels they could find at the different ghats, so that the advancing mutineers might be prevented crossing the river near the station.

Two days after this satisfactory demonstration on the part of the 10th regiment, an alarm was given in the cantonment, that a large body of insurgents, consisting of the 41st regiment, accompanied by a number of liberated gaol prisoners and vagabonds, collected on the way, and having with them an immense store of ammunition and two guns, had reached the Oude bank of the river, and were upon the point of crossing. The intelligence spread over the cantonments with the rapidity of light; and the loyalty of the sepoys of the 10th regiment—with all their professed attachment to their officers—vanished. In a state of wild excitement, they rushed in a body to the water-side, and, with shouts and gesticulations, welcomed the insurgent force that occupied the opposite bank. The interference of their officers was now utterly disregarded, and the insubordination of the regiment became uncontrollable. The colonel and officers, finding it useless to attempt persuasion, and having no means with which to enforce obedience, retired to the fort, in which the whole of the European residents left at the station were speedily collected; but Lieutenant Vibart, taking advantage of the confusion amongst the sepoys, rushed to the parade, and spiked the gun left there for the protection of the treasure. By this prudent act he greatly exasperated the mutineers, who had reckoned upon that gun for their own purposes, having already taken possession of the treasure left under their charge, and which they proceeded to divide amongst themselves before the arrival of their friends from the opposite bank of the Ganges.

The same duplicity that had veiled the treacherous intentions of the 10th regiment on the 16th of June, had also ensured the means of passage across the river for the rebel band from Seetapore; and by the middle of the day on the 18th, the whole of the 41st regiment were fraternising with their confederate traitors on the parade-ground of the cantonment at Futteghur, from whence the two regiments, with their followers, proceeded into Furruckabad; and having found the nawab, they placed him on the *guddee* (or throne), laid their colours at his feet, and fired a royal salute of twenty-one guns, in recognition of his authority. In reference to this particular act of the mutineers, it has been stated, upon native report, that the nawab declined to accept the colours offered him, but informed the men of the 10th regiment, that if they brought him the treasure belonging to the Company, he might not object to receive them into his service. This proposition was by no means agreeable to the sepoy robbers, who preferred to retain the plunder among themselves, and they at once returned to their parade-ground at Futteghur. The men of the 41st regiment now claimed a share of the treasure; but this was resolutely objected to, and the result was, a quarrel and a fight, in which the 10th, who had but little ammunition, suffered greatly: during the struggle, most of the officers' bungalows and public buildings were utterly destroyed, with a great amount of valuable property. The contest terminated by the thorough discomfiture of the 10th, the men of which corps then separated into two parties—one division crossing the Ganges into Oude, intending to make for their homes with such share of the treasure as they had contrived to retain; and the remainder continuing at Futteghur, where many of them were killed in daily quarrels with the 41st, because they refused to give up a portion of the plundered treasury to the traitors of that corps. The nawab of Futteghur, who was exceedingly active in seizing and destroying the property of the European and Christian residents, gave instructions to the people of the adjacent district to demolish the electric telegraph works, with the posts, wires, &c.; and he was readily assisted in the destructive operation by the villagers of Hosseinpore, a suburb of Futteghur, as well as by others along the line. By nightfall of the 20th of June, nothing fit for human habitation had been left standing in the cantonments; and the sentries of the nawab of Futteghur (who had assumed sovereign authority over the district) were posted at all the principal works and factories at Furruckabad.*

While these occurrences were progressing

* Of this personage it is alleged, that on the 2nd of July he caused four Europeans—namely, Mr. and Mrs. Birch, Mrs. Eckford, and Mrs. Defontaine—to be blown away from guns at Futteghur. These



without the fort, the persons shut up within it were subjected to continual apprehension of danger, and a second effort to escape by the river was proposed. The water of the Ganges had, however, become so low, that an uninterrupted passage for the boats could not be relied on, and it was eventually resolved to abide in the fort, which at the time sheltered upwards of 100 Europeans, including women and children. Of this number only thirty-three were capable of taking any active part in the defence of the place; and the first consideration was to strengthen the position. With this view, a 6-pounder, loaded with grape, was mounted over the gateway, and about 300 muskets in store were brought out and loaded, and conveniently placed for instant use. The magazine was searched for ammunition; and every convertible article met with was appropriated to the service of the guns. The able-bodied men of the party were then mustered, and divided into three sections, each under the orders of a military officer—Colonel Smith taking the command of the whole. A disaster deprived them of the aid of one of the number before the enemy had yet attacked them; Mr. Thornton, the magistrate, having wounded himself severely in the hand while loading his musket, and thereby incapacitating himself for duty.

Preparations for defence were now complete; but the first day passed over without annoyance. Intelligence was, however, conveyed to the fort that the 41st regiment were encamped near a tope about a mile westward of the fort, and were busied in completing their arrangements for an attack. At nightfall pickets were stationed at each bastion of the fort; but the night also passed without any movement on the part of the enemy. On the second day, two guns, 8 and 9-pounders, were placed in position, and, by the time the 41st appeared ready for offensive proceedings, seven guns had been mounted for the defence of the fort. At length, on the evening of the 26th of June, a number of Coolies, employed by Colonel Smith to pull down some walls that masked an approach to the fort, were fired upon by the rebels. An alarm was instantly sounded, which brought every man to his assigned post, and a few shots were exchanged, but without any result. The next morning the mutineers opened upon the fort with two guns; but, beginning before daybreak, their aim was uncertain, and, after a few rounds, they abstained from practice until daylight, when they recommenced, but without yet doing any serious mischief. The sepoys screened themselves behind trees, bushes, and anything that could afford shelter, still keeping up a heavy fire of musketry, but giving little opportunity to the besieged to get a shot at them in return.

The next day the two guns of the mutineers began play again, but from a different point, and doing little harm, as the shots merely passed over the bastion at which they were aimed. The discharge of musketry became heavier, and a movement was observed preparatory to scaling the fort; but the ladder-bearers were shot down as fast as they came within range. During the next four days the guns of the rebel force poured an unceasing torrent of shot against the fort, and several abortive efforts were made to accomplish an escalade. On the fifth morning a decided relaxation of the fire was observed from the direction of the tope; but, at the same time, it was discovered that some men of the 41st had stationed themselves on the roofs of houses in the vicinity of the fort, from whence they kept up a brisk fire upon the bastions. During this storm of leaden hail, Captain Phillimore of the 10th regiment, and Mr. Sutherland, a merchant of Furruckabad, with two or three of the native servants, were wounded. Some of the 41st had also taken up positions in a small outhouse, about seventy or eighty yards from the fort, where they loopholed the walls, and kept up a harassing fire that rendered the guns of the fort useless, as no one dared lift his head to take aim. The effect of the rebel fire upon the little garrison now began to tell seriously against it. Mr. Jones, of the gun-carriage agency department, was shot through the head while covering one of the gunners with his rifle; and on the following day, Colonel Tucker, of the clothing establishment, was also shot by the enemy. On the seventh

unfortunate individuals had, by some mischance, been unable to avail themselves of the protection of the fort, but had succeeded in effecting their escape into the country, where, after a few days, their retreat was discovered by some hostile villagers, and they were conveyed prisoners to the nawab, who gave orders for their destruction in the manner stated. He also further manifested his hatred to the Europeans, by ordering a reward of fifty rupees to be paid for every one that could be discovered and brought to him for the purpose of mutilation or slaughter.

day of the investment, Conductor Ahern, with a well-directed discharge of grape, blew away about a dozen men, who were constructing a breastwork for their riflemen on a wood-yard wall, which they had reached by means of a covered-way, constructed with jhow and sand-bags under the fire of their riflemen. Deterred by this occurrence from continuing the annoyance in that way, they next procured some sappers, with whose assistance they cut a hole through the wall, and by that means got into the yard, in which there was a large store of firewood and straw. They were suffered to occupy this position for two days; but, on the third, the straw and wood was set on fire, and the enemy driven out, nearly suffocated by the smoke. A mine was then commenced, at which they worked two nights, and early on the third morning it was sprung: the explosion shook the fort; but, besides alarming the garrison, it had little serious result, the whole damage being confined to five or six yards of the exterior wall of the yard, the inner wall remaining uninjured. As soon as the smoke and dust had partly cleared away, a body of rebels, numbering from 100 to 150, was observed gathering together near the breach, with the evident design of escalading the fort. A sharp and well-directed fire from the walls had the effect of dispersing the storming party for the moment; but, at a later period of the day, a second assault was attempted, which also was defeated by the Rev. Mr. Fisher shooting the leader of the forlorn-hope. His followers immediately fell back, and all further attempt at annoyance ceased for the day. It did not, however, pass without loss to the besieged, as the best gunner of the party, Conductor Ahern, was unfortunately shot through the head while laying his gun in position.

Undeterred by repeated failures, the enemy now brought a gun to bear upon a bungalow containing the ladies and children. The shots were ill-directed, and mostly passed over the building; but two or three struck it, and occasioned great consternation among the inmates. A gun was also pointed at the gate of the fort, but effected little harm, as the arch of the gateway had been filled up with timber, which effectually stopped the shots. Two guns in the fort were by this time disabled, and another mine was commenced near the *débris* of the first.

It may be imagined that the apparent determination of the enemy to persevere until they had accomplished their purpose, coupled with the loss of three of the most able among the defenders of the little garrison and its charge—namely, Captain Phillimore, Mr. Stapleton, and Conductor Ahern—must have had a dispiriting effect upon the inmates sheltered in the fort, if not upon their protectors, who were now worn out by over exertion and fatigue. It was also past doubt, that if the second mine was completed and fired, the enemy would make their next assault by both breaches, which it would be impossible the small force within the walls could effectually defend. The position of all had therefore become desperate, and once more the boats were looked to as offering the only practicable means by which they could hope to escape the danger that menaced them. Fortunately, by this time the river had become somewhat swollen by the rains; and as, after due consideration, it was determined to evacuate the fort, no time was now lost in carrying out the project. The ladies and children were divided into three parties, and, at midnight of the 3rd of July, they were got safely into the boats: the pickets were then quietly removed from their posts, the guns spiked, and the little remaining ammunition rendered unserviceable; and then the military officers, followed by Colonels Goldie and Smith, entered the boats. By two o'clock in the morning of the 4th the embarkation was complete, and the word was given to "let go;" but the boats had no sooner emerged from under the walls of the fort, than an alarm was raised—a volley of musketry pealed out over the river, and a cry resounded through the rebel host that the "Feringhees" were running away. The boats were quickly rowed into mid-stream; and although the sepoys followed along-shore for about a mile, keeping up an incessant fire, no damage was sustained—the vessels being fortunately out of the range of musketry.

The following is a list of the Europeans who left Futteghur on the morning of the 4th of July in the three boats:—

Colonel and Mrs. Smith (10th native infantry); Colonel and Mrs. Goldie and three daughters; Mrs. Tucker and four children (clothing agency); Miss Tucker; Mr. and Mrs. Thornhill and two children (judge of Futteghur); Miss Nancy Lang (maid-servant); Mr. and Mrs. R. N. Lewis and two children (joint magistrate); Dr.

and Mrs. Heathcote and two children (10th native infantry); Dr. and Mrs. Maltby (civil surgeon); Major and Mrs. Robertson and child (gun-carriage agency); Miss Thompson; Mr. and Mrs. Fisher and child (chaplain); Mrs. Sutherland and three daughters and one boy (merchant); Mr. and Mrs. Jones, and four children (engineer, G.C.A.); Mr. and Mrs. Roach and two children (road overseer); Mr. and Mrs. Ahern (clothing agency); Mr. and Mrs. Gibson and family (road overseer); Sergeant Redma and family (10th native infantry); Quartermaster-sergeant and family (10th native infantry); Mr. Best and family (bridge darogah); Pensioner Bosco and family; Major Munro (10th native infantry); Major Phillot (ditto); Captain Phillimore (ditto); Lieutenant Simpson (ditto); Lieutenant Swettenham (ditto); Lieutenant and Mrs. Fitzgerald and child (ditto); Ensign Henderson (ditto); Ensign Eckford (ditto); Captain Vibart (2nd cavalry); Mr. Jones and child, and Mr. Jones, jun. (planters and merchants); Mr. Donald, sen., and Mr. Donald, jun. (Badaon planters); Mr. Churcher, sen., and Mr. Churcher, jun. (planters and merchants); Miss Sturt; Mr. James (opium department); Drummer Knowles and family (10th native infantry); and two Messrs. Wrixen (band, 10th native infantry.)

One of the individuals named in the above list (Mr. C. S. Jones, it is presumed, of the gun-carriage agency establishment), to whose narrative we are indebted for the preceding facts, thus relates the subsequent incidents of this perilous expedition:—

"We had not proceeded far when it was found that Colonel Goldie's boat was much too large and heavy for us to manage. It was accordingly determined to be abandoned; so all the ladies and children were taken in Colonel Smith's boat. A little delay was thus caused, which the sepoys took advantage of to bring a gun to bear on the boats; the distance, however, was too great; every ball fell short. As soon as the ladies and children were all safely on board, we started and got down as far as Singhee Rampore without accident, although fired upon by the villagers. Here we stopped a few minutes to repair the rudder of Colonel Smith's boat, and one out of two boatmen we had was killed by a matchlock-ball. The rudder repaired, we started again, Colonel Smith's boat taking the lead. We had not gone beyond a few yards when our boat grounded on a soft muddy sand-bank; the other boat passed on; all hands got into the water to push her; but, notwithstanding all our efforts, we could not manage to move her. We had not been in this unhappy position half-an-hour when two boats, apparently empty, were seen coming down the stream. They came within twenty yards of us, when we discovered that they carried sepoys, who opened a heavy fire, killing and wounding several. Mr. Churcher, sen., was shot through the chest; Mr. Fisher, who was just behind me, was wounded in the thigh. Hearing him call out, I had scarcely time to turn round when I felt a smart blow on my right shoulder; a bullet had grazed the skin and taken off a little flesh. Major Robertson was wounded in the face. The boats were now alongside of us. Some of the sepoys had already got into our boat. Major Robertson, seeing no hope, begged the ladies to come into the water rather than to fall into their hands. While the ladies were throwing themselves into the water I jumped into the boat, took up a loaded musket, and, going astern, shot a sepoy. I loaded again, but finding no cap I was obliged to retreat, as the enemy were now coming in in great numbers. Lieutenant and Mrs. Fitzgerald were at this time sitting in a corner of the boat with their child. Lieutenant Fitzgerald had a loaded musket, with the bayonet fixed, in his hand. Mr. Churcher, sen., still lay weltering in his blood. The others had all got out of the boat into the water; Major and Mrs. Robertson, with their child and Miss Thompson, were standing close to each other beside the boat; Lieutenant Simpson and Mr. Churcher, jun., were near them also; I all this time lost sight of Major Phillot, Ensign Eckford, and a few others. I suppose they were killed. Mr and Mrs. Fisher were about twenty yards from the boat; he had his child in his arms apparently lifeless. Mrs. Fisher could not stand against the current; her dress, which acted like a sail, knocked her down, when she was helped up by Mr. Fisher. I now resolved to make an escape, if possible, to the leading boat, which I knew could not have proceeded far, so at once I struck out into the stream. Mr. and Mrs. Fisher continued in a distressing position when I passed them, unable to render any assistance. I saw Mr. Fisher again, alone, floating on his back; but soon lost sight of him,

as it was getting dark. I continued swimming for about an hour or more, when, at some distance, I saw the other boat. On reaching her, I found everything in confusion; Mr. Rohan, the youngest Miss Goldie, a child, and the only manjee who was on board, were killed; Lieutenant Swettenham, Dr. Maltby, and one or two, were severely wounded opposite Singhee Rampore, by heavy fire of grape from two guns, planted on the heights by the sepoys who had followed us. We repaired the rudder, which had been damaged, and continued our voyage with heavy hearts all that night. Early the next morning a voice hailed us from the shore, which we recognised as Mr. Fisher's. He came on board, and informed us that his poor wife and child had been drowned in his arms; his wound was very painful, the ball having passed through the middle of the left thigh. We continued our voyage the whole of that day till we reached a village opposite Koosoomkhore, in the Oude territories. Here the villagers offered us assistance and protection. We at first feared treachery; but soon, convinced that they were friends, accepted their kind offers and put to shore for the night. We were all hungry, and begged the villagers to bring us some food, which they soon did, giving us chupatties and buffalo's milk, which greatly refreshed us. My wound had now become very painful, and my naked back having been exposed to the sun and rain all day, was smarting severely. The boat now, as I supposed, was anchored for the night. I determined to find rest in the village, as I had had none the two previous nights. I asked one of the thackoors if he could accommodate me with a charpoy for the night in his village. He at once took me with him, and gave me plenty to eat and a charpoy. By this time my back had become so very sore that I could find no ease in any position. At night a message came from Colonel Smith, saying the boat was going to leave. I was too weak, however, to pay any attention to it. A second and third came; but I would not go. I had determined to stand my chance, happen what might. The boat left. I heard nothing more of it for several days, till their manjee, who took her down, returned and gave out that Nana Sahib had fired upon them at Bithoor, and all on board were killed. I remained in the village for about a month, and subsequently joined Mr. Probyn, and came down with him to Cawnpore. Major Robertson and Mr. Churcher, jun., are said to be concealed in a village in Oude, near Futteghur."

The ultimate preservation of this gentleman may, under Providence, be attributed to his fortunate disinclination, or inability, to proceed with the rest of the party, whose onward progress merely accelerated the destruction that awaited them.

The following passages from a letter of the 15th of July, corroborate the preceding statement, and at the same time furnish some interesting particulars of subsequent occurrences connected with this portion of the tragic history:—

"After having fought incessantly for nine days and nights, and having killed no end of assailants, they were weary and done-up, and escaped, thirty together, by being let down into the boats, which, strange to say, had been provided by the nawab for them. They had six khitmutgurs only in the fort, and some of them accompanied the party in the boats. My informant says the Thornhills, Lewises, Fishers, Colonel and Mrs. Smith, Colonel Goldie, Major Phillot, poor Ned, the doctor and his wife, and several others, were among the refugees, and the 10th regiment officers, the artillery officers, and Vibart. Colonel Tucker was shot through the head whilst looking through one of the loopholes in the fort, and he and a Mr. Jones, who was also killed, were buried together; another gentleman was killed, but his name had been forgotten. Several of the servants belonging to Thornhill, Ned and others, who belong to this place, have arrived, and last evening I spoke to and examined poor Thornhill's khitmutgur, who was with the party in the boats; he confirmed the above, and says that they all proceeded safely after sticking on sandbanks, &c., to below Bithoor and near Cawnpore, where they made fast their boats, Ned being in the first one. They had few or no dandies, and gave a lot of money to the villagers, who promised to procure them. These brutes, instead of procuring dandies, gave word to the Nana; and his people, with palkies, gharries, &c., came down to the river, and took away all the poor people to the assembly-rooms at Cawnpore. Some of the servants fled, and some remained. The fugitives were kept in this room for two days on bread, salt, and water; and as soon as General

Havelock took the Nana's guns, and the Nana saw he was beaten, he bolted off, and sent into the assembly-rooms some fifty butchers and brutes, who cut-up and murdered every soul. This was, I suppose, on the 17th of July. I told the khitmutgur to come to me this morning; but it is their Bukreed. I fancy he was unable to come; but to-morrow I will take down his deposition *seriatim*, and cross-question others also. Ned is described most completely; and the way in which he managed and fired the guns at Futteghur evidently struck the Khit, for he alluded to it himself. The doctor's wife had a baby, just at starting with the boats or immediately before, and the brutes at Cawnpore took it, placed it on a plank, and pushed it off on the river. Mrs. Lewis had a baby, which her old ayah had charge of, and on no terms whatever would she give her to the savages; and it ended by the sowars killing them both together. If this statement is correct, it would seem that the poor fugitives were within an ace of escaping: their stopping caused their death; and, poor people, could they have held on for another forty-eight hours at Futteghur, the rebels would not have been able to continue firing on them, as they were almost out of ammunition, and collected stones to fire."

A letter from an officer of the Futteghur garrison, who happily survived the perils that environed the gallant band with whom he was associated, gives the following additional details of the occurrences within the fort and, subsequently, on the river.

"During the siege, a ball grazed the head of Colonel Goldie, but did no great harm. Mr. Thornhill, C.S., injured his arm with his pistol; and some of the ladies (among them one of the Misses Goldie and a girl about twelve or fourteen years of age) were wounded. Great mischief was done by the insurgents, who had taken up their position on the roof of a high two-storied house in Hosseinpore, which overlooked the fort, and the besieged had great difficulty in making a covered-way to protect their servants, to enable them to pass to and fro with the meals for the ladies and children, who were collected in a room, or godown, to the lee of the two-storied house. The nawab seems to have done all he could against the English, and holds possession of all their property—houses, carriages, valuables, &c.—with the exception of Mr. Probyn's, which is with Hardeo Buksh. There does not appear to have been any deficiency of substantial food inside the fort, such as meal, flour, tea, rice, &c.; but the great want was milk and light food for the children. The immediate reason for leaving the fort is not known; but it would seem that all hands were embarked about the 10th of July on board three boats, which were kept ready under the fort, and into them the ladies and children were let down one morning, at about two o'clock. In one boat there was nothing but Colonel Goldie's property, and it was abandoned before daybreak. On the other two boats all the fugitives were distributed; but there were only one or two *dandies* (or boatmen) between them. They proceeded down the Ganges with great difficulty, as they started with the first rise of the river, and the channels were invisible. At dawn they reached a village, about two *koss* (four miles) from Futteghur, where money was advanced to the boat-dandies to procure men to help them; but, instead of dandies being brought, information was taken to the nawab's people, and a large multitude came down to the river to seize the boats and their inmates. A good deal of fighting passed; and before the whole of the fugitives could be collected into one boat, Lieutenant Simpson was shot dead; and as he appeared to be personally arranging about the boats, confusion followed, when Mrs. Jones, one of the Miss Goldies, a daughter of a stout elderly gentleman (name not remembered, but stated as Maclean, or some such name), and the girl of twelve or fourteen years of age, were all seized, and taken off by the mob to the nawab. A sepoy, named Kalley Khan, said to belong to the 10th regiment, was in this boat, and used his utmost endeavours to rescue the party, hiding Mrs. Jones and taking care of the child. Eventually, Miss Goldie, the other young lady, and the girl were taken up to the nawab, and on remonstrating about their quarters and food, they were accommodated with a house in one of the nawab's gardens. Mrs. Jones's fate is not known. Colonel Goldie's baggage-boat having been abandoned, and the second boat left behind after Lieutenant Simpson was shot and the remaining inmates had been seized, the fugitives proceeded together in the third boat, which is described to have been a light fast-pulling one, well provisioned, and well supplied with guns, ammunition, and fire-arms.

There were on board also four *syces* (grooms) and two *khitmutgurs* (table-servants), who, together with the gentlemen on board, pulled the boat, under the guidance of a very true and faithful old *manjee* (boatman), an inhabitant of Futteghur. The fugitives were chased and fired at all the way down the river, but managed to escape as far as Bithoor, opposite or near to which town the manjee was unfortunately shot, and their boat grounding in consequence on a chur, was brought up. No sooner was this seen than the boat was surrounded, seized, and taken on to Cawnpore.

"The following names have been given to me as those of some of the fugitives who were on board the boat; the names of others are not known; but they were all taken to the assembly-rooms, the children being conveyed in vehicles, but the rest proceeding on foot. *En route* they do not appear to have been molested or annoyed in any manner, and, from what I can gather, some respectable people interceded at the ghat for some or for all the party, but to no purpose:—Colonel Goldie and one daughter; one daughter taken to the nawab; Colonel and Mrs. Smith (10th regiment), and two children; Major Phillot; a major (name unknown), with wife and child: Mrs. Colonel Tudor Tucker and three children; Mr. and Mrs. R. B. Thornhill, C.S., nurse, ayah, and two children; Mr. and Mrs. Lewis, C.S., and two children; one was held by the ayah, who would not give it up, but went with it to the assembly-rooms, and it is thought they were murdered together; the Rev. Mr. and Mrs. F. Fisher and one child; Mr. Edward M. James, assistant in the opium department, and his oregah-bearer, who would not leave him, and was murdered, it is supposed, with the others; two Mr. Jones's—one killed in the fort; doctor, with wife, and child a few days old (the brutes floated off the child on the Ganges on a plank from the boats between Bithoor and Cawnpore); a stout elderly gentleman (name like Maclean), with two grown-up daughters, one said to have been engaged to Lieutenant Vibart; the collector (Edwards); two Macdonalds: these three were Badaon fugitives, the rest of whom are said to have gone to Agra. Independent of the above, there were sergeants, writers, band-boys, and the officers of the 10th, together with their wives and families.

"The sufferings of the fugitives *en route* from Futteghur to Cawnpore were great. The hands of the gentlemen who were on board and pulled the boats were greatly blistered, and they were worn out with fatigue and incessant hard work inside the fort. Several of their servants had fled from Futteghur, and the poor ladies and children had but little attendance. This, I think, more than anything else disheartened the besieged; for could they have held on but a little longer all would have been right, as the mutineers and insurgents had expended their ammunition, the Ganges had commenced rising, and our troops were on the point of reoccupying Cawnpore; but God's will be done!

"This statement has been prepared from information given by Mr. R. B. Thornhill's khitmutgur, and Mr. Edward M. James's syce; and some friends have compared it with information which has been communicated to them, but no discrepancies of any moment have been discovered."

The subjoined statement is from an officer on the staff of Brigadier-general Neill, at Cawnpore, who says, under date of August 1st—"I believe I am at present the only one in the whole army who knows the fate of each individual of the unfortunate Futteghur community—I mean the officers and civilians. I give a list to you, as it may be useful. The nawab of Futteghur has taken up arms against us. To begin with the 10th native infantry:—Colonel and Mr. Smith both reached this station in a boat just in time to form part of the awful massacre in that detestable house on the 15th of July. I had better premise that three country boatloads of people left Futteghur at midnight of the 10th or 11th, or 12th of July, and that two of those boats were blown into the shore by a head-wind on the next morning, and the third being well out in the stream, managed to escape showers of round shot, &c., and came on to near Bithoor, where they fell into the hands of the Nana's son, and the Europeans were all sent in here immediately. The wretches who attacked and killed the Futteghur people were the sepoys of the 41st native infantry and irregular cavalry, with artillery on one bank, and villagers with matchlocks on the other. Major Munro was killed by a round shot near Bithoor; Major Phillot was drowned at Singhee Rampore (the place where the two boats were driven on to the bank); Captain

Bignell went off with some sepoys of his regiment, who promised to protect him; and his fate is unknown. There is a zemindar who lives about five or six koss from Futteghur, and has been faithful to government and friendly to Europeans through this business. Some few Europeans are, I believe, still under his protection; Captain Phillimore got a shot in the leg in the little fort at Futteghur, and was shot dead at Konahere Bithoor; Lieutenant Fitzgerald leaped into the river with his wife and child at Singhee Rampore, and were (three) drowned. Lieutenant Swettenham was killed at Singhee Rampore; —— Henderson was brought into Cawnpore, and killed there on the 15th; the doctor of the 10th (I don't know his name) was killed, along with his wife and child, at Cawnpore, on the 15th; the station doctor (I suppose poor Maltby; but my informant, an eye-witness, did not know his name), with his wife and family, shared the same fate as the doctor of the 10th; Colonel Tucker (9th light cavalry), the clothing agent, was shot dead in the fort at Futteghur; Mrs. Tucker and three children, and Colonel Tucker's sister, were all massacred here on the 15th; Captain Watson (the gun-carriage agent) and his wife and one daughter, and Mrs. Watson's sister, all jumped into the river at Singhee Rampore. The chaplain (I don't know his name) was murdered here on the 15th; his wife and child jumped into the river at Singhee Rampore, and were drowned: he jumped in also, and swam three or four koss, until he overtook Colonel Smith's boat, which had gone on, but was then sticking on a sand-bank; the orphan-school missionary, supposed to have been killed at Mehndee Ghât, about seven koss below Futteghur, where a Mr. Maclean, who was also killed (an indigo factor), lived; the collector, his wife, and two daughters (their names I don't know—something like Lewis), all killed here on the 15th; Colonel Goldie and one daughter killed here on the 15th; the other daughter had her head shot clean off by a round shot at Singhee Rampore. The sessions judge (my informant knew him by no other name), his wife, two grown-up daughters, one child, and one European servant, were all murdered here on the 15th."

The above memoranda anticipate, by a short period, the final act of atrocity perpetrated at Cawnpore by Nana Sahib, and of which the brutal massacre of helpless women and children formed the climax. To that frightful page in the history of Hindoo vengeance we must presently refer: meantime it is necessary to trace the progress of events in connection with Cawnpore, and its ultimate relief from the date of the occurrences of the 27th of June, as recorded in the closing pages of our last chapter.

CHAPTER XX.

REINFORCEMENTS FROM ALLAHABAD UNDER MAJOR RENAUD; THE STEAMER "BERHAMPOOTA;" ADVANCE OF GENERAL HAVELOCK; JUNCTION OF THE FORCES; BATTLE OF FUTTEHPORE; OFFICIAL DESPATCH; THE CAMP AT KULLEANPORE; MISCONDUCT OF THE OUDE IRREGULAR HORSE; BATTLE OF PANDOO NUDDEE; GENERAL HAVELOCK'S DESPATCHES; ACTIONS OF THE 16TH OF JULY; DEFEAT OF THE REBELS BEFORE CAWNPORE; THE BIVOUAC; ENTRY INTO CAWNPORE; ANTICIPATIONS OF THE VICTORIOUS TROOPS; THE SUBADA KOTHEE; VESTIGES OF THE SLAIN; THE HOUSE; THE WELL; INSCRIPTIONS; MEMORANDA OF THE VICTIMS; MAHRATTA ROLL OF THE PERSONS MASSACRED; PRIVATE LETTERS; MR. SHEPHERD'S STATEMENT, AND LETTER; DESPATCHES OF GENERAL HAVELOCK; ARRIVAL OF GENERAL NEILL; RETRIBUTIVE JUSTICE.

DURING the progress of the frightful drama of which the last and crowning act at Cawnpore is about to be developed, the authorities at Allahabad were painfully alive to the dangers that appeared to menace that station, although, from the interruption of all communication, they were not aware of its extent and terrible reality. On the 1st of July, a column of troops, consisting of 400 Europeans, 300 Sikhs, and 120 irregular cavalry, with two guns, under the command of Major Renaud, was dispatched from Allahabad, for the relief of Sir Hugh Wheeler; and, on the same day, Brigadier-general Havelock informed the commander-in-chief that a supporting

column, of the strength of two full British regiments, with six guns, and some volunteer cavalry, would follow in six or eight days. On the 2nd, the brigadier reported to the commander-in-chief, that intelligence of the fall of Cawnpore had been received from Sir H. Lawrence, but was not believed by the authorities at Allahabad; that a steamer, with a hundred Europeans, armed with Minié rifles, and two 6-pounders, would be dispatched on the following morning to relieve Wheeler, or co-operate with the column under Major Renaud; and that General Havelock himself would march on the 4th to assist Major Renaud, with 1,000 Europeans and three guns. Havelock's movement did not, however, take place until the 7th. In the afternoon of the 3rd, a telegram to the governor-general and commander-in-chief, imparted the following intelligence from Allahabad:—

"The steamer started this morning with provisions for Sir H. Wheeler, and a hundred fusiliers, with two guns on board, to proceed with all dispatch towards Cawnpore; and if it still be ours, to communicate with Sir Hugh; and if it has fallen, to keep out of range of their guns, after moving as near as possible to Cawnpore, and there await General Havelock's orders, or drop in the river at once, abreast of his force, and advance with it. I do not credit the report by the Cossid yesterday, that Cawnpore had fallen. I feel confident Wheeler still holds out. General Havelock has halted Renaud's force. It is strong enough for anything that could be brought against it; and, if the report is true, should move on steadily to Futtehpore, to be there overtaken by the general. The steamer, besides the great effect it will produce upon the Ganges, will co-operate with the advance by land."

So far, then, operations had actually commenced for the relief of Cawnpore. Unhappily they had been retarded, perhaps unavoidably so, until the object sought to be accomplished—namely, the relief of the European inhabitants—was no longer possible. Tracing the progress of the troops now dispatched on their way to the "city of blood," it will be necessary, in the first place, to refer to some extracts from a letter of Captain Spurgin, the officer in charge of the troops on board the *Berhampoota* steam-vessel, descriptive of incidents connected with his passage up the river; although in part anticipatory of events hereafter detailed. He says—"I was dispatched with 100 of my men, two guns, and twelve artillerymen (the 1st fusiliers), in the steamer, which was placed at my command and under my orders, to proceed to Cawnpore, and assist a land column of 400 more of my regiment in relieving the garrison, which had been surrounded for many weeks by a force of 2,000 rebel sepoys, who were well supplied with ammunition of all kinds, as they had made themselves masters of our magazines, arsenals, &c. A steamer had not been up this way for many years, and the trial then was a failure; so, as the country was in the rebels' hands on both banks of the river, you may imagine I did not start with a light heart, especially as everybody said I could not do it; however, I did not urge a single objection; and I thank God I have arrived here in safety, without the loss of a single man or follower, though I have many a hole in the steamer, to show what round shot will do to an iron steamer. We had no coals,. and had to forage for fuel every day; and as we commenced the second day to collect it, under fire of about 500 matchlockmen, in the Oude country, with a big gun, my prospect of getting to Cawnpore looked bad; however, I set the followers to work for the wood, took half my men with rifles to thrash the enemy, which we did in half-an-hour, besides charging them and taking their gun; and in less than two hours we were under steam; but the Ganges is such a rapid river, that we could scarcely move against the stream: never got more than two miles an hour; and now and then had, when going round a corner, to leave some of the boats we were towing, with our provisions, wood, &c., and get them round one at a time. Our second attack we escaped without hurt, only two round shot lodged in some safe part of the vessel; besides, we were at some distance from the fellow, who was pitching into us from a high bank; but with our Enfield rifles we managed to kill one and wound five—so he told us afterwards; for I had a little correspondence with him after that. About the third day, I had information sent me that the Cawnpore garrison had fallen by treachery; the scoundrels promised them a safe passage to Allahabad by the river if they would give in; but no sooner did they get hold of the garrison than they

massacred all the men. Upon this news, I was ordered to keep with General Havelock's column, which had been sent on to strengthen our first party, adding some 1,200 men to the force; and we went our daily distance together—they by land, I by water; but as I was waiting for General Havelock's force to reach me (we were from five to eight miles from each other every day), and as we were taking it easy, late one afternoon, whack came a round shot across our deck, breaking the spoke of a gun-wheel, and taking off a man's pouch; then another through the vessel's iron side. We soon returned the compliment from our guns and rifles at about 900 yards' distance; but their guns were so completely hidden by long grass, that we could only fire at their smoke. It took us an hour to get up steam and move over to them; but we saved several men's lives by piling up the bedding and the vallises round the deck. The shot then went into the bedding, cutting up the contents; but were effectually stopped at that distance. By the time we got across the river, some 300 matchlock-men were ready on a high bank, their guns in a marsh in front of them, but not to be seen; so, as it was getting dark, I thought discretion was the best, and moved off for the night out of range. The next morning the fellows were all gone. I waited here for two days, and was told that two guns were waiting for me a little higher up. I got up steam, and was going off, when a letter was sent me from a powerful zemindar, an Oude man, the owner of the two guns, saying, that he had heard I had a steamer full of Europeans, and was about to attack him, but that he begged I would not do so, as he was a faithful servant of government, &c. I believe it was the same scoundrel that fired upon me; but he had heard, also, that our land column had that morning had their first brush with the rebels, and taken eleven guns, so he thought it best to knock under at once. I passed his town about two hours afterwards; he had two guns in position, a lot of horsemen, and a cloud of matchlockmen; but my object was to get to Cawnpore, and cross our troops over to the Lucknow side in the steamer; so I left my friend in peace. He had a beautiful place, and a large house or castle-looking place, which, from its position, height, &c., put us all in mind of Windsor Castle. At my next difficult place to pass, the owner also sent me a letter of submission; so I completed my voyage in peace yesterday at noon.

"The Oude bank of the river is most beautiful all the way, and has a parklike appearance—large trees, and green lawns covered with cattle, and ploughs going. No wonder a governor-general coveted the country. If he had disarmed it we should have had less work to do now; but it must be done; for it is a country of robbers, who will loot anybody and anything. The land column was met by the rebels twice before it entered Cawnpore. It took, in all, twenty-six guns, and has now driven the scoundrels some miles out of the station. It is, as I am writing, still in pursuit; but we have no cavalry, so I fear they will yet escape punishment. Our hands are tied till we get more troops, especially cavalry; and I fear we cannot move on to Lucknow for many days to come; for a large force must be left here, and I don't suppose our present movable column exceeds 1,500 men of all arms. More are on their way from Calcutta; and by this time, I trust, a goodly force has set sail from England. We must have a force now of 20,000 sent, and added to this present European Indian force, which has been reduced to such an extent that the present outbreak has arisen. For years these Mohammedans have been biding their time, and trying to get the Hindoos to help them; and they have succeeded for a time. One old subahdar, the other day, who was not quite so bad as his neighbours, and who had got some of his officers to escape, put a bag of money (£90) in one of their hands, and said—'You English must now go; we have now got the Hindoos on our side; we are too strong; and our arrangements are so complete, nothing can resist us; besides, you have made a great mistake; you think the king of Oude is at the head of this; but it is the king of Delhi who is to be king of India. As soon as you have gone, I then take all the troops here to Delhi.' This occurred near Benares; but after the officers were in boats, the brutes of sepoys went after them, and shot them and took the money; but it is more than I can write to tell you of all the frightful scenes that have occurred and are still taking place. No one would believe that men who have lived a civilised life under our rule for so many years, could have committed these atrocities, and really without reason, except that they have been

treated too kindly. The cause of the outbreak, and of so many being among the rebels is, that the heads of the mutiny have worked upon the sepoys' minds, that it was the intention of the English to make Christians of the whole of the army and people of India; and they had worked them up to such a pitch, that the greased cartridges coming just at the time, and those little cakes being cleverly and artfully distributed by the post-office authorities to nearly every village in India, settled the business. Natives—especially those high-caste north-country fellows—would lose anything rather than their caste; so they have given up pay, pension, life, and everything, where they thought it was in danger, and made a vow that every Christian in the country should be murdered; and not only the white people, but all half-caste and other Christians have been destroyed wherever they could be met with.

"All along this river, the indigo-planters and railway officials have been killed, and their houses burnt and property destroyed. Every cantonment looks as if some dreadful earthquake had shaken and destroyed it; for the very walls of the houses have been knocked down. It was a work soon accomplished; for the sepoys having sacked the treasury and murdered their officers and their families, the bad characters of the city (which is always near a cantonment) soon completed the work of destruction. All civil government is for the present at an end, and the whole country a blaze of fire; for one village turns out to loot and burn its smaller neighbour, to be itself served in the same way before the night is out. Next year there will be a famine, for all are now afraid to work, and this is the seed-sowing time; so the sufferings of the population of India will be dreadful. Every sepoy that is caught is immediately hanged."

Resuming the details connected with the land operations of the relieving force, it appeared that, on the afternoon of the 7th of July, General Havelock, with the main body, consisting of 600 of the 78th highlanders, 500 of the 64th, and 600 of the 1st Madras fusiliers, with six guns, marched from Allahabad, with the intention to overtake the column of Major Renaud. The rains had already set in, and an incessant fall during the two preceding days had thoroughly penetrated the tents, and soaked the baggage and clothing of the troops. On the morning of the 7th the weather had cleared up a little, and the order to march was issued; but as the column began to move, the rain again poured down, and a gloomy foreboding of the end of a march so inauspiciously commenced, seemed to oppress every one. For the first two miles the route of the drenched troops lay through the streets of the city, which were lined by the inhabitants, who swarmed on the house-tops in crowds to behold this stern and angry demonstration of their offended rulers. Of the Hindoo spectators, many affected an indifference that ill comported with their idolatrous veneration for their country and its institutions; but wherever the Mohammedan inhabitants were congregated, the intense hatred that raged within them, and the scorn with which they contemplated the power that was destined to avenge the crimes of their co-religionists, were shown by scowling brows and audibly muttered imprecations. The first night of the march so unpropitiously commenced, the encampment was pitched in a snipe swamp; and as the tents and provisions did not come up until long after dark, the condition of the men, who were both wet and hungry, was wretched in the extreme.

After proceeding by regular marches for the first three days, Brigadier Havelock received intelligence that induced him to accelerate the movement of his force, that he might as quickly as possible effect a junction with the advanced column of Major Renaud. The troops were accordingly pressed forward by the Great Trunk-road, which, at many places, exhibited proofs that an avenger had preceded them in their destined work; the carcasses of mutineers and plunderers being suspended in groups upon the trees near the roadside. An officer, who writes on the fourth day's march from Allahabad, says—"Vestiges of the mischief done by the sepoys meet the eye in every direction: bullock-train carts destroyed and scattered on the road; the electric telegraph wire, from within nineteen miles of Allahabad, taken off the posts and thrown about the fields; the latter being cut down and removed. The wire furnishes these rascals with offensive materials. They cut it up, and use it as slugs against us. In our march this morning, we saw four of the rebels that were hanged. We also heard several reports, which appeared to proceed from big guns at no great distance in our neighbourhood, and thought that the bri-

gade that had preceded us had fallen in with the enemy and were engaged. Our slow matches were lighted, and we were prepared for an engagement too. Most of the villages in the vicinity of the main road are burnt and destroyed."

During the intervals that occurred between the torrents of rain, the sun's rays were so intensely overpowering, that numbers of the men were smitten down, and died; but the native energy of the troops, and the natural desire felt by all to relieve or avenge their fellow-countrymen at Cawnpore, enabled them to endure as well the fierce and shadowless beams of an Indian sun, as the perilous, but far less dreaded onslaught of Indian rebels.

While the main body was thus advancing towards Cawnpore, a strong party of irregular horse scoured the villages on the right bank of the Ganges, which were for the greater part already deserted by the zemindars. The progress of the column under Major Renaud met with no serious resistance; every obstacle that appeared in his path being promptly thrust aside or trampled down; and thus he cleared the country as he advanced, occasionally falling in with and capturing straggling bodies of the insurgent sepoys and Goojurs, who were chiefly occupied in plundering such villagers and others as were less mischievously disposed than themselves. To these depredators little time for "shrift" was allowed; and a stout cord or a bullet inevitably terminated their career. The process was abrupt, and might be deemed cruel, but for the too painfully acquired knowledge, that mercy to the race then in arms against the whole European community throughout a vast extent of British India, would simply have been to abet a system of indescribable ruffianism, and to encourage the most revolting outrages upon humanity.

On the 9th of July, Colonel Neill, commanding at Allahabad, reported to the governor-general in council thus:—"Nothing from the general's camp; but from Renaud's, on the 8th. All well—were moving on that afternoon four and a-half miles, and will continue to Futtehpore. Keeping up the river communication is of great consequence. Please impress this on the general. The *Berhampoota*, 30-horse power, has not power enough. A light, powerful steamer (60-horse), armed with partly European crew, would be invaluable for the Ganges, overawing the people, taking stores, &c., as far as Cawnpore. Can't one or two be procured?"—This question was replied to, on the 12th, by a telegram from the governor-general, announcing that a steamer of 60-horse power, drawing four and a-half feet, mounting four 12-pounder howitzers, or 9-pounder guns, "if possible," manned by forty seamen, and towing two pinnaces, each having a gun of its own, would start for Allahabad in three days. The telegram then announced to Colonel Neill as follows:—"You are appointed brigadier-general, and will thereby stand next to General Havelock; Sir Henry Lawrence is made major-general, and will take chief command as soon as he is set free to do so."

The advanced position of Major Renaud's column had become dangerous, in consequence of the daily increasing strength of the enemy, from whom he was now but a few miles distant. Thus necessity for even increased speed to effect a junction was obvious; and accordingly, on the 10th, the column under Brigadier Havelock marched fifteen miles without halting, to a village named Synee. Here they rested for a short interval, resuming their route an hour before midnight; and, after a few miles, the whole force came up with the advanced division of Major Renaud. The troops having joined, marched without halting to a place called Khaga, about five miles from Futtehpore, which they reached soon after dawn, and took up a position, resting on their arms, until a party of volunteer horse, under the command of Major Tytler, which had been sent about two miles in advance to reconnoitre, should return with their report. The opportunity for a meal was eagerly seized by the tired and hungry men, and the usual preparations for breakfast under such circumstances were speedily in operation on all sides. One of the officers attached to General Havelock's column, referring to this halt, says—"The main body of the force had marched twenty-four miles that morning, and the general hope was for breakfast rather than a fight. Men and officers had lighted their pipes, and a cluster of us were assisting at the manufacture of a brew of tea, when one, who had been employing himself with his field-glass, drew the attention of his neighbours to our small party of volunteer horse, who were returning before their time."

The necessity for this premature return of the reconnoitring party, is thus explained by one of the volunteers engaged in it:—"At 6 A.M. on the 11th, we found ourselves

close to Futtehpore, where there was known to be an intrenched camp in the enemy's possession. We, mustering twenty in all, a few of the irregulars, and a company of fusiliers, were pushed forward, and approached towards the place. Tytler, our quartermaster-general, went close up, and was taking a good survey of the place, when the whole force rushed out on him; he galloped back to us, and we stood still there till the guns opened on us with round shot, and their cavalry skirmished on our flanks. The irregulars tried to bolt, but were stopped by the Madras fusiliers. We then retired slowly on our camp, the enemy following."

As the reconnoitring party neared the camp, a large body of the enemy's cavalry emerged from a tope on the further edge of the plain, in rapid pursuit. Instantly the bugle sounded—the meal was abandoned, the ranks fell in, and the bayonets of our warriors glittered aloft with a brightness that was soon to be dimmed by the blood of the rebellious host before them.

At this moment the sun blazed forth with an intensity of heat scarcely endurable. The general, commiserating the fatigued condition of his men, would fain have been spared the imperative necessity for calling them to renewed exertion before their strength and energies were properly recruited: the audacity of the enemy left him, however, no alternative but immediate action. A large body of the rebel infantry, with some guns, had followed the horsemen from Futtehpore, and having got their field-pieces in position, opened fire at long range, as if daring our troops to the attack. The challenge was understood as an invitation, and it was promptly and cheerfully accepted.

As the troops formed for the advance, General Havelock rode down the column of the 78th regiment, which had served with him in the Persian war; and, addressing the men, said—"Highlanders! when we were going to Mohamrah, I promised you a field-day. I could not give it you then, as the Persians ran away; but, highlanders, we will have it to-day, and let yonder fellows see what you are made of."—The British cheer that followed this brief address, unmistakably expressed the gratification imparted to every man by the promise of their general.

And now the troops got the word to advance! Guns and skirmishers were ordered to the front; the artillery pushed on in line with the Enfield rifles, and soon came into close action with the guns of the enemy, of which three were taken after a brief interchange of shots that established the superiority of the English fire by its precision and rapidity. From these guns the enemy made a hasty retreat, and fell back upon a second battery formed on the road in their rear, where they again attempted to make a stand. Meantime the skirmishers on both sides were warmly engaged, and the enemy's cavalry were moving round, trying to outflank the line; so that the advance of our guns was retarded by having to halt and open fire to the right and left, in order to check the horsemen and drive them from our flanks. The movement of the artillery was a work of exceeding labour; for the ground to be traversed consisted almost entirely of irrigated fields, in their softest and muddiest state, so that the wheels sank almost to the axles at every turn; and it was all the tired bullocks could do, though assisted by the hearty efforts of the gunners at the wheels, to get the pieces along. At length, however, every difficulty was surmounted, and our artillery again came into action with the enemy's guns and infantry directly in front. Of the latter, a large body was discovered in the rear of the battery; and conspicuously amongst them was an elephant richly caparisoned, bearing some personage of note, who evidently was in command of the whole rebel force, as the movements of each division appeared to be directed from that quarter. The advantage of an elevated position was not, however, long possessed by the individual, whoever he was, as a well aimed shot from one of our batteries, commanded by Captain Maude of the artillery, passed right through the elephant, and brought the animal and its rider to the ground. This untoward interruption to the duties of the commanding officer of the rebel force, seemed to be a signal for another retrograde movement on the part of the enemy, who again abandoned their guns, and sought safety in a rapid flight. Our already tired men pursued as quickly as possible, and a running fight was kept up until the town of Futtehpore* came in

* This is a town of some magnitude, about 48 miles from Cawnpore, and 75 W.N.W. of Allahabad. It is large and well built, and there are several large but decayed edifices in its vicinity. It does not appear to have any peculiar claim to be distinguished from other towns of secondary importance in the province of Bengal, either as regards its architecture or its cleanliness.



sight. Here, for a brief space, the routed enemy attempted to make a stand amongst and behind the gardens and houses of the inhabitants, but they were speedily dislodged and driven out by our men, whose blood was up, and their desire for a justifiable vengeance yet unsatisfied.

At the entrance of the main street at Futtehpore, the road was blocked up by a barricade of carts and baggage waggons. It was so close and firm, and placed in such an advantageous position, that it was supposed to be a defence thrown up by the foe, and that here they meant to make a firm stand; but by the time the artillery had thrown in a few shrapnels, and the skirmishers had worked round to the flanks, it was discovered that the supposed barricade was nothing more than an immense cluster of the enemy's baggage, which had got jammed up into such a mass of confusion between the houses on either side of the street, that they were obliged to abandon it. In the midst of the ruck were two new 6-pounders, with limbers and ammunition complete, besides large stores of gun and musket ammunition; and a little beyond all this two tumbrils of treasure were found, one of which fell into the hands of the Sikhs, and was no more seen.

This was a grand chance for "loot," and all hands, Europeans and natives, were soon at work investigating the contents of the baggage waggons. Ladies' dresses, worsted work, and other memorials of our unhappy lost countrywomen, constantly came to light amongst the spoils, and made the men yet more determined to punish the ruthless destroyers of English women and children.

It took some little time before the mass of baggage could be sufficiently cleared off to either side for the artillery to get through. At length this was accomplished, and the guns, rapidly passing on, fired their last shot at the enemy's infantry, which was now in full flight about a mile on the other side of the town. During the action the rebel cavalry had been incessantly hanging on our flanks, trying to get round to the rear and cut into the baggage train; but, being everywhere met and repulsed, they at length drew off towards the right of the city, where the 1st fusiliers, accompanied by the irregulars, had a most fatiguing trudge after them through the swamps. At one time they got so close to a troop that the irregulars were ordered to charge. The horsemen went forward, then turned, and came back at a gallop, with the enemy's cavalry hard after them, leaving their native commandant—the only man amongst them who was known to be really true to the English—dead on the ground. It was now evident the irregulars would not act against their mutinous comrades.

The time was barely past mid-day, and the sun, for the last three hours, had been glowing with frightful intensity. Many had been struck down by *coup-de-soleil* during the heat of the action; and now that the excitement of the fight had passed away, the whole force was utterly exhausted with heat and fatigue: men and officers indiscriminately threw themselves down wherever a possibility of shade was to be found, and went off into a deep sleep. About 3 P.M. the tents and baggage came up. Not many tents were pitched that day; but many a weary soldier was thankful for the considerate forethought of the commissariat officer, who had sent on camels laden with biscuit and rum, so that each man had a biscuit and a dram served out to him at once.

The activity displayed by the enemy's cavalry in the preceding action was remarkable: they moved round our force, menacing us at different points with astonishing rapidity; and their manœuvring in the field was described as perfect. These men, it may be observed, were but a short time previous, our own troopers, and were now mounted on our own regular cavalry horses; but mostly armed and equipped after their own fashion instead of ours. They had been trained by us in the discipline and art of war; and in using their knowledge against their former teachers, they proved the value of the instructions imparted to them.

The following is Brigadier-general Havelock's official report of the battle of Futtehpore, addressed to the deputy adjutant-general of the army, and dated, "Camp, Futtehpore, July 12th, 1857:"—

"Sir, — By telegrams and reports in various shapes, the commander-in-chief has been kept informed of the operations of Major Renaud, 1st Madras fusiliers, on the Grand Trunk-road, between the 1st and 11th instant, at the head of a force of 400 British and 420 native troops, with two pieces of cannon. He has everywhere pacificated the country, by punishing the ringleaders in mutiny and rebellion wherever they have fallen into his hands; and earned,

as I venture to think, the best thanks of his excellency. But on the 10th instant his position became critical.

"Cawnpore had suddenly fallen by an act of treachery unequalled in our annals, save by one fatal event beyond the Indus; and the rebel force, thus freed from occupation, had rapidly pushed down a force to the vicinity of this place, within five miles of which the major would arrive on the morning of the 12th. He would thus be exposed to the attack of 3,500 rebels with twelve guns.

"No time was to be lost; so, on the 10th, my column marched, under a frightful sun, fifteen miles to Synee; and resuming their course at eleven o'clock at night, joined Major Renaud on the road, by moonlight, and with him marched to Khaga, five miles from Futtehpore, soon after dawn, and took up a position. The heat was excessive; but there were now on a point 1,400 British bayonets and eight guns, united to a small native force. The whole is detailed in the margin.*

"Our information had been better than that of the enemy; for when Lieutenant-colonel Tytler pushed a *reconnaissance* up to the town, they evidently supposed they had only Major Renaud's gallant but small force in their front; for after firing on the lieutenant-colonel and his escort, they insolently pushed forward two guns and a force of infantry and cavalry, cannonaded our front, and threatened our flanks. I wished earnestly to give our harassed soldiers rest, and so waited until the ebullition should expend itself, making no counter-disposition beyond posting 100 Enfield riflemen (64th) in an advanced copse. But the enemy maintained his attack with the audacity which his first supposition had inspired, and my inertness fostered. It would have injured the morals of my troops to permit them thus to be bearded, so I determined at once to bring on an action.

"Futtehpore constitutes a position of no small strength. The hard, dry, Grand Trunk-road subdivides it, and is the only means of convenient access, for the plains on both sides are covered at this season by heavy lodgments of water, to the depth of two, three, and four feet. It is surrounded by garden inclosures of great strength, with high walls, and has within it many houses of good masonry. In front of the swamps are hillocks, villages, and mango groves, which the enemy already occupied in force. I estimate his number as set forth in the margin.† I made my dispositions. The guns, now eight in number, were formed on and close to the *chaussée*, in the centre, under Captain Maude (royal artillery), protected and aided by 100 Enfield riflemen of the 64th. The detachments of infantry were, at the same moment, thrown into line of quarter-distance columns, at deploying distance, and thus advanced in support, covered at discretion by Enfield skirmishers. The small force of volunteers and irregular cavalry moved forward on the flanks, on harder ground. I might say, that in ten minutes the action was decided, for in that short space of time the spirit of the enemy was utterly subdued: the rifle fire, reaching them at an unexpected distance, filled them with dismay; and when Captain Maude was enabled to push his guns through flanking swamps to point-blank range, his surprisingly accurate fire demolished their little remaining confidence. In a moment three guns were abandoned to us on the *chaussée*, and the force advanced steadily, driving the enemy before it on every point.

"Major Renaud won a hillock on the right in good style, and struggled on through the inundation. The 78th, in extension, kept up his communication with the centre; the 64th gave strength to the centre and left; on the left, the 84th and regiment of Ferozepore pressed back the enemy's right. As we moved forward, the enemy's guns continued to fall into our hands; and then, in succession, they were driven by skirmishers and columns from the garden inclosures, from a strong barricade on the road, from the town wall, into and through, out of and beyond, the town. They endeavoured to make a stand a mile in advance of it. My troops were in such a state of exhaustion, that I almost despaired of driving them further. At the same time, the mutineers of the 2nd light cavalry made

* British—3rd company, 8th battalion royal artillery, 76; 1st Madras fusiliers, 376; her majesty's 64th regiment, 435; 78th highlanders, 284; 84th regiment, 190; detachment Bengal artillery, 22; volunteer cavalry, 20: total British, 1,403. Native—Regiment of Ferozepore, 448; 13th irregular, and 3rd Oude irregular cavalry, 95; golundauze, 18: total native, 561. Grand total, 1,964.

† Mutineers—2nd, 3rd, and 7th light cavalry and irregulars, 500; native infantry and artillery, 1,500; armed insurgents 1,500: total, 3,500. Iron and brass guns, 12.

an effort to renew the combat by charging, with some success, our irregular horse, whose disposition throughout the fight was, I regret to say, worse than doubtful. But again our guns and riflemen were, with great labour, pushed to the front. Their fire soon put the enemy to final and irretrievable flight, and my force took up its present position in triumph, and parked twelve captured guns.

"I must endeavour, in this hasty despatch, to do justice to those who led the troops to this easy victory.

"First on the list I must place Major Renaud, whose exertions at the head of the advanced column I cannot sufficiently praise. His coolness and conduct in the action are equally entitled to my highest commendation. I hope that it will be in the power of his excellency the commander-in-chief, to bring speedily to the notice of his royal highness the general commanding-in-chief, the courage and skill of Captain Maude, royal artillery. I have seen some artillery fights in my time, but never beheld guns better served, or practice more effective than that of my battery under this officer.

"Colonel Hamilton led his highlanders well, and they followed him full of spirit and devotion. I have every reason to be satisfied with the conduct in this combat of Major Stirling, at the head of the 64th; of Lieutenant Ayrton, in command of the 84th detachment; of Captain Brasyer, regiment of Ferozepore; of Captain Barrow, leading the volunteer cavalry; and Lieutenant Palliser, at the head of the irregular horse.

"I have next to speak of the staff. Captain Beatson, deputy assistant-adjutant-general, has given me entire satisfaction in the performance of his ordinary duties, and I was much gratified by his boldness and activity in the fight. Lieutenant-colonel Tytler is indefatigable, and most intelligent in a sphere of duty entirely new to him. Captain M'Bean's commissariat arrangements, chiefly with the advanced column, have hitherto been every way successful.

"My orders were conveyed in the field boldly, actively, and intelligently, by my aide-de-camp, Lieutenant Havelock, 10th foot, and the following officers:—Lieutenant Moreland, 1st fusiliers; Lieutenant Moorsom, her majesty's 52nd light infantry; Captain Sheehy, her majesty's 81st regiment; Captain Russell, engineers; and Captain M'Bean.

"I inclose the list of casualties; the lightest, I suppose, that ever accompanied the announcement of such a success. Twelve British soldiers were struck down by the sun, and never rose again. But our fight was fought neither with musket nor bayonet and sabre, but with Enfield rifles and cannon; so we took no men. The enemy's fire scarcely reached us; ours, for four hours, allowed him no repose.

"A return of captured ordnance also accompanies this report.—I have, &c.,

"H. HAVELOCK."

This was the first struggle decided at Futtehpore, on Sunday, the 12th of July. On the following morning the general recognised the gallant services of the troops under his command in the subjoined address:—

"*Morning Order.*—July 13th, 1857.—Brigadier-general Havelock, C.B., thanks his soldiers for their arduous exertions yesterday, which produced, in four hours, the strange result of a whole army driven from a strong position, eleven guns captured, and their whole force scattered to the winds, *without the loss of a single British soldier!* To what is this astonishing effect to be attributed? To the fire of the British artillery, exceeding in rapidity and precision all that the brigadier-general has ever witnessed in his not short career; to the power of the Enfield rifle in British hands; to British pluck—that good quality which has survived the revolution of the hour; and to the blessing of Almighty God in a most righteous cause—the cause of justice, humanity, truth, and good government in India."

The same day, Brigadier-general Havelock telegraphed to the governor-general as follows:—

"I have to acquaint your lordship that I have this morning attacked and totally defeated the insurgents, capturing eleven guns, and scattering their forces in utter confusion in the direction of Cawnpore. By two harassing marches I joined Major Renaud's advanced column three hours before daylight, and encamped about eight o'clock, four miles from Futtehpore, where, pitching our tents, the enemy advanced out of Futtehpore, and opened fire upon a *reconnaissance* under Colonel Tytler. I had a wish to defer the fight until to-morrow; but, thus assailed, was compelled to accept the challenge. I marched with eight guns in the centre under Captain Maude, R.A., forming the whole of the infantry in quarter-dis-

tance column, in support. Captain Maude's fire electrified the enemy, who abandoned gun after gun, and were then driven by our skirmishers and column through garden, inclosures, and the streets of Futtehpore, in complete confusion. My loss is merely nominal; not a single European touched. My column had marched twenty-four miles up to the ground I write from; Major Renaud's nineteen miles. The conduct of the troops in sustaining the fatigue of so long a march, and enduring the heat of a frightful sun, is beyond praise. The enemy's strength is said to have been two regiments of cavalry and three of infantry, and eleven guns."

The subjoined details are extracted from a letter of an officer who shared in the toils and triumph of the 12th of July; in the afternoon of which day he wrote thus:—

"We are just come from battle; have gained a complete victory, taken eleven guns (all they had), and all their baggage. It is an utter rout: and now I'll tell you all about it. We started at twelve at night, and came on, eighteen miles, to Belindah, joining Renaud's force on the road. We got in about half-past six, and the orders were to remain in order till we should ascertain the news from a reconnoitring party sent two miles on. Well, I for one thought it 'bosh,' and we generally had the idea that the enemy would never come near us. So I strolled over as usual to the fusiliers, under a tree, to get tea and a pipe. A little while after, one said, 'Here's our party returning: why, they haven't been two miles!' I casually took out my glass to look, and then, by Jove! beheld a large body of cavalry coming down, about 1,500 yards off. The alarm sounded, the men were in their places instantly, and the order was for artillery to move on and open. So we did. I'm bound to say that the first practice was not very good, but it emptied some saddles, and made them keep at a respectful distance. Then they spread, trying to outflank us, but the skirmishers and the Enfields went out and soon stopped that manœuvre. Meanwhile the artillery were pushing on to the front to engage at closer quarters—they in centre, infantry on either flank. And now their guns opened on us, and the round shot came hopping into the battery; but we deuced soon settled the first three guns and took them; and so we went on and on, blazing into them, following up for several miles into Futtehpore. I was astonished at the way the bullocks worked. Most of our advance was through rice-swamps, and just off an eighteen mile march too; it was wonderful. As we went on, we found gun after gun abandoned. At the entrance of Futtehpore, where if they had chosen to stand, the ground was such that we must have had an awful fight, there was a barricade of hackeries across the road, and we thought we were in for it; but this turned out to be their baggage mixed up in one jam, and a couple of six-pounders in complete order (never been fired), caught in the midst. There was lots of plunder here, and amongst it many evidences, alas! of the sack of Cawnpore—ladies' dresses, men's overcoats, saddles, pictures, &c. Two tumbrils of treasure were taken; one plundered by the men, the other caught and brought in by the Sikhs. Our last guns were fired at the retreating enemy on the Cawnpore side of Futtehpore. I cannot omit to mention one first-rate shot by the artillery. We aimed at and killed the elephant on which the Syed was mounted; drilled him clean through with a round shot. It is supposed that the force opposed to us was two regiments of cavalry, three of infantry, and eleven guns. We are all delighted at having struck the first blow, and got on so much nearer to Cawnpore. We believe they were coming down on Renaud's force, and were rather sold by our sudden appearance. The two forced marches did it. We halt tomorrow to organise another battery out of the captured guns, for all the 1st Madras fusiliers are artillerymen. This is a splendid regiment. How they work! Several men of the force died to-day of *coup-de-soleil.*"

In another account of the battle of the 12th of July, the writer, also an officer of the European force, says—"The enemy were in position, with their guns admirably placed to do execution upon our troops should they come within their range. General Havelock, however, was not to be tempted to proceed so far, and drew up his men at a convenient distance. The 64th and 78th levelled their rifles; and, as the clear sharp volley rang through the air, the mutinous host were taught by a terrible practical demonstration the value of the cartridge they had so much affected to despise. All their musketry volleys availed nought against the deadly tubes of our 78th and 64th. The balls that reached our men fell amongst them spent and harmless as autumn-leaves. In vain they tried to bring their artillery to bear

upon us. The Enfield rifles swept away the gunners like chaff. In the meantime our artillery moving upwards, mowed the scoundrels down; and in four hours the whole rebel host was scattered to the winds."

On Monday, July 13th, the force halted upon the field of its triumph at Futtehpore, to secure and bring in the guns taken from the rebels, and destroy such munitions of war as they had abandoned in their flight, and which our troops had no means of carrying on without unnecessarily encumbering themselves. In the course of the day, some gun-bullocks, belonging to government, which had been "looted" by the insurgents during their early occupation of Cawnpore, were brought into camp, and restored by the villagers, who were also active in searching for stragglers of the rebel force that remained lurking about the town and adjacent villages. Such of them as happened to be sepoys, were hung without ceremony or delay.

On Tuesday, the 14th, the troops resumed their march to Cawnpore. As they moved forward, evidence of the precipitancy of the flight of the rebel army met them on every side. Chests of cartridges, shot, clothing, tents, even the arms and accoutrements of some of the men, were strewed along the road, and over the broken ground. Among the spoil thus scattered over their route, the most useful and acceptable to the captors was a store of about forty barrels of English porter, abandoned by the rebels in their flight. The advance of the troops on this day was not obstructed in any way; and they encamped for the night at Kulleanpore, about twenty-two miles from their ultimate destination. From this place the brigadier telegraphed as follows to the commander-in-chief.—

"Camp Kulleanpore, July 14th, 1857.—Here I have arrived, and could be in Cawnpore on the 16th instant; but as it is rumoured that the bridge over the Pandoo Nuddee is intrenched, and that 400 have been sent for its defence, it is not probable that I can arrive so soon. If that stream is not defended, I promise to march on the 16th to within five miles of Cawnpore, and attack it the next day. We have taken every gun from the rebels at Futtehpore, twelve in number. This has enabled me to equip and take into the field nine excellent guns, instead of six lighter, and with the facility of also bringing into action two light 6-pounders. General Neill is urgent with me to send back a detachment of invalid artillery. I cannot do this without crippling my artillery force, which Captain Maude so ably commands. I have with me eleven light guns, and only seventy-two British artillerymen, including twenty-four invalids. I shall not lose a moment in advancing on Lucknow, if successful at Cawnpore."

The men of the Oude irregular cavalry—who had grossly misconducted themselves during the action of the 12th, by refusing to obey the orders of their officers when commanded to charge the rebel troops—again, on the 14th, exhibited a refractory disposition totally incompatible with the discipline of an army; and it was therefore determined to render them incapable of further immediate mischief by dismounting and disarming them. An opportunity was taken the same night to effect this operation, which the troopers had no alternative but to submit to, or be treated at once as mutineers. The loss of their services at such a juncture would have been regretted under other circumstances; but their flagrant insubordination in the face of the enemy, and their evident inclination to take part with the mutineers on the first possible occasion that might offer, rendered it imprudent to retain them as auxiliaries in the English camp. The decision of the brigadier in carrying out this step was highly gratifying to the European soldiers, who were well pleased to be relieved from association with a body of men that had individually become objects of distrust, and, collectively, were now looked upon with contempt and anger.

A gentleman in the civil service of the Company, present as a volunteer with the troops during the advance, writes thus from the camp, dated "Kulleanpore, ninety-one miles from Allahabad, July 15th:"—

"——, I would have written to you before to tell you of our doings at Futtehpore on Sunday last, the 13th instant, but we had so hard a day's work that I could not sit down to scribble, and yesterday my time was so much taken up by annexing the goods and chattels of departed niggers, that I postponed my letter till to-day. Our camp is such a large one, and so difficult to move, that, although we started at three o'clock this morning, we only got to our encamping-ground at half-past two. By 'we' I mean our carts, for the line of march extends over three miles of road, and

private conveyances always come on to the road in the rear of the others. I consequently was forced to take shelter under a broken-down old buggy, and sit in the rain on the look-out for my carts. It is now half-past five o'clock, and we have just finished breakfast, so I have but little time to write. I must commence with a short account of the 'Battle of Futtehpore.' Well, it was on a Sunday morning, the memorable 13th of July, 1857, when the British column, composed of &c., &c., &c., and so on.* But, to tell you my own tale: you see we fell in with Havelock's force, and marched on to Belindah, nineteen miles from our ground, and twenty-four from the general's camp. We arrived there at a quarter to ten o'clock, or thereabouts, and fell out, taking up our position on both sides of the road, about 1,000 yards this side of Belindah, on a fine open plain, stretching to Futtehpore, about three miles off. We had got our tents up, when Colonel Tytler, who had ridden up to Futtehpore to reconnoitre, galloped back, saying that the rebels were on the road, moving down to us. Immediately the alarm was sounded, and the troops all fell out so quietly and steadily, it was quite charming to see them. The camp was beautifully laid out, the guns in the centre of the road, and the troops on both sides; so they had only to move from their tents to come to the front. Out they came, eager for the fun, like so many bulldogs, and as jolly as possible, although just off a tiring march. Out we went; and a crowd of niggers along the road in the distance, and a boom-boom (you know how the big guns speak), told us plainly that they were playing at bowls against our advanced guard (cavalry.) On they crept, and the cavalry came in; and we saw in the distance, closing in (in a semicircle), a vast body of cavalry. On the beggars came, and on we went, our guns taking up a nice position on the road and on the sides.

"About two or three feeble and insane attempts were made by the rebels to pitch their shot into us, but somehow or other the guns wouldn't fire straight, and a puff and a bang from one of ours sent a ball flying into their first gun, and we could see the round shot ploughing them up, and the grape falling on all sides, and shells bursting over their heads. It was most refreshing. They could not stand it. Those behind cried 'on!' while those in front cried 'back!' and presently the whole mass was seen to move off, leaving, to our delight, a thundering big gun. We moved on, on, and on. Not another shot was fired by them, while our shot went rolling in among them, just as if the old Allahabad eleven were playing the Futtehpore lot. On, on, and more guns appeared. The cavalry were dispersed by a few shot and shell, and we presently found ourselves before the city. Guns, dead bullocks, defunct niggers, and broken tumbrils lined the road; and among the many unfortunates was to be seen a disembowelled old elephant, whose fate it had been to carry the general into the field—an old rascally subahdar of the 2nd cavalry, who had been created a general by Nana Sahib. A wag of an artillery sergeant had taken a pop at him, and it went in under the poor beast's tail and out at his chest, pitching the Subahdar Sahib Bahadoor on his nose. Well, we cavalry (for I had joined them) went on the right of the city, supporting the fusiliers; on the left a party of the other regiment, and some in the centre, to go up the city with the guns. On we went steadily. Here the rebels made a slight stand, and, sneaking about in the gardens and houses, poured volleys into us; but their fire was so wild and miserable, that the balls merely whistled over our heads. Well, we were told to move on ahead and watch the enemy, and we did so, and found them scuttling off in all directions, and suddenly came on a party of about thirty of the 2nd cavalry. On seeing the enemy, Palliser called the men to charge, and dashed on; but the scoundrels scarcely altered their speed, and met the enemy at the same pace that they came down towards us. Their design was evident; they came waving their swords to our men, and riding round our party, making signs to them to come over to their side. We could not dash out upon them, as we were only four to their thirty; and when our men hung back, a dash out would only have ended in our being cut-up. One or two came in at us, and one or two blows were exchanged. Palliser was unseated by his horse swerving suddenly, and then the row commenced. The 2nd cavalry men tried to get at him, and his native officers closed round him to save him, and they certainly fought like good men and true—the few of them. I got a couple of slaps at them with my Colt, while they were trying to get in at Palliser;

* For style, &c., *vide* the *Wellington Despatches*.



but Gayer, the doctor, was the only one who got a sword-cut at them. He gave a scoundrel a very neat wipe on the shoulder in return for a cut at his arm, which only touched the coat. While this was going on, the rear men turned tail and left us, galloping back as hard as their horses could go; and, the whole body of the cavalry appearing from behind some trees, we were forced to return, at a deuced good pace too. I never rode so hard in my life. It was a regular race for our necks, for the whole of the fellows were behind our small party, thirsting for our blood. I had a couple of fellows just behind me, but my old horse managed to carry me along. I write this with shame and grief, but it was no fault of Palliser's or ours. If the rascals had not left us so shamefully we could have ridden over the thirty men, and have returned steadily before the rest of the cavalry came up. They had an immense number of regulars and irregulars. For the moment I fully believed that our men were about to join the 2nd cavalry, and leave us to their mercy; you may imagine how jolly I felt. The poor rissaldar of Hardinge's regiment, Nujeeb Khan, a tall fine fellow, with a black beard, after saving Palliser, fell with his horse on crossing a ditch we had to pass, and was cruelly cut up. Seven of our men were killed, while they say they polished off five of the regulars; but I believe this to be wrong, for I only saw one body, that of an havildar of the 2nd cavalry. The wretched creature's bridle broke when charging down, and his horse took him slap into the middle of our fellows. Our men were not disbanded, as they had not mutinied; but it was determined to use them as baggage guards only, &c. The necessity for doing so was afterwards proved, as I shall relate in the course of my tale. Well, the stand made in the gardens was very soon over, and the whole force scuttled off, leaving carts containing all sorts of baggage, and great was the plunder thereof. Our boys had been twenty-four miles, so we could go no further, and we encamped this side of the city. We were in our tents about two o'clock, and, after having a little grub, I sallied out to see what was to be had. A major-general's white saddle-cloth, edged with gold lace, an English leathern vallise, two good durries, a Cashmere chola, a pistol, a lot of puggry cloth, some horse traps, and a pollparrot, proved a valuable addition to my stock of property. The town was sacked by the Europeans, Sykeses (as the soldiers call the Sikhs), and camp-followers, and some of the principal houses blown up, and thatched houses burnt. We came on yesterday without anything happening, except that some donkey in the volunteer cavalry swore he saw a body of men in a village, and shot and shell were pitched into the place as quick as the guns could fire. It was found afterwards that the place was empty, and so much good ammunition was thrown away for nothing. Well, those rascally irregulars in the rear with the baggage, hearing the guns, actually attempted to turn it back. They were sharply looked after by the highlanders, and were disbanded last night. We heard this morning that the rebels were making a stand at Aong, about four miles on the Futtehpore side of the big bridge; and we also heard that they were breaking the bridge down."

Another writer from the camp says—"On Tuesday we marched eighteen miles to Kulleanpore, but did not meet with the enemy. On Wednesday we marched about five miles, and found the rebels in a strong position, with six guns. We soon silenced their guns, and advanced against them; and after about two hours' sharp firing, we thoroughly routed them, and they retreated to a bridge about three miles off, where they had another very strong position, with six guns. Our Enfields did splendid work, and we soon silenced their battery. I was in front with the skirmishing party all day. We rushed up to their battery and took their bridge and guns, when they all fled before us like so many sheep: they really are arrant cowards. Thus ended our day's work. Poor Major Renaud, who commanded our detachment, was wounded early in the morning in the leg; he is now better, but I fear his leg will be obliged to be amputated; he is a very gallant officer. I was with him at the time, but he would not allow me to remain, but said 'Go on with your men.'"

By dawn of the morning of Wednesday, July the 15th, the united force under Brigadier-general Havelock recommenced the march, with the knowledge that the enemy had again collected in force, and had thrown up intrenchments a short distance from Kulleanpore. "After proceeding about five miles," says one of the survivors of the gallant band, "we at length came in sight of the rebels in position at a village

called Ooug. Directly we came within range of their guns, they opened fire. The artillery and skirmishers on our side moved out to the front as before, with the main body of troops following. The mutineers came out from the village and garden inclosures towards us in perfect skirmishing order, and both sides were soon hotly engaged. After a smart skirmish our guns silenced the enemy's artillery, and our men began to gain ground, driving the mutineers back upon the village. At this juncture their cavalry came out from behind the inclosures, and moved forward through the trees, menacing our right, and pressing down unpleasantly close; but the guns were immediately turned on them; and it was only after some well-thrown shrapnels had emptied a score or more of saddles, that they could be made to keep their distance. Failing in this attempt, they rode away to our rear, and, had it not been for the cool gallantry of the hospital sergeant of the 78th, would have cut up our baggage; but he, collecting all the invalids and stragglers in the rear, formed a small rallying square of about a hundred men, and received them with such a fire of musketry, that they rode off discomfited, leaving many dead behind them.

"Meantime the fight went on through the village. The rebels fought fiercely, even after their guns were taken, and it was some little time before our men could clear them out: but this was at length effected; the artillery passed through, and the whole force halted, to breathe and drink water, on the other side.

"But our work was only half done as yet; there was another intrenchment, with two heavy guns, to be taken. They were placed in a position which swept the road for a mile just on the other side of the Pandoo Nuddee, a large, difficult stream, spanned by a bridge of three arches, which, if broken down—and we knew it was mined—would most seriously have checked our progress. Nothing could save it but pressing the enemy hard; so on we went again. The heat was, as usual, frightful; but the men bore up, having the excitement of battle on them. After proceeding another two miles—just as the head of the column wound out from amongst the mango groves, at a turn where the road ran straight across the plain, two puffs of white smoke burst from a low ridge in our front, followed by the reports of two heavy guns, and a couple of 24-lb. shot, beautifully thrown, crashed right in to us, wounding men and gun-bullocks. Another and another followed in rapid succession: the fire was heavy and most accurate.

"Our light field-pieces were no match for the enemy at this game of long bullets; so the order was given for the artillery to advance and engage when within practicable range. The guns went steadily down the road, under a continuous fire of round shot, varied as we drew nearer by shrapnel, till a fair range was gained—then the guns unlimbered and opened fire. The effect was almost marvellous. Our heavy opponents ceased firing almost immediately. We could not understand this at the time; but discovered afterwards, when we went up to the intrenchment, that our shrapnel bullets had smashed their sponge staffs almost at the first fire, so that they could no longer load their guns. Their skirmishers were meantime giving way before ours; and our guns were now turned on their cavalry, who were massed in front. The Enfield riflemen, too, were creeping forward; and soon the whole rebel force turned right about, and went off. It was just as well we did press forward that day; for, as we crossed the bridge, we found that they had tried to blow it up, but failed for want of time; the explosion had only thrown down the parapet walls, leaving the arch sound.

"It was universally remarked how much closer and fiercer the mutineers fought that day. If they had only been under a competent leader, it would have been a much more serious affair; for the inferior details of their movements—such as depend upon the mechanical training of the soldiers—were perfect; but the master-mind was wanting. Hence the sepoys always came into action very well, but, as the battle went on, got bothered, and made a mess of it. Our want of cavalry in these actions was most severely felt; a couple of squadrons, even, would have been of the most incalculable use.

"The tired troops camped down, that day, on the spot where our last gun was fired, and got what rest they could, having taken five guns. Late that night a rumour spread through the camp, that a still heavier fight awaited us on the morrow; and during the next morning's march this intelligence was confirmed. The whole of the mutineer regiments at Cawnpore—about

4,000 infantry and 500 horse—had come down with the Bithoor rajah (otherwise called the Nana Sahib) to meet us, and had taken up a position at the fork of the Grand Trunk-road, about four miles from Cawnpore, where one road branches off into cantonments, and the other continues straight on to Delhi. Here they had strongly intrenched themselves, with heavy guns placed so as to command the road, and sweep it with a flanking fire."

At the close of this day's arduous work, the brigadier-general transmitted the following report to the commander-in-chief:—

"Camp, Pandoo Nuddee, July 15th.

"The 18th and 3rd Oude irregular cavalry are no longer to be trusted: in addition to their misbehaviour before the enemy on the 12th, they yesterday attempted to drive away my baggage. I dismounted and disarmed them last night, but have informed them, that every deserter will be punished with death. I have appointed their horses for public purposes.

"My troops were twice engaged this morning, and captured four more guns, with trifling loss. A strong advanced guard under Colonel Tytler, drove the enemy out of all his intrenched positions in front of the village of Aong, after a resistance of two hours and a-half, during which the mutinous cavalry, in considerable force, made frequent attacks against my baggage, which compelled me to use every available detachment and gun against them. At noon we attacked their intrenchment at the bridge over the stream. The resistance here was short but spirited, and the two guns taken were of large calibre. Major Renaud is severely wounded. The Madras fusiliers particularly distinguished themselves."

The following is the official despatch of the battle of Pandoo Nuddee, as forwarded to the deputy adjutant-general of the army:—

"Camp, Pandoo Nuddee, July 15th.

"Sir,—I have the satisfaction to acquaint you, for the information of his excellency the commander-in-chief, that the troops under my command have been twice successfully engaged with the enemy to-day, and have captured four guns.

"Whilst prosecuting my march towards Cawnpore, it became a matter of deep interest to me to learn whether the fine bridge over the Pandoo Nuddee had been destroyed or not. The stream is not, at this season, fordable; and the delay in crossing by other means, or at any other point, would have been most damaging to the objects of the expedition.

"Intelligence meanwhile came in, to the effect, that the village of Aong was strongly occupied by the enemy; that he was intrenched across the road, and had two horse artillery guns in position. I therefore reinforced the advanced guard, under Lieutenant-colonel Tytler, by attaching to him, in addition to the small body of volunteer cavalry, six guns of Captain Maude's battery, and the detachment of her majesty's 64th regiment.

"The enemy's intrenchments were not formidable; but the country being thickly wooded, he was enabled to maintain himself for some time against our fire, during which interval large bodies of cavalry advanced on both flanks, with the intention of capturing our baggage. These attacks were very persevering; and, to defeat them (as I had only twenty horse), I was compelled to protect the flanks with the infantry in second line, and by artillery fire. It is gratifying to have to report, that the enemy was unable to capture a single baggage animal, or follower. The last attempt was defeated by the baggage guards, whose fire was very effective.

"Soon, however, the lieutenant-colonel overcame all resistance, drove the enemy before him, and captured his cannon. The road was strewed for miles with abandoned tents, ammunition, and other materials of war. He reports to me, in high terms of commendation, the conduct of the troops immediately under his command; of Captain Maude, commanding the battery; and of Lieutenant Havelock, 10th foot, my aide-de-camp; and Lieutenant Moorsom, 52nd light infantry, whom I had placed at his disposal. The troops were halted for refreshment and short repose, when authentic information was received, that the bridge on the Pandoo stream was not destroyed, but defended by intrenchments, and two guns of garrison calibre. Disposition had to be made to force the passage of the stream. Fortunately, the bridge was at a salient bend of the river in our direction. Captain Maude at once suggested to me his desire to envelop it with his artillery fire, by placing three guns on the road, and three on either flank. The whole of the Madras fusiliers were extended as Enfield riflemen, as being the most practised workmen in the force. They lined

the banks of the stream, and kept up a biting fire.

"The enemy opened an effective cannonade upon our column, as they advanced along the road. They therefore deployed, and advanced with great steadiness in parade order in support of the guns of the riflemen. Captain Maude's bullets soon produced an evident effect, and then the right wing of the fusiliers, suddenly closing, threw themselves with rare gallantry upon the bridge, carried it, and captured both guns. These two affairs cost me twenty-five killed and wounded, as shown in the accompanying return. Amongst the latter, I regret to have to particularise Major Renaud, 1st Madras fusiliers, to whose gallantry and intelligence I have been under great obligations. His left thigh was broken by a musket-ball in the skirmish at Aong; but I hope, from the fortitude with which he endures his suffering, a favourable result.

"I have, &c.—H. HAVELOCK,

"Brigadier-general, commanding Allahabad Movable Column."

The total casualties reported in the engagements of this day, amounted to one killed and twenty-three wounded.

It would appear, from the determined obstinacy with which the rebel troops disputed the road to Cawnpore, that some increase to his force was deemed requisite by General Havelock, and that he had called upon the officer commanding at Allahabad for a reinforcement. Thus, on the 16th, Brigadier-general Neill reported to the commander-in-chief, that he had, on the previous day, received a most pressing requisition from General Havelock, for 300 Europeans and some guns, to be sent forward to occupy Cawnpore with all dispatch; and he had started 227 of the 84th regiment in bullock vans, with orders to march twenty-five miles a-night, and to reach in five days. General Neill then says—"I start, this afternoon, by dâk, and overtake the 84th, and move up with them; will go on before them if I can, and shall lose no time. I have handed over my command to Captain T. R. Drummond Hay, 78th highlanders, until Colonel O'Brien arrives; and have given instructions which embrace everything."—It is necessary to notice this communication, that the connection of Brigadier-general Neill with subsequent events at Cawnpore may be duly explained.

On the morning of the 16th, the English troops were encamped at a distance of twenty-two miles from the city; and it was determined, by their gallant leader, that the day should not pass before the impediments in the way of its restoration were removed. Accordingly, the tents were struck by daybreak, and the advance sounded. With light hearts, but tired feet, the noble band of avengers marched onward, until sufficient ground had been covered to admit of a brief halt. The troops bivouacked about fourteen miles from their starting-place, and cooked their food; and precisely at 1 P.M. they were again in motion, refreshed by their meal, and burning with impatience to face the traitorous hordes that had hitherto fled before them. As the exact position of the enemy's guns was well known, through spies, it was resolved to make a detour, that they might be taken in flank; and this operation was successfully effected by the extraordinary endurance of the troops. The writer of some details of this movement, to whom reference has already been made, says—"This I believe to have been one of the most severe marches ever made in India. In the full mid-day heat of the worst season of the year, did our troops start, each man fully armed and accoutred, with his sixty rounds of ball ammunition on him. The sun struck down with frightful force. At every step a man reeled out of the ranks, and threw himself fainting by the side of the road; the calls for water were incessant all along the line. At length came the point for the flank movement, and the columns turned off into the fields. It had not proceeded half a mile before the enemy caught sight of us, and opened a fierce, well-directed fire from their heavy guns. Through this storm of round shot and shrapnel the troops quietly proceeded, till the turning point of the flank march was gained; and then, forming up in line, with artillery in the intervals, advanced steadily down upon the enemy's position. The artillery first moved forward and engaged the heavy guns (which were pelting into us all this time), and the remainder of the troops, with the exception of the skirmishers, who were hotly engaged on our flanks, laid down.

"After a few rounds at different ranges, it was found that the enemy's guns in the village were so well sheltered by walls and houses, that our artillery could not silence them. They kept up as hot a fire as ever;



and their infantry, too, from behind their cover, kept up a constant fire. Hereupon, the 78th were ordered to advance and take the village. The highlanders rose, fired one rolling volley as they advanced, and then moved forward with sloped arms and measured tread, like a wall—the rear rank locked-up as if on parade—until within a hundred yards or so of the village, when the word was given to charge. Then they all burst forward like an eager pack of hounds rushing in to the kill, and in an instant they were over the mound and into the village. There was not a shot fired or a shout uttered; for the men were very fierce, and the slaughter was proportionate. 'I've just got three of 'em out of one house, sir,' said a 78th man, with a grin, to me, as I met him at a turn of the village.

"The English force was now fairly within the enemy's lines, and they went forward, taking gun after gun, and driving everything before them; but, meantime, the enemy's cavalry and a portion of their infantry had moved round, and part of our artillery had to turn about and hold them in check. At one time, indeed, our small handful of troops was completely surrounded. The mutineers fought fiercely and well; and if there had only been a head to guide them, we must have fought hard to save even our bare lives; but unity of purpose prevailed over multitudes. One by one their positions were carried; and the final advance of the 64th—when they charged and took a heavy gun that had up to that time been playing on our troops with murderous effect—finally settled the business. After that there was no more regular opposition; and just as night set in, the English force formed up and bivouacked on the plain just beyond the grand parade-ground of Cawnpore.

"This was a hard fight. So many fell out on the road, that there cannot have been more than 1,000 men of all sorts in action on our side, opposed to at least 5,000 of the enemy. In the former actions our artillery and skirmishers did most of the work; but here the brunt of the battle fell on the infantry. The Sikhs are reported to have fought like devils. The fact of some of their brethren's throats having been cut by the Bengal sepoys had come to their knowledge, and rendered them even more savage than the English soldiery—if that were possible—against the mutineers. Here, more than ever, was our want of cavalry felt; for the enemy's horse got off comparatively scathless, besides creeping round to our rear, and cutting-up our wounded men. They made a dash at a small handful of our skirmishers—about a dozen of the fusiliers, who, with their officer, Seton, had got separated from the rest. Seton called his men round him, and formed a square. The cavalry dashed at them, swerved off from a cool, steady fire, every bullet of which brought down a man, and the little party rejoined the regiment unhurt. The only guns the enemy carried away were two horse artillery guns, which we could not catch; the remainder, to the number of eight, all heavy guns, remained with us."

Among the extraordinary incidents of this eventful day, an act of individual bravery and cool determination, on the part of a wounded soldier of the 64th regiment, named Patrick Cavanagh, attracted the attention of the general, and was recognised by the hearty cheers of his fellow-soldiers. Early in the fight, Cavanagh had his leg shattered by a round shot, and as he lay disabled on the ground, with no one at hand to remove or assist him, the rebel horsemen came sweeping round to cut him up, for they fancied the "Feringhee" was defenceless. Lying on his back, the brave fellow, undaunted either by his position or their numbers, shot the first that approached: as he fell from his saddle his companions drew back. In the momentary interval, Cavanagh had again loaded, and shot down a second trooper. They then came on; but he had again prepared; and as they advanced, a third fell from his horse. This rifle-practice was not anticipated or admired by the valiant sowars, who had rushed in a body to cut up and mutilate a wounded man; and they accordingly wheeled round, and left the poor fellow to be removed by his admiring comrades among the first gathered off that gory field. The man's leg was amputated on the following morning; but he died from exhaustion.

Soon after daybreak on Friday, July 17th, while the troops were waiting for the baggage to come up, and pondering with eager anticipation upon the probable events of the next few hours, their attention was all at once fixed in the direction of the city by a huge, dense, white pillar of smoke, slowly rising in the air; and, as it unfolded volume upon volume, still mounting upward towards the sky—presently a report

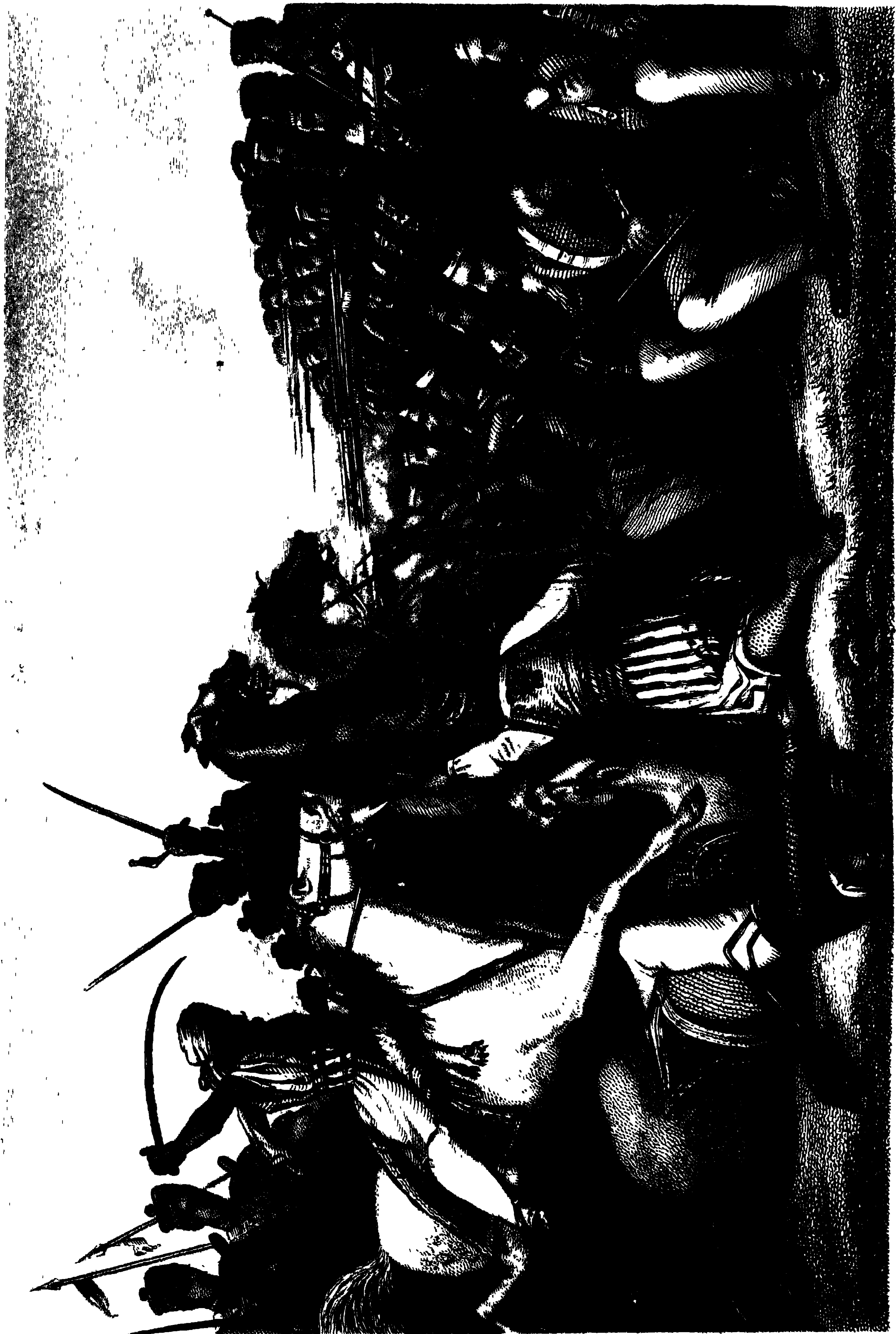
and concussion of the air, as if a battery of huge mortars had exploded all at once, announced the destruction of some important building within the city. A few hours after, it was ascertained that the discomfited rebel leader had blown up the grand magazine and arsenal, and had then ignominiously sought to ensure his personal safety by flight from the scene of his atrocities.

An officer of the 64th regiment, relating the incidents of this day, says—"On Thursday we marched against the enemy (about 6,000 strong), who were in position about five miles from Cawnpore, and this was the hardest day's work we ever had. They had six or eight guns, in two separate batteries. We advanced straight against them; and they poured grape and round shot into us like so many hailstones; yet our loss was not very great. We laid down, and then advanced against their first battery, which was taken in fine style. I went off with a small party (about forty men) to the right flank, where the cavalry were threatening us, and some of their infantry had a strong position. We kept them at a distance with our rifles; and once, when some of the cavalry (about 500) came down upon us, we formed square, and they did not dare come near us. This elicited great applause from the general and everybody. My party then joined the main column, and we now advanced against the other battery. When we came within range, down poured the round shot and grape. We were ordered to lie down; but the scoundrels had got their distance so well, that several were wounded. Six men of her majesty's 64th regiment were killed; and poor Captain Currie, of the 84th, severely wounded by a round shot. We had several men wounded. I had a bullet on my *topie* (felt hat), which providentially glanced off; and Captain Raikes had a portion of his sword-hilt carried away. Well, fancy! when they saw us down again, they thought we were afraid to fight, so they sounded the advance, and then the double. The general (Havelock) now gave his order—'Rise up; advance!' The whole line gave a cheer—such a cheer! it must have made the villains tremble from head to foot—and advanced in line against their battery, under a heavy cross-fire, which they kept up very well, but did not do much damage, as they fired too high. They evacuated their battery, and fled in every direction. We fired into them till they were out of range, and then rushed up the hill, and found, to our joy, Cawnpore about half a mile in front.

"We bivouacked on the rising ground for the night. You should have heard the cheer we gave as our gallant commander (General Havelock) rode down the lines; it was, indeed, a fine sight. He, on every occasion, praises our men, and is going to make a special report of us to the commander-in-chief."

With such feelings existing between a general and the troops under his command, a successful issue to whatever enterprise they may be mutually engaged in becomes almost an affair of certainty; and it is evident that Brigadier-general Havelock had, in an eminent degree, the power as well as the disposition not only to acquire the regards of those he commanded, but also to retain and reciprocate them.

An officer of the fusiliers says, in a letter from Cawnpore of the 17th of July—"This force, in eight days, has marched 126 miles, fought four actions, and taken twenty-four guns, light and heavy; and that, too, in the month of July in India. "We marched on the 16th, and then learned that the enemy had come out from Cawnpore to make their last stand at the place where the Grand Trunk-road forks to Cawnpore and Delhi; that they had there intrenched themselves in a very strong position, with heavy guns in front and flank, to sweep the road; and that all the force, upwards of 4,000 men, had turned out to make their last stand. So it was determined to try and turn their flank. Accordingly we struck off the road at an angle, and then turned down towards them again. We bivouacked under the trees, and started at half-past 1 P.M. The heat was fearful. Many men dropped from the effects of the sun. At last, the enemy caught sight, and opened a very heavy and well-directed fire on us, which we had to pass till we got to the turning point. Then we moved down in line upon them, and opened fire on their guns, which were in a very strong position in a village. We silenced two with our artillery; but all we could do we couldn't get at the third heavy gun, it was so well masked. The 78th were ordered to charge and take the gun. I never saw anything so fine. The enemy were soon in retreat; for we had turned their position; but the fight was still hard; for their cavalry came quickly down upon our rear, and the guns had to be halted and opened





on them. After that we got so far forward towards Cawnpore, that, without knowing it, one of their heavy guns in position was passed, and they managed to slue it round and open fire on our rear. So we had to turn, and go back and take it. This was done by the 64th. In fact, it was, in point of heavy fire and fatigue, a very hard fight; but the end was, that we took eight guns in all, and utterly routed the enemy, who evacuated Cawnpore during the night, and blew up the arsenal and magazine. We bivouacked on the field, with little bed and supper, and marched into Cawnpore this morning, where we hold a position—the barracks. All the force is knocked-up, and must rest a day.

"Alas, alas! all the women and children were murdered by these devils yesterday, when they found the day going against them."

Another writer, after describing the advance from Kullcanpore, and subsequent engagements, says—"The defeat the Cawnpore rebels sustained in four engagements has disheartened them greatly, and there is no doubt the work our brave boys have before them will be accomplished without much trouble.* They cannot stand a hand-to-hand fight with Europeans; and the 'Hurrah' which precedes the charge strikes as much terror into their cowardly hearts as a round of grape. You know that the day was won, in our last engagement, by a gallant charge made by our fellows upon the enemy late in the evening, when we had been fighting for three hours, after marching nearly the whole day under a sun that knocked the boys down by the dozen. Poor fellows! We had cartloads of them sick from sore feet and sun-strokes. We had beaten them back from battery to battery. You know the way. Our big guns pounded them, and we ran in with a cheer, and took each battery with the bayonet. The sun was down, and we advanced in front of the only battery they had left, drawn up on the Grand Trunk-road. The fire was fearful. The whole of the force was assembled there. We lay down in the field while the round shot and grape literally tore the ranks up. The guns should have been up; but the bullocks were too fagged and tired to drag them over the heavy ground. The old general at last saw it was too much. The devils were pelting at us with their bands playing. I saw and heard them distinctly: presently we heard the general shout, 'Get up, my lads, and take those guns.' Up we got with a cheer—it was more like a howl—and charged; gave them a volley at eighty yards, and ran in. It was too much. The valiant 11,000 fled before us, and in a few moments the guns were ours, and Cawnpore was gained.

"We lay out there all night, after collecting the wounded—hungry, thirsty, and cold, with nothing but dirty ditch-water to drink; but it was like nectar! Our baggage had been left behind, four miles, and we saw nothing of it until nine o'clock next morning, when we marched into Cawnpore. It was hard work for all; but the poor sick and wounded, how they must have suffered! Poor Captain Currie, of her majesty's 84th, with which I remained during the last fight, was knocked down by a round shot from the big gun, a 24-pounder, which we took at the close of the day. Nearly the whole of his back was carried away, poor fellow! and yet he lingered for three days. I attended him and gave him water on the field that day, and saw his wound. I never saw such a shocking sight. Other poor fellows had their legs taken off, and others their arms. It was a sad, sad sight, and made me truly thankful for the escapes I had had."

An officer belonging to one of the regiments that had mutinied in Oude, and who had joined General Havelock's force as a cavalry volunteer, writes thus from the camp:—"Yesterday we marched, knowing that we were to meet the enemy in force. We made the ordinary march, and bivouacked. The volunteer cavalry were posted on ahead to prevent surprise. I have written so far, and find I am really so done up I cannot write more: suffice it to say that we had a tremendous battle, and all had narrow escapes. The volunteer cavalry, eighteen in number, made a charge against hundreds—a very rash thing to do. The general said he was proud to command us. We took eight or nine guns. Altogether, it was a most gallant affair. Having bivouacked, we advanced in the afternoon. Our horses had not been unsaddled, and had little to eat. I must have ridden sixteen miles, and nothing but biscuit and wine—10 A.M. yesterday, now 5 P.M. You may fancy what the heat is on the march in the middle of the day—officers and men falling from sun-strokes. Yesterday's affair was a most gallant one, and the general may be proud

of all under him. The advance of the Europeans, with round shot and grape pouring into them, was most perfect. We came in for our share. We lost one of our volunteers in the charge, and I am going to attend his funeral this evening. His brother was with us, and it was sad to see the poor boy sobbing in the ranks, with his brother lying hacked all over within a few yards. The poor little fellow never asked to be allowed to leave the troop."

Another correspondent from the camp, says of the affair of the 16th:—"The fourth and last fight we had was about two miles out of Cawnpore, where we took seven large 24-pounder guns and howitzers. We had very severe firing from a battery of the enemy from 2 till 7 P.M., when we lost, in killed and wounded, about 150 Europeans and Sikhs. The loss of the enemy we cannot tell; but we afterwards came across a house where 300 sowars and sepoys lay wounded, and we saw a tank full of dead bodies. We had to encounter about 12,000 of the enemy with only 2,000 Europeans and Sikhs; the latter behaved most gallantry, and lost ten killed and wounded. The same evening of this affair we encamped outside of Cawnpore, and next morning we entered the town."

And here, if the pen was engaged solely in tracing the progressive incidents of civilised warfare, it might have sufficed to close for the present the pages that record the history of the recapture of Cawnpore, with the simple despatches of the victorious soldier by whose skill and energy that important station was recovered from the grasp of rebel domination; but the crowning atrocity that has distinguished the career of the malignant traitor who had exercised a brief but terrible authority within its blood-sprinkled walls, demands that the crimes of the Bithoor rajah should be recorded as a warning and a terror to mankind.

On the morning of the 17th of July, the victorious troops of General Havelock marched into the recaptured station of Cawnpore; from whence the following telegram was transmitted to the commander-in-chief, for the information of the governor-general:—

"Cawnpore Cantonment, July 17th.—By the blessing of God, I recaptured this place yesterday, and totally defeated Nana Sahib in person, taking more than six guns—four of siege calibre. The enemy was strongly posted behind a succession of villages, and obstinately disputed, for 140 minutes, every inch of the ground; but I was enabled, by a flank movement to my right, to turn his left, and this gave us the victory. Nana Sahib had barbarously murdered all the captive women and children before the engagement. He has retired to Bithoor; and blew up this morning, on his retreat, the Cawnpore magazine. He is said to be strongly fortified. I have not yet been able to get in the return of killed and wounded, but estimate my loss at about seventy, chiefly from the fire of grape."

The catastrophe briefly alluded to in the above telegram, is confirmed by subsequent notice in a despatch embodying the details of the action of the 16th. Of the fact there could be no doubt; but it was for others to dilate upon the horrible theme, of which, in this semi-official communication, General Havelock had foreshadowed the ghastly outline.

An investigation into the circumstances connected with the defeat of the rebels in front of Cawnpore on the 16th of July, elicited the horrible fact, that immediately upon the result of the action becoming known to Nana Sahib, the whole of the women and children detained by him, with such other Europeans as could be found secreted within the city, and several Bengalese residents who had become obnoxious to the Mohammedans by their connection with the Europeans, were put to death under circumstances of revolting barbarity. The courtyard of the building in which the females and children had been confined, appeared to have been the principal scene of slaughter; and when entered by our men, was covered, to the height of two inches, with blood, and with the tattered remains of female apparel. Of the whole number, amounting to upwards of 200 innocent and helpless women and children that had been confined in the Subada Kothee, not one remained alive at the close of that day.

Many among the noble band that, on the night of the 16th of July, had bivouacked upon the field of their triumph in front of Cawnpore, arose the next morning with joyous anticipations of the delight they were about to experience when, throwing open the gates of their prison-house, they should restore to liberty and their friends the helpless and innocent captives of a treacherous and cruel enemy. Their first thoughts that day were of "rescue;" and when the order to advance into the city

was at length announced, the larger portion of the troops entered by a gate in the immediate vicinity of the building called the Subada Kothee, in which, as they then supposed, some 200 women and children, retained as hostages for the safety of the rebel chief, were still confined. The steps of the men were light and quick; for each was panting for the moment that, by his presence, would announce freedom and safety to his imprisoned countrywomen. Brave hearts were unusually elate that morning; and eyes glistened with cheerful expectation, that were soon to be depressed by a sense of overwhelming horror, and to be dimmed by the tears of manly grief. Eagerly they approached the building pointed out to them as the place in which their countrywomen and children would be found; but they approached too late! The gates were thrown back, and they entered an aceldama! Accustomed as those stern men had been to scenes of blood and the devastating ravages of war, the sack of towns, and the carnage of the battle-field, the spectacle that now met their gaze unmanned the strongest in their ranks. Before them lay a paved court, strewn with the wrecks of women's clothing and children's dresses, torn and cut into ragged and bloody fragments, as if hacked from the persons of the living wearers! gory and dishevelled tresses of human hair lay trampled among the blood that had yet scarcely congealed upon the pavement! Exclamations of horror subsided into deathlike stillness, as the men rushed across that slippery court into the building before them. Traces of brutal violence, of savage and ferocious murder, told in each apartment the fearful history of the preceding night; but not one living being was there to disclose the awful secret yet to be revealed, or indicate the spot in which the survivors (if any there were) of an evident massacre had sought refuge. At length the fearful truth was realised: a huge well in the rear of the building had been used by the murderers as a fitting receptacle in which to hide their martyred victims from human eyes; and here, yet reeking with blood, stripped of clothing, dishonoured, mutilated, and massacred, lay the bodies of 208 females and children of all ages—the dying and the dead festering together in that hideous well! There lay the hapless mother and her innocent babe; the young wife and the aged matron; girlhood in its teens, and infancy in its helplessness—all—all had fallen beneath the dishonoured tulwars of the Mahratta destroyer, and his fierce and cowardly accomplices in crime.

Upon the walls and pillars of the rooms in which this astounding act of pitiless barbarity had been perpetrated, were the marks of bullets, and of cuts made by sword-strokes—not high up, as if men had fought with men, but low down, and about the corners, where the poor crouching victims had been cut to pieces! On those walls, in some places nearly obliterated by the blood that yet clung congealed in all directions, were discovered short scraps of pencil-writing, and scratches upon the plaster; and among these the following sentences were yet legible:—"Think of us"—"Avenge us"—"Your wives and children are here in misery, and at the disposal of savages"—"My child! my child!" In one apartment, carefully ranged along one side, was a row of women's shoes and boots, with *bleeding amputated feet* in them! On the opposite side of the room, the devilish ingenuity of the mocking fiends was shown in a row of children's shoes, filled in a similar way!

Upon searching among the sad memorials of the unfortunate sufferers, several scraps of paper, written upon, were found: all of them were stained with blood. Two of these relics appeared to be leaves from a diary, and were evidently in the handwriting of two persons. The first has been supposed to be part of a journal kept by Miss Caroline Lindsay, eldest daughter of Mrs. George Lindsay, named in the list of Lieutenant Delafosse* as among the Cawnpore victims. This interesting record of the dead comes down to the 12th of July, and is as follows:—

"Mamma died July 12.†—Alice died July 9.‡—George died June 27.§—Entered the barracks May 21.—Cavalry left June 5.—First shot fired, June 6.—Uncle Willy died June 18.‖—Aunt Lilly, June 17.¶—Left barracks June 27.—Made prisoners as soon as we were at the river."

The other leaf contained the following memorandum closely written, and partially obscured by the blood profusely sprinkled over it:—

"We went into the barracks on the 21st of May;

* See *ante*, pp. 337, 338.
† Mrs. G. Lindsay.
‡ Daughter of Mrs. G. Lindsay.
§ Son of Mrs. G. Lindsay, ensign 10th native infantry.
‖ Major W. Lindsay.
¶ Mrs. W. Lindsay.

the 2nd cavalry broke out at two o'clock on the morning of the 5th of June, and the other regiments went off during the day. The next morning, while we were all sitting out in front of the barracks, a 24-pounder came flying along, and hit the intrenchment; and from that day the firing went on till the 25th of June: then the enemy sent a treaty which the general agreed to; and on the 27th we all left the B. to go down to A. in boats. When we got to the river the enemy began firing on us, killed all the gentlemen and some of the ladies; set fire to the boats: some were drowned; and we were taken prisoners, and taken to a house; put all in one room."

A memorandum in the Mahratta language, of which the subjoined list of names is a translation, was also found in this slaughterhouse. It purports to have been made by some individual charged with the custody of the victims of treachery, and was probably a duplicate list of persons for whom he was accountable to the insatiate demon by whom he was employed as gaoler:—

"Mr. Greenway, Mrs. Greenway, Mrs. G. Greenway, F. Greenway, Martha Greenway, Jane Greenway; Mr. Jacobi, Henry Jacobi, Lucy Jacobi, Hugh Jacobi; Mrs. Tibbett; Miss Peter; Mrs. Cocks; Mrs. Brothrick; Grace Kirk, William Kirk, Charlotte Kirk; Mrs. White; Miss Macmullen; Mrs. Sinclair; John Greenway, Mary Greenway; Lizzie Hornet; Mrs. Sheridan, W. Sheridan, Baby Sheridan; Mrs. Wrexham, Clara Wrexham, Drummond Wrexham; Eliza Bennett; Mrs. Probett, Stephen Probett; Catherine Willup, Jane Willup, Thomas Willup; Mr. Reid, Susan Reid, James Reid, Julia Reid, C. Reid, Charles Reid, Baby Reid; Mrs. Gillie; Henry Brett; Mrs. Doomey (?); Henry Duncan; Mrs. Levy, James Levy, L. Levy; Henry Simpson; Miss Colgan (?); Mrs. Keirseile (?), Mary Keirseile, Willie Keirseile; Mrs. O'Brien; Mrs. Green, Edward Green; Mrs. Crabb; John Fitzgerald; Mrs. Jenkins; Mrs. Peel, George Peel; Mrs. Moore; Marian Conway; F. C. Weston (?); Mrs. Carroll; Mrs. Butler; Mrs. Johnson; Jane Morpet; Mrs. Paterson; Miss Burn, Miss H. Burn; Mrs. Dallas; W. O. Connor; Harriet Pistol (?); Elizabeth Simpson; George Casey, G. Casey; Lucy Stake, William Stake; Joseph Conway; James Lewis; Elizabeth West; W. Nock; Henry Watkins; Jemima Martindall; Weston Darden; William James; Jane Gill; James Conseus; Mrs. Peter, James Peter; Mrs. Baines, Philip Baines; Mrs. Harris; Mrs. Guthrie, Catherine Guthrie; Mrs. White; Mrs. Wollen, Fanny Wollen, Susan Wollen; Mrs. Cooper; Mr. Carroll, Mrs. Carroll; two ayahs; Mrs. Sanders, William Sanders; Margaret Fitzgerald, Mary Fitzgerald, Tom Fitzgerald, Ellen Fitzgerald; Mrs. Bell, Alfred Bell; Mrs. Berrill; Mrs. Murray; Mrs. Jones; Mrs. Russell, Eliza Russell; Mrs. Gilpin, William Gilpin, Harriet Gilpin, Sarah Gilpin, Jane Gilpin, F. Gilpin; Mrs. Walker; Mrs. Coymar; Emma Weston; Mrs. Frazer; Mrs. Derby; Miss Williams; Mrs. Parrott; Mary Peter; Arthur Newman, Charlotte Newman; Mrs. Bowling; Mrs. Moore; Miss White; Mrs. Probert, Johanna Probert, Willie Probert, Emma Probert, Louisa Probert; Mrs. Seppings (2nd cavalry), John Seppings, Edward Seppings; Mrs. Dempster (?), Charles Dempster, William Dempster, Henry Dempster; Miss Wallet (?); Mrs. Hill; Mrs. Basilico; Mrs. Lindsay (wife of Major Lindsay), Frances Lindsay, Caroline Lindsay; Mrs. Scott; Mrs. Mackenzie; Mrs. Wallis; David Walker; Lucy Lyalls; Mrs. Canter. Total, 163.

"List of Futteghur fugitives, dated July 11th, 1857:—Mrs. Woolyar, Charles Woolyar, Thomas Woolyar; Mrs. Gibbon; Miss Seth; Mrs. Tucker (wife of Colonel Tucker), Miss Tucker, Louisa Tucker, George Tucker, L. Tucker, Sutherland Tucker; Mrs. Reeve, Mary Reeve, Catherine Reeve, Ellen Reeve, Nelly Reeve, Jane Reeve, Cornelia Reeve, David Reeve; Mrs. Thomson; Mr. Thornhill (judge of Futteghur), Mrs. Thornhill, Charles Thornhill, Mary Thornhill; Miss Long; Mrs. Maltby (wife of civil surgeon), Emma Maltby, Eliza Maltby; Mrs. West (wife of European ghat darogah); three natives; Mrs. Fatman; Mrs. Guthrie; Mrs. Heathcote (wife of Lieutenant Heathcote, native infantry); Godfrey Lloyd, Baby Lloyd; Colonel Goldie, Mrs. Goldie, Mary Goldie, Ellen Goldie; Colonel Smith (native infantry), Mrs. Smith; Mrs. Rees, Eliza Rees, Jane Rees; Mrs. Lewis, Emma Lewis, Eliza Lewis: total, 49.—Received (in charge?), July 11th, 163 sick people; also 49 from Futteghur."

Thus, according to their own list, the number of victims to the malignity of Nana Sahib, upon this single occasion, amounted to 210; Colonels Goldie and Smith having been previously dispatched. These were the only men enumerated, the other males being evidently boys and mere infants. From the overwhelming testimony that establishes the otherwise incredible facts recorded in the preceding pages, we shall select the following as distinctly corroborative. Among the most positive evidence is that of an officer in command of one of the regiments which entered Cawnpore on the morning of the 17th of July. This gentleman says—"I was directed to the house where all the poor miserable ladies had been murdered. It was alongside the Cawnpore hotel, where the Nana lived. I never was more horrified! The place was one mass of blood. I am not exaggerating when I tell you that the soles of my boots were more than covered with the blood of these poor wretched creatures. Portions of their dresses, collars, children's socks, and ladies' round hats lay about, saturated with their blood; and in the sword-cuts on the wooden pillars of the room, long dark hair was carried by the edge of the weapon; and there hung their tresses—a most painful sight! I have often wished since that I had never been there, but sometimes wish that every soldier was taken there that he might witness the barbarities our poor countrywomen had

suffered.* Their bodies were afterwards dragged out and thrown down a well outside the building, where their limbs were to be seen sticking out in a mass of gory confusion. Their blood cries for vengeance; and should it be granted us to have it, I only wish I may have the administration of it.

"I picked up a mutilated Prayer-book. It had lost the cover; but on the flyleaf is written, 'For dearest mamma: from her affectionate Tom. June, 1845.' It appears to me to have been opened at page 36, in the Litany, where I have but little doubt those poor dear creatures sought and found consolation in that beautiful supplication. It is here sprinkled with blood. The book has lost some pages at the end, and terminates with the 47th Psalm, in which David thanks the Almighty for his signal victories over his enemies, &c."

A native resident of the city, who appears to have secured his own safety by an ostentatious pretence of hatred to the Europeans, while at the same time actually sheltering two ladies from the vengeance of the Mohammedan bloodhounds, related some incidents of the deplorable catastrophe to an officer of the avenging column, who, in repeating the details, says—"Such were the cries and agonies of the poor ladies, that my informant shed tears when mentioning the circumstance to me, saying, that such atrocious acts could not emanate even from ferocious animals or wild beasts. These foul and inhuman deeds did not end here; because on the next morning, when they came to the bloody spot where they had committed the cold-blooded murders, for the purpose of having the dead bodies removed, they found a few wounded ladies and a child, who were still alive, whom they threw into a well with the dead. Two causes are assigned for murdering the ladies—first, the defeat of the insurgents in an engagement which took place near Futtehpore; and, secondly, the detection of some letters which had been sent by the ladies to Allahabad by some of the spies who were apprehended and killed on the 14th of July. A few days before this, about seventeen European gentlemen who were on their way from Furruckabad, concealing themselves in some country boats laden with grain, were arrested at Bundeematta ghat, fourteen of whom were killed immediately on their being brought to Cawnpore; three having been retained, it was said, on promise of using their influence with the British government to have the forts of Agra and Allahabad evacuated; but the story is not worthy of belief, and must have been fabricated by the Nana with a view to induce the people to believe that he was to obtain possession of those places in a short time. Numerous false proclamations were issued, by beat of tom-tom, announcing the defeat of English troops at Delhi, Bombay, &c., and such other falsehoods. On the evening of the 16th of July a proclamation was published in the city, that the Nana had gained a complete victory, many of the British troops having been killed, and others dispersed; but the falsity of this story soon became known to the people, as in less than an hour vast multitudes of the mutineers were seen running away from the field of battle, many bearing their arms and accoutrements."

The crushing intensity of the horrors of that fearful night increased at every step. One of the officers belonging to General Havelock's force, says—"I have seen the fearful slaughterhouse, and also saw one of the 1st native infantry men, according to order, wash up part of the blood which stains the floor, before hanging. The quantities of dresses, clogged thickly with blood; children's frocks, frills, and ladies' under-clothing of all kinds; also boys' trowsers, leaves of Bibles, and of one book in particular, which seems to be strewed over the whole place—called *Preparation for Death;* also broken daguerreotype cases only (lots of them), and hair, some nearly a yard long; bonnets all bloody, and

* The effect such a spectacle would have upon the men, may be conjectured from the following circumstance, related on the authority of the *Bombay Telegraph and Courier:*—"On the arrival of the detachment of the 78th highlanders at that 'place of skulls' (Cawnpore), after the massacre of our countrymen, women, and children, they by some means or other found the remains of one of General Wheeler's daughters. The sight was horrible, and aroused them to that pitch, that, gathering around, they removed the hair from off the poor girl's head, a portion of which was carefully selected and sent home to her surviving friends. The remainder they equally divided amongst themselves; and on each man receiving his carefully served-out portion, they all quietly, and very patiently, applied themselves to the tedious task of counting out the number of hairs contained in each individual's lot; and when this task was accomplished, they one and all swore most solemnly by Heaven and the God that made them, that for as many hairs as they held in their fingers, so many of the cruel and treacherous mutineers should die by their hands." The anecdote borders on romance, but it is doubtless based on fact.

one or two shoes. I picked up a bit of paper, with these words on it: 'Ned's hair, with love;' and opened and found a little bit tied up with riband. The first fellows that went in, I believe, saw the bodies with their arms and legs sticking out through the ground. They had all been thrown in a heap in the well."

Another writer says—"I have been to see the place where the poor women and children were imprisoned and afterwards butchered. It is a small bungalow close to the road. There were all sorts of articles of women and children's clothing; ladies' hair (evidently cut off with a sword), back-combs, &c. There were also parts of religious books. Where the massacre took place, it is covered with blood like a butcher's slaughterhouse. One would fancy nothing could be worse than this; but in the well at the back of the house are the bodies and limbs of the poor things. I looked down, and saw such a sight as I hope never to see again. The whole of the bodies were naked, and the limbs had been separated. I thought of the two Mrs. —— and the three poor girls, and felt very sad. By all accounts, the women were so ill-treated, that death—even such a death—must have been welcome to them. I will not enter into more details. I have told you enough to cause you to make allowance if I do write savagely. I have looked upon death in every form, but I could not look down that well a second time."

Again, an officer of the avenging column writes thus:—"On the morning of the 17th of July, the force marched into Cawnpore. The soul-harrowing spectacle which there presented itself to them beggars description. The extent of the frightful catastrophe now became known. A wholesale massacre had been perpetrated by the fiend Nana Sahib. Eighty-eight officers, 190 men of her majesty's 84th foot, 70 ladies, 120 women and children of her majesty's 32nd foot, and the whole European and Christian population of the place—including civilians, merchants, shopkeepers, engineers, pensioners and their families—to the number of about 400 persons, were the victims of this Satanic deed. The court-yard in front of the assembly-rooms, in which Nana Sahib had had his head-quarters, and in which the women had been imprisoned, was swimming in blood. A large number of women and children, who had been 'cruelly spared after the capitulation, for a worse fate than instant death,' had been barbarously slaughtered on the previous morning—the former having been stripped naked, beheaded, and thrown into a well; the latter having been hurled down alive upon their butchered mothers, whose blood yet reeked on their mangled bodies. We hear of only four who escaped—a Mrs. Greenway (wife of a merchant) and three Indo-Britons. The diary of a lady is said to have been found at Cawnpore, written up to the day on which she was killed, and containing information of great importance, on which the general is acting. We shall eventually obtain full particulars of the horrible tragedy that has been witnessed there."

An officer of the Madras fusiliers writes, on the 18th:—"Only fancy our horror, on hearing that the same night we gave them such a beating at Futtehpore, they killed, or rather massacred, all the ladies whom they hitherto had spared in Cawnpore (except five or six who were concealed by their native servants.) Miss Wheeler (the daughter of Sir H. Wheeler), they say, killed five of these fiends with a revolver before they could get near her. What an heroic spirit she must have had! The sight of the place where these poor ladies were murdered is indeed awful. Long tresses of hair—dresses covered with blood—here and there a workbox or bonnet."

The ayah to whose statement reference has already been made, gives the following account of the circumstances that immediately preceded the final atrocity:—

"Shortly after the mutiny at Allahabad, a sowar came in, and reported that one of the imprisoned ladies had written to Allahabad, and that a large body of Europeans was advancing upon Cawnpore. Then the Nana gave the order to kill every one—to spare no one. This took place on the 15th of July; but the general, and others who were brought back with him, were killed on the 2nd of the month. When the ladies heard of the Nana's order to kill them, they tore their clothes, and with the shreds fastened the doors.

"First the sowars killed the native doctor, the cook, and the metranee. Then one sowar jumped over the wall, and began the slaughter; other sowars came through the doors, and all the prisoners were killed. This was duly reported to the Nana, who ordered the bodies to be cast into a well;



and the twenty-five women and children who had remained alive, under the heap of dead bodies, were killed by executioners; and some of the little children were dashed to pieces against the ground. This took place early on the morning of the 17th of July; and in the evening the Nana ran off to Bithoor. Many wounded women were thrown into the well with the dead bodies and earth."

An officer of rank (to whom reference was made by one of our most distinguished philanthropists, at a meeting convened for the purpose of investigating the facts connected with this dire tragedy) writes thus to the relative of one of his deceased brothers-in-arms:—"Upon my entry into Cawnpore a few hours after the perpetration of the frightful massacre, to my unutterable dismay, I saw a number of European women stripped stark-naked, lying on their backs, fastened by the arms and legs; and there many of them had been lying four or five days, exposed to a burning sun! Others had been more recently laid down: others again had been actually hacked to pieces, and so recently, that the blood which streamed from their mangled bodies was still warm. Children of ten, twelve, thirteen, and fourteen years of age, were found treated in the same horrible manner at the corners of the streets, and in all parts of the town, attended by every circumstance of insult the most awful and the most degrading, the most horrible and frightful to the conception, and the most revolting to the dignity and feelings of civilised men."—It would appear from this statement, that some of the most hapless of their sex had been brought out of the Subada Kothee to endure indescribable outrage!

Among other authorities to whom reference will be made for the details of the monstrous and unparalleled atrocity to be recorded, we again turn to the revelations of Mr. Shepherd, whose narrative has already thrown much light upon the earlier scenes of the Cawnpore tragedy. It will be remembered that this gentleman was taken prisoner by the rebel emissaries of Nana Sahib, as he left the intrenchment on the 24th of June, disguised as a native servant, for the purpose of obtaining intelligence that might be useful to General Wheeler. The incidents of his capture, and subsequent treatment by the rebels, have already been detailed:* and the following passages close what may be considered his official statement of the proceedings at Cawnpore.

Taking up the thread of Mr. Shepherd's history, we are informed, that for a short period after Nana Sahib's treacherous occupation of the city, he took every means, by proclamations and military displays, to assure the inhabitants, and others who flocked to the place for the sake of plunder, that the rule of the Company was at an end, and that the English government was not able any longer to resist the victorious armies of the king of Delhi. "He, however," says Mr. Shepherd, "soon found out his mistake; for it was not long before intimation was received of the arrival of a British force at or near Futtehpore. Ten thousand troops were sent to meet it and beat it back to Allahabad; but the cowardly wretches soon found out, to their cost, how miserably inferior they were in courage to the European soldiers. The result of the fight is too well known to require repetition here. Reinforcement after reinforcement was sent by the Nana, but to no effect, until at last he himself headed a fresh reinforcement, and proceeded to the seat of war, which had approached within twenty miles of Cawnpore; but on arrival, he found his own courage no better than the rest of the villanous rebels, and that there was nothing better for him than to run for his life. He did so, and with him the whole of his boasting army. On his arrival at Cawnpore, the entire population was so panic-struck, that, leaving house and property, every man that had a hand in the rebellion took to his heels; and it is stated, that there never was seen so great a flight as on that occasion. People deserted their families on the way to escape with their own lives. From noon till midnight, nothing but immense mobs were seen rushing away as fast as possible towards the west. Some crossed over to Lucknow from Bithoor ghat; others went towards Delhi; and the most part of the city people hid themselves in the neighbouring villages, where they were nicely robbed by the zemindars.

"The sepoys are said to have been possessed of an immense deal of money, mostly in gold mohurs, which they purchased at a great premium—having paid as much as twenty-eight or thirty rupees for one usually of the value of twenty rupees. These men paid a rupee a-head to the ferry to cross the river, on the banks of which they pitched away their muskets, coats, pantaloons, &c.,

* See *ante*, pp. 320; 333; 338.

and dispersed in different directions into the districts.

"Just after the defeat of the rebels at Futtehpore, a few spies (whether real or imaginary is not known) were brought to the Nana as being the bearers of letters, supposed to have been written to the British by the helpless women in the prison; with whom some of the Mahaguns and Bengalees of the city were believed to be implicated: it was therefore agreed that the said spies, together with all the women and children, as also the few gentlemen whose lives had been spared (said to be six in number, out of seventeen officers who had been captured about the 10th or 11th of July, on their way by water from Futteghur to this, and whose deaths were also delayed under promise of a ransom), should all be put to death; and that the Baboos of the city, and every person who could read or write English, should have their right hands and noses cut off. The first order was carried out immediately—*i.e.*, on the evening of the 15th of July; and a decree was issued to apprehend the natives, Baboos, &c., after the Nana's return from the field of battle, where he proceeded, as described above, on the 16th of July, after causing the murder, on the 15th, of the English prisoners.

"The native spies were first put to the sword, and after them the gentlemen, who were brought from the outbuildings in which they were confined, and shot with bullets; afterwards the poor ladies were ordered to come out, but neither threats nor persuasions could induce them to do so. They laid hold of each other by dozens, and clung so close, that it was impossible to separate or drag them out of the building. The troopers therefore brought muskets, and after firing a great many shots from the doors, windows, &c., rushed in with swords and bayonets. Some of the helpless creatures, in their agony, fell down at the feet of their murderers, clasped their legs, and begged, in the most pitiful manner, to spare their lives, but to no purpose. The fearful deed was done most deliberately and completely, in the midst of the most dreadful shrieks and cries of the victims. There were between 140 and 150 souls, including children; and from a little before sunset till candlelight was occupied in completing the dreadful deed. The doors of the building were then locked up for the night, and the murderers went to their homes. Next morning it was found, on opening the doors, that some ten or fifteen women, with a few of the children, had managed to escape from death by falling and hiding under the murdered bodies of their fellow-prisoners. A fresh order was therefore sent to murder them also; but the survivors, not being able to bear the idea of being cut down, rushed out into the compound, and, seeing a well there, threw themselves into it without hesitation; thus putting a period to lives which it was impossible for them to save. The dead bodies of those murdered on the preceding evening, were then ordered to be thrown into the same well; and 'jullads' were employed to drag them away like dogs.

"It is too horrible to recount further on this subject. On the night of the 16th of July, the station was deserted by the rebels, as stated above, and early the next morning the English troops took possession of it; but not before the wretches had set fire to and blown up the magazine, which was done by the last guard left by the Nana, at about 8 A.M."

Upon the occupation of Cawnpore by General Havelock's force, Mr. Shepherd was released from his fetters, and at the same time became aware of the full extent of his bereavement: the whole of his family had been sacrificed—wife, children, nieces, friends—all had perished within the walls of that charnel-house, now made sacred by the blood of martyrs. In the agony and desolation of his heart, this mourner writes from Cawnpore, on the 18th, thus:—

"My own dearest brother,—God Almighty has been graciously pleased to spare my poor life. I am the only individual saved among all the European and Christian community that inhabited this station. My poor dear wife, my darling sweet child Polly, poor dear Rebecca and her children, and poor innocent children Emmelina and Martha, as also old Mrs. Frost and poor Mrs. Osborne, were all most inhumanly butchered by the cruel insurgents on the day before yesterday, and thrown into a well, together with a great number of other ladies and children—reported to be about 150 in number. I am distracted. I am most miserable and wretched. I am like one in a dream. You could not recognise me if you saw me. My life has been spared by a miracle. The will of the Lord be done. He alone can give me comfort; for I am in a terrible state of distress of mind. I will write you a detailed account of all our sufferings and distresses—such distress

native cook-boy of the G. company, 56th regiment (who, by some means, separated himself from his rebel comrades, and remained faithful to the Europeans, though daily mixing in Cawnpore with the people of his class, by whom his faith was not suspected), relates, that when upon the arrival of the betrayed officers and females, &c., from the boats, Lieutenant Saunders was brought before Nana Sahib, he pulled out his revolver and shot dead five of the sepoy guards: with his sixth round he aimed at the Nana, but missed him, and was instantly seized and overpowered. He was thrown down upon some planks fastened to the earth, and nailed to them; his nose, ears, fingers, and toes were then chopped off; and he was left mutilated, bleeding, and roasting in the sun until the next day, when further and yet more horrible cruelties were perpetrated, until death relieved him from his unutterable agony. Such was the fate of one of the heroic defenders of Cawnpore—such one of the least of the atrocities British soldiers in their might were called upon to avenge.

The following passages from a communication by Lieutenant Mowbray Thompson (named in the list of Lieutenant Delafosse as wounded in a boat, but who fortunately escaped from the slaughter of the 27th of June by swimming down the Ganges), are eminently entitled to notice, although the incidents described are somewhat out of place in the strict order of events connected with the defence of the intrenchments. This gentleman, writing from Cawnpore on the 16th of August, 1857, has furnished a most interesting narrative of occurrences intermingled with that terrible episode in the history of the Indian rebellion that is associated with the Cawnpore tragedy; every act of which was distinguished by horrors that accumulated until they reached a climax of infamy for which there is no parallel but in the monstrous achievements of ferocious malignity that have characterised rebel valour in India.

It is not necessary to follow Mr. Thompson's detail of events prior and subsequent to the actual siege, as those facts have already been referred to at length in the preceding pages.* Adverting to the first cannonade by the rebel sepoys on the morning of the 7th of June, this gentleman says—"How thankful I was, when once the firing commenced, that I had no relations in the intrenchments. Then it was that one heard husbands and fathers cursing their stupidity for not having sent away their families; but of what avail was it their only now having their eyes opened to their folly? It was too late. Wives saw their husbands' bodies mutilated in the most awful manner with round shot; and husbands saw their wives suffering the most excruciating agonies from wounds which they were unable to heal. Then there was the screaming of children after their dead parents. Poor little things, how it unnerved one to see them! But at last we got more accustomed to the horrible scenes which were going on around, till at last they hardly made any impression.

"One scene I can never forget. A poor woman, of the name of White, was walking along the trenches with her husband, and nursing her children (twins) in her arms. Some fiend fired at them, killed the man, and broke both the poor woman's arms. The children fell to the ground, one of them wounded. Then followed a scene which can only be imagined. Fancy the poor woman throwing herself down beside her children, and not being able to assist them, on account of the wounds she had received! Oh the agony of that mother! Another woman, who was in a wretched state bordering on starvation, was seen to go out of the protection of the trenches with a child in each hand, and stand where the fire was heaviest, hoping that some bullet might relieve her and her little ones from the troubles they were enduring. But she was brought back, poor thing! to die a more tedious death than she had intended for herself. Here you saw poor Mrs. W—— hit by a ball in the face just by the nostril, passing through the palate of the mouth, and making its exit by the jaw; and by her side you saw her daughter, who, although she was badly wounded in her shoulder, was doing all she could to alleviate the sufferings of her unfortunate mother. Poor creatures, they both died from their wounds! Then you saw an unfortunate native servant who had remained faithful to her mistress, and was nursing her infant, under the protection of the walls of the barrack, as she imagined; but, all of a sudden, you saw her knocked over, and the child hurled out of her arms; and on inspection, you found both her legs cut clean off by a round shot; but the child was picked up uninjured.

* See *ante*, pp. 315—335.

Many other such horrid scenes could I describe; but, judging from my own feelings on the subject, I know that I shall only be stirring up in the minds of those who may see this letter, a feeling for revenge which can never be properly accomplished."

With respect to the barrack hospital that was set on fire by the red-hot shot fired for the purpose, Lieutenant Thompson corroborates the account we have previously given. "No arrangements had been made in anticipation of such a monstrous act of cruelty; and all the wounded men and others, that lay helpless under its roof, unable to move themselves, were burnt alive. With the hospital, such as it was, all the medicine chests and surgical instruments were utterly destroyed; so that for those afterwards wounded there was no remedy but to die."

Then came the offer of capitulation, the treachery, and the successive massacres of wounded men and helpless women and children, already narrated in the preceding pages.

It is time to turn from these harrowing and heart-sickening details, to think of the retributive justice which already had crossed the threshold of the blood-stained city, and had stricken terror to the hearts of the craven wretches by whom such horrors had been tolerated, if not encouraged.

Upon the defeat of the rebel leader on the 15th, he retreated hastily into Cawnpore, and, as we have seen, consummated his infamy by ordering the destruction of all that then remained of his female prisoners. Having accomplished this atrocity, he withdrew to his fortified hold at Bithoor, some twelve miles distant, on the Ganges. Here, for a moment, he affected a vast parade of his authority, causing a hundred guns to be fired as a salute in honour of the king of Delhi; eighty guns in memory of the late Bajee Rao, his patron; and sixty for himself, on being placed upon his throne; two salutes, of twenty-one guns each, were also fired in honour of the wife and mother of the traitor.

On Sunday, the 19th of July, the troops in Cawnpore were warned for church parade; but, as they were proceeding from their different quarters in the cantonment for the purpose, orders were issued for an immediate march to Bithoor. No time was wasted in unnecessary arrangements; and the earnest desire of every individual of the force to get within arm's length of Nana Sahib, imparted strength and energy to the weakest. To their great disappointment, they arrived at the place without meeting an enemy. The coward murderers had deserted the fortified palace, leaving behind them the whole of the guns, and a large store of ammunition, collected for the supply of the rebels; fifteen pieces of heavy cannon, and a number of elephants, bullocks, &c., fell into the hands of the pursuing column; and some of the female relatives of the rajah, and women of his zenana, were also taken prisoners; but not a man was to be found—a panic had seized both leader and people; and, after spiking the guns and dismantling the fortifications, a sufficient guard was placed over the women to protect them, and they were desired to inform their master, that they were detained as hostages by the Europeans; and that any indignity offered to English females by his orders, would be retaliated upon their own persons.

The following despatch of the 20th of July, furnishes the details of General Havelock's victory of the 16th of July, in front of Cawnpore:—

"Sir,—I have the pleasure to announce, that the triumph of the Mahratta pretender, Nana Sahib, adopted nephew of the late 'ex-Peishwa, Bajee Rao,' has been of short duration. The treacherous proceedings by which he compassed the destruction of the force under the gallant Sir Hugh Wheeler, have already been reported to the commander-in-chief.

"I have now to announce the complete discomfiture of his force, under his personal command, and the capture of his cannon, followed by the reoccupation of this station, which, since the 6th of June, he has been devastating and desecrating by every form of cruelty and oppression. He filled up the measure of his iniquities on the 15th; for, on hearing that the bridge at the Pandoo Nuddee was forced, he ordered the immediate massacre of the wives and children of our British soldiers still in his possession in this cantonment; which was carried out by his followers with every circumstance of barbarous malignity. My information was in every respect good; and I ascertained that he had taken up a position at the village of Ahirwa, where the Grand Trunk-road unites with that which leads direct to the military cantonment of Cawnpore. His intrenchments cut and rendered impassable both roads; and his guns, seven in

number (two light and five siege calibre), were disposed along his position, which consists of a series of villages. Behind these his infantry, consisting of mutinous troops and his own armed followers, was disposed for defence. It was evident that an attack in front would expose the British to a murderous fire from his heavy guns sheltered in his intrenchment. I resolved, therefore, to manœuvre to turn his left. My camp and baggage were accordingly kept back, under proper escort, at the village of Maharajpore, and I halted my troops there two or three hours in mango-groves to cook and gain shelter from a burning sun.

"My column then moved off, right in front; the fusiliers led, followed by two guns; then came the highlanders, in rear of whom was the central battery of six guns, under Captain Maude. The 64th and 84th had two guns more in their rear, and the regiment of Ferozepore closed the column. My troops, defiling at a steady pace, soon changed direction, and began to circle round the enemy's left. They were shrouded for some time by clumps of mango; but as soon as the enemy comprehended the object of their march, an evident sensation was created in his lines. He pushed forward on his left a large body of horse, and opened a fire of shot and shell from the whole of his guns. But he was evidently disconcerted by our advance on his flank, and anxious for his communication with Cawnpore. My troops continued their progress until his left was wholly opened to our attack, and then formed line and advanced in direct *échelon* of regiments and batteries from the right. A wing of the fusiliers again covered the advance extended as riflemen.

"The opportunity had arrived for which I have long anxiously waited, of developing the prowess of the 78th highlanders. Three guns of the enemy were strongly posted behind a lofty hamlet well intrenched. I directed this regiment to advance, and never have I witnessed conduct more admirable. They were led by Colonel Hamilton, and followed him with surpassing steadiness and gallantry under a heavy fire. As they approached the village they cheered, and charged with the bayonet, the pipes sounding the pibroch. Need I add that the enemy fled, the village was taken, and the guns captured. On the left, Major Stirling, with the 64th, was equally successful against another village, and took three guns. The enemy's infantry appeared to be everywhere in full retreat; and I had ordered the fire to cease, when a reserve 24-pounder was opened on the Cawnpore-road, which caused considerable loss to my force; and, under cover of its fire, two large bodies of cavalry at the same time riding insolently over the plain, the infantry once more rallied. The beating of their large drums, and numerous mounted officers in front, announced the definite struggle of the 'Nana' for his usurped dominion.

"I had previously ordered my volunteer cavalry to adventure a charge on a more advanced part of the enemy's horse; and I have the satisfaction to report that they conducted themselves most creditably. One of their number, Mr. Carr, was killed in the charge. But the final crisis approached. My artillery cattle, wearied by the length of the march, could not bring up guns to my assistance; and the 1st Madras fusiliers, 64th, 84th, and 78th detachments, formed in line, were exposed to a heavy fire from the 24-pounder on the road. I was resolved this state of things should not last; so, calling upon my men, who were lying down in line, to leap on their feet, I directed another steady advance. It was irresistible. The enemy sent round shot into our ranks until we were within 300 yards, and then poured in grape with such precision and determination as I have seldom witnessed. But the 64th, led by Major Stirling and my aide-de-camp (who had placed himself in their front), were not to be denied. Their rear showed the ground strewed with wounded; but on they steadily and silently came; then with a cheer charged, and captured the unwieldy trophy of their valour. The enemy lost all heart, and after a hurried fire of musketry gave way in total rout. Four of my guns came up and completed their discomfiture by a heavy cannonade; and as it grew dark, the roofless barracks of our artillery were dimly descried in advance, and it was evident that Cawnpore was once more in our possession.

"The points of this victory I shall have afterwards to describe. The troops had been thirteen hours in their bivouac, when a tremendous explosion shook the earth. 'Nana Sahib,' in full retreat to Bithoor, had blown up the Cawnpore magazine.

"The first movements of the Mahratta

indicated a determination to defend himself desperately. Reports from the front assured us that he had assembled 5,000 men, and placed forty-five guns in position for the defence of his stronghold; but his followers have since despaired, and I have taken possession of Bithoor without a shot. I was joined by the steamer *Berhampoota* this morning, which is now in easy communication with me. I must reiterate my obligations to the officers commanding my detachments and batteries; to Major Stephenson, Madras fusiliers; Colonel Hamilton, the leader of my highlanders, who had his horse shot; Major Stirling, 64th, who is slightly wounded; Captain Currie, 84th, severely, I fear dangerously, wounded (since dead); Captain Maude, artillery; Captain Brasyer, commanding the regiment of Ferozepore; and Captain Barrow, commanding my small body of horse. Lieutenant-colonel Tytler's zeal and gallantry have been beyond all praise.

"It was my desire to have offered my thanks in like terms to Captain Beatson, deputy assistant-adjutant-general; but I can now only record my opinion over his grave. He was attacked by cholera on the morning of this fight; and though he did his duty throughout it, and bivouacked with the troops, he sunk in three days under the violence of his disorder. Lieutenant Moorsom, her majesty's light infantry, assisted in carrying my orders, and displayed great courage and much intelligence. I have already mentioned the conduct of my aide-de-camp in front of the 64th throughout the fight; he was seen wherever danger was most pressing, and I beg specially to commend him to the protection and favour of his excellency the commander-in-chief.

"I enclose returns of killed, wounded, and missing, and ordnance captured.

"I have, &c.—H. Havelock,

"Brigadier-general, commanding Allahabad Movable Column."

The preceding despatch, with the casualty returns, and lists of ordnance, &c., captured in the actions referred to, were forwarded to the governor-general in council, by the commander-in-chief, with the following high testimony to the valuable services of Brigadier-general Havelock:—

"Calcutta, July 31st, 1857.

"Sir,—I have the honour, by desire of the commander-in-chief, to forward, for submission to the right honourable the governor-general of India in council, two despatches received from Brigadier-general H. Havelock, C.B., commanding the movable column, dated the 15th and 20th of July, giving an account of his engagements with the rebels under the Nana Sahib, at the bridge over the Pandoo Nuddee, and at the recapture of Cawnpore from the same enemy.

"His excellency considers that the greatest credit is due to the Brigadier-general and to the brave troops under his command. They have marched 130 miles in eight days, at the most trying season of the year; fought three obstinately contested combats, in each of which the insurgents have been signally beaten; destroyed the stronghold of that arch-fiend and traitor the Nana Sahib, and captured forty-four pieces of ordnance, many of which are of large calibre.

"General Havelock has, on many occasions, handled his force with the ability which might have been expected from his well-won reputation as a brave, skilful, and experienced soldier; and Sir P. Grant begs to recommend him, and the several officers he has specified in his despatches, to the most favourable consideration of his lordship in council; and his excellency desires further to draw especial attention to the glowing terms in which General Havelock describes the excellent conduct, and gallantry under fire, of the troops of all arms serving with him in the field.—I have, &c.,

"W. Mayhew, Deputy Adjutant-general.

"To the Secretary to the Government."

The following general order was issued to the troops on the 20th of July:—

"Camp, Cawnpore, July 20th.

"The brigadier-general takes blame to himself for not having yet noticed in orders the gallant behaviour of the troops in the two affairs of the 15th inst., and the victory of the 16th. But he has in the meantime sustained a heavy loss in the sudden death of his deputy assistant-adjutant-general, and his time has been preoccupied in preparations for the troops' further cause of congratulation.

"Cawnpore, won by Lord Lake in 1803, has been a happy and peaceful place ever since; until the wretched ambition of a man, whose uncle's life was, by a too indulgent government, spared in 1817, filled it in 1857 with rapine and bloodshed. When, soldiers, your valour won the bridge at the Pandoo Nuddee, you were signing the

death-warrant of the helpless women and children of your comrades of the 32nd; they were murdered in cold blood by the miscreant Nana Sahib, whose troops fled in dismay at the victorious shout of your line on the evening of the memorable 16th.

"Soldiers! Your general is satisfied, and more than satisfied with you. He has never seen steadier or more elevated troops. But your labours are only beginning. Between the 7th instant and the 16th you have, under the Indian sun of July, marched 126 miles, and fought four actions. But your comrades at Lucknow are in peril. Agra is besieged. Delhi is still the focus of mutiny and rebellion. You must make great sacrifices if you would obtain great results. Three cities have to be saved—two strong places to be disblockaded. Your general is confident that he can effect all these things, and restore this part of India to tranquillity, if you only second him with your efforts, and if your discipline is equal to your valour.

"Highlanders! It was my earnest desire to afford you the opportunities of showing you how your predecessors conquered at Maida. You have not degenerated! Assaye was not won by a more silent, compact, and resolute charge than was the village near Jansemow on the 16th instant.

"64th! You have put to silence the gibes of your enemies throughout India; you reserved your fire until you saw the colour of your enemies' moustachios: this gave us the victory."

After the troops had effectually taken possession of the city and cantonments, General Havelock signally avenged the death of Sir Hugh Wheeler and his companions in arms and in heroism. The rebel sepoys and troopers captured alive during the engagements of the 16th, were collectively tried by drum-head court-martial, and hanged. Aware that they could urge no plea for mercy, the men, with a stoicism peculiar to their ideas of religion, became at once resigned to an inevitable fate, and submitted, without an appeal, to the ignominious death they had provoked by their transcendant perfidy. The demeanour of many of these wretches when in the unrelenting grasp of the provost-marshal, has been described as worthy of men suffering in a righteous cause. One of the native magistrates of the town, who had taken an active part against the Europeans, and whose complicity in the treasonable designs of Nana Sahib had been clearly established, manifested the utmost indifference when the sentence that consigned him to a felon's death was pronounced. Turning from his judges with perfect coolness and composure, he walked towards the gallows on which he was to be suspended, gazed with apparent indifference at the preparations around him, and preserved an unaltered and perfectly calm demeanour while the hangman performed his functions, and launched him into eternity. Fortified by the assurances of his creed, death to him was but a transition from the hated association of infidel Feringhees, to the blissful enjoyments of a material paradise, or to an incarnation that would anticipate for him, by millions of years, the fruition of supreme felicity.

On the 20th of July, General Havelock reported by telegraph to the commander-in-chief as follows:—

"Nana Sahib's followers appear to be deserting him. He has fled from Bithoor, which was occupied yesterday without resistance. Thirteen guns were found in the place. His palace is in flames. Brigadier-general Neill joined me this morning with 227 men of the 84th."

The same day, also, a telegram from General Neill reported to the commander-in-chief thus:—

"Arrived here this morning with the head-quarters of the 84th—all well. Found the force crossing the river. General looks well and in good spirits. Will get away I hope to-morrow. He informs me he will leave me in command here."

Again, on the 21st, General Havelock, whose operations were now to be directed to the relief of Lucknow, reported thus to the authorities at Calcutta:—

"Camp, Cawnpore, July 21st, 1857.

"I am free to cross the Ganges. Nana Sahib's force at Bithoor is entirely dispersed. We have brought from the place sixteen guns and a quantity of animals: set fire to his palace, and blown up his powder-magazine. A portion of my troops and five guns are already in position at the head of the road to Lucknow. The difficulties of a swollen, broad, and rapid river, with only a small steamer and a few boats, are not slight; but the whole army is full of hope that we shall soon be united on the left bank."

On the 23rd and 24th, the troops con-

tinued to cross the river into Oude; and on the 25th, Brigadier-general Neill reported by telegraph as follows:—

"I assumed command here (Cawnpore) yesterday, on General Havelock crossing over. I have at once set about re-establishing police, and our authority in bazaar and city; promulgated government orders for rewards for bringing in sepoys and public property; made Captain Bruce superintendent of police and intelligence department, already with good effect; put a stop to plundering: troop horses being brought in—suggest all should be kept for government use only, and all horses (private property of deceased officers) be taken by government at a fair valuation, for mounting dragoons and horsing batteries: a stringent government order should be issued on this head to all forces, particularly to General Havelock, where there is that disposition to plunder; a government order, stringent, against plundering also: some of the Nana's correspondence got hold of, implicating parties of the 17th regiment, under Subahdar Bhoondho Sing (name doubtful); destroyed boats here after General Wheeler and party embarked; particulars will be sent. All Europeans—men, women, and children—have been destroyed; the fate of four European men still doubtful, and inquiries instituted. All well here. I will hold my own against any odds. The civil powers ought to be ordered to take possession of Futtehpore, and all the country between this and Allahabad, and re-establish their authority."

The following document is a translation of a *perwunnah* of Nana Sahib's, alluded to in the preceding report of General Neill:—

"Health and prosperity to Bhoondho Sing, subahdar of the Barker (17th) regiment!*—Your petition regarding your arrival with treasure, and your plan for the seizure of certain sepoys who have absconded, has been received and read. The Sirkar Maharajah Bulkish, or (doubtful) Buhadoor, being pleased with your zeal and bravery, has approved of your deeds and your cleverness; and assuredly what you have done is deserving of praise and approval, and it was certainly proper that you should do something to please your chief.

"As to what you have written regarding the sepoys, a good plan will be made about them when you arrive here, because the sirkar has got thirteen guns, &c., posted in different places. Having devised measures with you, the runaway sepoys will be searched for and seized. At this time there are absolutely no English troops remaining here: they sought protection from the sirkar, and said, 'Allow us to get into boats, and go away:' therefore the sirkar has made arrangements for their going; and by ten o'clock to-morrow these people will have got into boats, and started on the river.

"The river on this side is shallow, and on the other side deep. The boats will keep to the other side, and go along for three or four koss. Arrangements for the destruction of these English will not be made here; but as these people will keep near the bank on the other side of the river, it is necessary that you should be prepared, and make a place to kill and destroy them on that side of the river, and, having obtained a victory, come here. The sirkar is much pleased with your conduct, and it is very conspicuous; and the English say that they will go in their boats to Calcutta. Janduce, trooper, who came from you, has also received a *perwunnah*, and been sent back.

"3 Zilkadeh, in the year 1273 Hijra, at ten o'clock at night on Friday."†

It will be seen, that upon Brigadier-general Neill succeeding to the command of Cawnpore, he lost no time in proceeding to "set his house in order," and he consequently followed in the steps of his predecessor with energy and decision. The mutinous sepoys that fell into his hands were simply hanged like dogs, and put out of sight; but, for the miscreants who took part in the outrages upon the unfortunate women and children at the Subada Kothee, a yet more ignominious and crushing retribution was exacted, as the following extract from a letter of General Neill will testify. He says—"I left Allahabad on the 16th, and joined General Havelock's force on the 21st, and found poor Major Renaud had been severely wounded. His horse was first shot under him; a bullet then hit him above the knee, forcing part of the scabbard of his sword into the wound, and causing much suffering. Amputation seemed to afford great relief, and he appeared doing well, when he suddenly expired, comparatively free from pain. He had done right

* This corps mutinied at Azimgurh on the 2nd of June; *ante*, p. 207.

† This must have been written on the 26th of June, the day the terms of capitulation were ratified by the oath of Nana Sahib.

well, and will be sincerely mourned in the regiment (the fusiliers), in which he was much respected and esteemed. Since I arrived here, I have been hard at work to get order re-established. I have now put a stop to the plundering I found going on, by reorganising a police. I am also collecting all the property of the deceased, and trying to trace if any have survived; but, as yet, have not succeeded in finding one. Man, woman, and child seem all to have been murdered. As soon as that monster, Nana Sahib, heard of the success of our troops, and of their having forced the bridge about twenty miles from Cawnpore, he ordered the wholesale butchery of the poor women and children. I find the officers' servants behaved shamefully, and were in the plot, all but the lowest caste ones. They deserted their masters and plundered them. Whenever a rebel is caught he is immediately tried; and, unless he can prove a defence, he is sentenced to be hanged at once: but the chief rebels, or ringleaders, I make first clean up a certain portion of the pool of blood, still two inches deep, in the shed where the fearful murder and mutilation of women and children took place. To touch blood is most abhorrent to the high-caste natives; they think, by doing so, they doom their souls to perdition. Let them think so. My object is to inflict a fearful punishment for a revolting, cowardly, barbarous deed, and to strike terror into these rebels. The first I caught was a subahdar, or native officer—a high-caste Brahmin, who tried to resist my order to clean up the very blood he had helped to shed: but I made the provost-marshal do his duty; and a few lashes soon made the miscreant accomplish his task. When done, he was taken out and immediately hanged, and, after death, buried in a ditch at the roadside. No one who has witnessed the scenes of murder, mutilation, and massacre, can ever listen to the word 'mercy,' as applied to these fiends. The well of mutilated bodies—alas! containing upwards of 200 women and children!—I have had decently covered in and built up as one large grave.* I am in the intrenched camp—a most miserable position. None

* Upon intelligence of this astounding atrocity being received in England, the indignation of all classes of the people was excited to a painful degree. The most absorbing feeling was, however, that of sorrow for the unutterable and shameful wrong to which our countrywomen and their children had been exposed; and among the first directions into which the current of public feeling rushed, the idea of some endurable monument that should carry down to the latest generations of mankind the memory of Indian treachery and ferocity, was most prominent. Various suggestions were offered for the realisation of this idea; but those contained in the two subjoined communications, appeared to embody the most general view of the public, and to be most deserving of attention. One individual, writing upon the subject, says—"I travelled a few days since with a gentleman, a retired officer of engineers, who is a near relative of seven of the Cawnpore victims; five of them were young ladies; one of them was the writer of that little chronicle of woe found amongst the relics of the slaughterhouse, and over which thousands of tears (not all feminine) have been shed since then. Among many interesting things which this intelligent man said, there was one which, it strikes me, ought not to pass and perish with a casual railway journey. 'They talk,' he said, 'of raising a monument over that well. They don't understand the natives, or they would do nothing of the sort. What does a Hindoo care for a marble pyramid or obelisk? Now, what they should do is this—build above that well a Christian temple, as small as you like, but splendid, so that after-generations of Christians shall say to as many generations of Mohammedans or Hindoos, 'Look here! On this spot your fathers wrought the blackest of their deeds to get rid of Christianity from India. See what came of it! Christian rights are now celebrated, and Christian worship presented, on the very site of that well, and above the ashes of 200 martyrs!' That would be worth 100 missionaries.' Surely, sir, to print this will be enough to commend it to 10,000 minds as well worthy at least of a thought. I believe that, whether the temple were Episcopalian or Nonconformist, there would be raised in a week, throughout London alone, the entire expense that would be demanded by the scheme. What an illustration it would be for coming ages to witness of the sacred truth—'He maketh the wrath of man to praise Him!'"—The other writer we have alluded to, observes—"It seems to be generally felt, that a Christian church erected over the well at Cawnpore, would be, at the same time, a most appropriate memorial of the dead, and a most striking lesson to the living. It is also felt that its erection should be a national act. But the preponderance of any one denomination among us is not sufficiently decided to entitle its forms of worship to be considered national, nor will the proposed church ever answer its full intention if it is either Episcopalian or Nonconformist. What would be the value or the effect on the native mind of a building on the very threshold of which either Protestant or Roman Catholic must needs part company with his fellow, and go no further? There is but one remedy. Let us for once have 'a house of prayer for all nations.' None but Christians will go there to pray. No Mussulman or Hindoo will choose that spot on which to offer his devotions. But let no Christians be excluded through the operation of sectarian distinctions. Let them enter and depart when they will, stand or kneel as they will, their devotion helped, perhaps, by the consciousness that others are praying around them, but certainly not impeded by any compulsion to use precisely the same words as their neighbours. By grasping at too much we lose all. By insisting that, whether liturgical or not, each man's prayer shall be

but Englishmen could have held it for a day, and yet how nobly did poor Sir H. Wheeler hold out here!"

Among other wretches who were drawn from their skulking places by the vigilance of the exasperated military police under Captain Bruce, and handed over to the provost-marshal, was the individual through whom the fatal orders of the Mahratta destroyer were given to the murderers. This fellow had been a native *employé* of the government, and, at the time of the revolt, was acting as collector. Upon the flight of his new patron, his Hindoo cunning encouraged him to hope that he might elude suspicion by affecting to remain in concealment through a terror of the insurgents; but the eye of Justice was upon him, and his subterfuge did not avail to screen him from the fate he merited. After this man's identity had been clearly established, and his complicity in directing the massacre proved beyond all doubt, he was compelled, upon his knees, to cleanse up a portion of the blood yet scattered over the fatal yard of the Subada Kothee, and, while yet foul from his sickening task, hung like a dog before the gratified soldiers; one of whom writes:—"The collector, who gave the order for the death of the poor ladies, was taken prisoner the day before yesterday, and now hangs from a branch of a tree about 200 yards off the roadside. His death was accidentally a painful one; for, from carelessness, or perhaps design, the rope was badly adjusted, and when the fellow dropped, the noose closed over his jaw: his hands then got loose, and he caught hold of the rope, and struggled to get free; but two men took hold of his legs, and jerked his body until his neck broke. This seems to me the just reward he should have got on earth for his barbarity."—Thus it is, that by the contemplation of horrors, men are made cruel; and acts at which their nature would revolt under other auspices, are looked upon as justifiable and praiseworthy.

With a view to the identification of property that had belonged to the unfortunate victims of the wholesale butchery perpetrated at Cawnpore, General Neill directed that all persons competent to recognise the property of their deceased relatives or friends, should be invited to do so; and to effect this object, the following letter was addressed by the superintendent of police to the conductors of the newspaper press in all parts of British India:—

"*The Sufferers at Cawnpore.*—Sir,—I am desired by General Neill to request you will have the goodness to make it as public as possible that the property of the unfortunate people who lost their lives here has been collected in one spot, and that any which can be recognised will be handed over to the owners, or put up to auction for the benefit of deceased estates, and the rest sold. There is a good deal of property belonging to the different mercantile firms here, as well as to the heirs of deceased officers, &c.; but when I mention that every house was gutted, and the property scattered over sixty or seventy square miles of country, it will be apparent how impossible it was to take care of individual interests. I would recommend any one connected with Cawnpore, to appoint an agent upon the spot who can recognise the property, and he should be armed with authority to receive charge of it. Almost all of the former European residents here having been murdered by the miscreant Nana Sahib, and no one being forthcoming to recognise or give any information concerning the property that has been saved, it would aid us very much were some European to return who may be acquainted with the former resi-

but the echo of that of some leader, and put into his mouth rather than proceeding fresh out of his own heart in his own words, or no words at all, we must inevitably exclude all but those of our own particular communion. To catch the contagion of a devotional spirit, it is sufficient that the spirit be there and obviously animating the worshippers—no matter in what terms they express themselves, or whether they all pray after precisely the same fashion, or each in his own fashion as he would pray in his own chamber. The great point is, that they know that they are all praying to the same God through the same Saviour. Much of the worship in Roman Catholic churches is of this nature. Much of the worship in the temple at Jerusalem was also of this nature. In this case, if ever, we might well be content with a broad instead of a narrow unity—a unity contrasting us as Christians with Mussulmans and Hindoos, not as Christians with rival Christians. Let us have at Cawnpore simply a place of prayer—no pews, no desks, no forms of worship—no preaching, nor ministers of any denomination; a cross, if you will, over the door, but nothing within except a pavement on which man, woman, and child alike may stand or kneel, and offer prayer, or thanksgiving, or confession of sin to the God of all through his Son Jesus Christ. As to the style and costliness of the work, I will only add, that if we are going to avail ourselves of æsthetics to make an impression upon the natives, it ought at least to equal their own great religious edifices; it ought at least to be worthy of our country, though we can never make it worthy of Him who will there be worshipped."—Other suggestions to the same effect were made.

dents, or be able to point out the property of different owners. I am desired to add, that as far as can be ascertained, the only Europeans who escaped are two officers and two soldiers, who fled across the river, and one pensioner of the 3rd light dragoons, who was concealed by a trooper of the 4th light cavalry in the city of Cawnpore. There are six males, three females, and three children with a petty rajah (of Kalpee) across the Jumna, and every possible means are being taken to recover them. The rajah of Kalpee treats these unfortunate people with kindness, and is disposed to restore them.

"The pressure of work is so great that it is impossible to send copies of this letter to the different presses in India, but General Neill trusts all will aid him in making public the information now conveyed.

"I am, Sir, your most obedient servant,
"HERBERT BRUCE, Captain,
"Superintendent Police.
"Cawnpore, July 31st."

And here, for the present, we may fitly close our revelations of the massacres of Cawnpore. It is not for the finite mind to grasp the purposes of Omnipotence, nor may man dare to arraign the dispensations of an All-wise Providence; but there is much in these harrowing details to shake weak faith, and to inspire awe and wonder in the firmest. A feeling more terrible than the mere desire of vengeance, arises in the heart when contemplating such barbarity; and the most reverent Christians may shudder when they are called upon to believe, that in the sight of the All-Wise, All-Beneficent, such a terrible ordeal could have been deemed necessary for the purification of His creatures. The history of the world scarcely affords a parallel to the frightful and cruel outrages that, in the summer of 1857, cast a stain upon the annals of British India, that it will take oceans of tears, and ages of humiliation and practical repentance, to efface.

CHAPTER XXI.

THE CANTONMENT AT FYZABAD; SUSPICIOUS CONDUCT OF THE NATIVE TROOPS; ARREST OF MAUN SING; APPROACH OF THE AZIMGURH MUTINEERS; PROFESSIONS OF LOYALTY; THE OUTBREAK; THE EUROPEAN OFFICERS PROTECTED AND DISMISSED; DEPARTURE FROM FYZABAD IN BOATS; ATTACKED BY THE AZIMGURH REBELS; ADVENTURES ON THE GOGRA; THE NAZIM HOSSEIN KHAN; ESCAPE OF COLONEL LENNOX AND FAMILY; PRIVATE DETAILS; NARRATIVE OF FARRIER-SERGEANT BUSHER; LIST OF CASUALTIES; THE PRESERVED; FRIGHTFUL SUFFERINGS OF A LADY AND THREE CHILDREN IN THE JUNGLE; THE BLOODLESS REVOLT AT JULLUNDUR; QUIET DESERTION BY THE TROOPS; NARRATIVE OF AN OFFICER; THE MUTINEERS AT PHILLOUR; LETTER FROM UMBALLAH; MILITARY EXECUTIONS AT FEROZEPORE, LOODIANA, AND PESHAWUR; MURDER OF SIR NORMAN LESLIE AT RHONEE.

RESUMING the chronological order of events connected with the insurrectionary movements of the Bengal native troops, our attention is directed to an outbreak at Fyzabad, a military station in Oude, and formerly the capital of that kingdom. The town is situated on the south bank of the Gogra, a tributary of the Ganges, and is about eighty miles eastward of the modern city of Lucknow, to which place the seat of government was removed from Fyzabad by the nabob, Asoph-ud-Dowlah, upon his accession to the musnud in 1775. Some remains of the palace and fortress of the native princes are yet visible at Fyzabad; and in the immediate vicinity of the town are the time-worn ruins of Ayodha, or Oude (the ancient capital), which are still esteemed by the Hindoos as sacred, from being the abode of Rama, the site of whose temple is still resorted to by pilgrims from all parts of India. The native population of Fyzabad is numerous; but consists chiefly of the descendants of persons of *low-caste,* who were forbidden to follow the court and principal inhabitants upon their removal to Lucknow.

At the end of May, 1857, the troops in cantonment at Fyzabad, consisted of the 22nd regiment of Bengal native infantry, under the command of Colonel Lennox; the 6th regiment irregular Oude infantry, commanded by Lieutenant-colonel O'Brien; a troop of irregular cavalry, and a company

of the 7th battalion of Bengal artillery, with one horse battery of light field guns, under the command of Major Mill, of the Hon. Company's artillery. This force was, as usual, stationed in cantonments a short distance from the town; and, until the latter part of May, nothing had occurred to excite suspicion of any ill-feeling toward the Europeans, either on the part of the troops or the inhabitants. The rajah, Maun Sing, was upon amicable terms with the officers and their families, and mutual confidence appeared to exist.

At length, indications of a perturbed spirit among the troops, who had been visited by emissaries from some of the regiments in revolt, became manifest. The confidence between the European officers and their men was shaken, and each party eyed the other with suspicion and disregard. This unpleasant state of affairs commenced several days before any decisive step was taken, either on the part of the troops or the authorities; but it became daily more and more apparent that an outbreak would be inevitable. Anticipating the crisis, an officer holding civil charge of the Fyzabad district, made arrangements with the rajah, Maun Sing, for the protection of the women and children of the station: the charge was readily undertaken; and there was every reason to believe it would have been faithfully observed.

The temper of the troops had become excessively embarrassing to their European officers, who were without any force upon which they could rely for support in an endeavour to re-establish the discipline of the two regiments; and, in the midst of the difficulty by which they were surrounded, an order arrived from Lucknow, directing the immediate arrest of their influential friend, Maun Sing. This ill-timed step was carried out by Colonel Goldney, the superintendent commissioner of Fyzabad, in opposition to the earnest remonstrances and written protest of the assistant-commissioner, who, after the indignity had been perpetrated, obtained permission to release the prisoner, just in time to ensure the safety of the ladies and children, by sending them, under his protection, to a fortified residence belonging to him at Shahgunj. Three ladies—Mrs. Colonel Lennox, her daughter (Mrs. Morgan, wife of Captain Morgan, 22nd regiment), and Mrs. Major Mill—alone remained with their husbands at Fyzabad.

On the 3rd of June, it was reported to the civil authorities, that the mutineers of the 17th regiment from Azimgurh were approaching Fyzabad; and a council was at once held with the officers in command of the troops, that measures might be adopted to meet the emergency. Colonel Lennox, as senior in charge of the station, immediately summoned the officers commanding, with their respective staffs, and the senior native officers, to a conference, when the latter declared themselves true and loyal, and ready to act in resisting the advance of the mutineers. Such precautions as could now be taken were adopted for the defence of the lines from outward attack, although grave causes for disquietude, as regarded their safety from the attack of traitors within, still existed.

At length, on the 7th of June, as the mutineers had not yet arrived, and the troops in cantonment expressed great impatience at being compelled to wait inactive for them, it was proposed by Colonel Lennox, that they should march out to a village called Surooj-Khoond, about five miles from the cantonments, and give battle to the rebels. To this, however, the native officers objected, alleging that they had their families and property in the lines, and there they intended to protect both by remaining in the cantonments: they declared they would render loyal service, and would fight valiantly for their lives, and for those belonging to them; but they were sure the men would not quit the lines. At the close of this consultation, the native officers shook hands with Colonel Lennox and his officers with apparent cordiality, and left, saying, "We are all of one heart." Thus ended the military council of the 7th of June.

Towards evening of Monday, June the 8th, a messenger arrived at the cantonment, with intelligence that the mutineers of the 17th regiment would march into Fyzabad early on the following morning; and active preparations were immediately made for their reception. These will be best described in the words of Colonel Lennox, who, in his statement addressed to the adjutant-general for the information of the commander-in-chief, says—"Every officer was at his post in the lines of the regiment, myself at the quarter-guard, and the troops by their arms. Two companies were told-off for the support of the 13th light field battery artillery, and every precaution was

taken for defensive operations. At 10 P.M., an alarm was sounded in the lines of the 6th irregular Oude infantry, and taken up by the 22nd regiment of native infantry; the battery prepared for action, loaded, and fusees lighted; when the two companies in support of the guns immediately closed in and crossed bayonets over the vents, preventing the officer of the artillery from approaching the battery. This was reported to me by Major Mill, commanding the artillery. I then went to the guns, and explained to my men that the bugle-sound was a false alarm, and ordered them to return to their respective posts, and leave only one sentry over each gun. I then returned to the lines of the 22nd, with a view to dismissing that regiment. I found the light cavalry had surrounded the regimental magazine, in order, as they said, to protect it. It appears this was a preconcerted scheme; for the 5th troop of the 15th irregular cavalry sallied out, and instantly planted patrols all round the lines. I again visited the guns, but was refused admittance; the subahdar (the prime leader of the mutiny, Dhuleep Sing) telling me it was necessary to guard the guns, and he would take care of them, requesting me to go to the quarter-guard and take my rest, and that nothing should happen to myself and officers so long as we remained with the regiment: a guard with fixed bayonets surrounded me, and escorted me to my charpoy. The officers also of the regiment were not allowed to move twelve paces without a guard following them. Several officers asked me leave to flee away. I told them I had no power, and that I was a prisoner as well as themselves; but if they would remain quiet in their lines till daybreak, Dhuleep Sing would give them an escort to the boats at Meerum ghat, and send them off down the Gogra. Two officers trying to escape were fired at by the cavalry patrols, and brought back into the lines. About sunrise on the 9th, the officers were allowed to take to the boats, myself and family alone remaining in cantonments. At 10 A.M., Subahdar Dhuleep Sing visited me, having previously placed sentries all round my bungalow. He stated he was sorry for what had occurred, but such was our fate, and he could not prevent it; that the rissaldar of the 5th troop of 15th irregular cavalry was the leader, but that not a hair of our heads should be touched; and that he (the subahdar) had come to order us a boat and get it prepared for us, and he hoped we should pass down the river in safety, for he could not be answerable for us when the 17th native infantry arrived at Fyzabad. We remained in cantonments till 2 P.M., and during the course of the day, the Moolavie who had created a disturbance in the city of Fyzabad, and was confined in our quarter-guard until released by the mutineers, sent requesting my full-dress regimentals, which were delivered up to him. He sent the sub-assistant-surgeon of the dispensary to assure me how grieved he was that I should be obliged to flee, as through my kindness he had been taken much care of while confined three months in the quarter-guard of the regiment, and had been allowed by me his hookah; at the same time requesting me to remain, and he would take care of me and my family. The sub-assistant-surgeon begged me to pardon him for obeying the orders of those whom he now served; that times were altered, and he must obey those who fed and clothed him."

The mutiny of the troops had now become a fact established: the gaol guard had left their post, and the mutineers had undisputed possession of the city and cantonments; but, unlike their comrades in disaffection in many other places, the men of the two infantry regiments abstained from offering violence or insult to their European officers. Not so, however, with the troopers of the 15th irregular cavalry, who held a council, and proposed to murder every officer; but were restrained by their more moderate fellows, who, on the other hand, informed their officers that they were free to leave, and might take with them their private arms and property, but no public property, as that all belonged to the king of Oude. They then placed guards round the bungalows of the officers, to ensure their safety until they could leave, and stationed sentries over the magazines and public buildings; they also sent out pickets from each regiment, to prevent the townspeople and budmashes from plundering. The officers made a last attempt to recall them to their duty by appealing to their loyalty, and the distinctions won by both regiments, in well-fought battles, by the side of their European comrades; but it was of no avail—the men heard them respectfully; but when the officers had finished addressing them, they stated that

they were now under the orders of their native officers; that the subahdar-major of the 22nd regiment had been appointed to the command of the station; and that each corps had appointed one of its own officers to be chief, from whom only they could now receive orders.

Returning to the statement of Colonel Lennox, who was still remaining with his family in the lines; he says—"The sepoys guarding our house becoming riotous and insolent for plunder, we deemed it prudent to leave; and all being ready, we were enabled to leave Fyzabad by boat at 2 o'clock P.M. In nearing Ayodha, we were suddenly hailed by a cavalry patrol, who, after looking into the boat, suffered us to pass on. We had not proceeded far when another scout hailed us, ordering us to bring-to, or we should be fired upon. He also suffered us to pass; the sepoys with us (Thacur Missir and Sunker Sing) explaining to the scout that we were sent off by the rissaldar. At about half-past ten at night we passed the camp of the 17th regiment; but in rounding a sand-bank, came upon a picket of the mutineers, and were advised by our sepoys and boatmen to leave the boat, and creep along the side of the sand-bank, and that the boat should be brought round to meet us. We accordingly did so, and crossed the sand-bank, being out nearly two hours: when the boat came round at midnight, we crossed over the river to the Goruckpore district. In the morning, about daybreak, some men coming down to bathe, told us that there were men on the look-out for Europeans, and advised us to leave our boat as soon as we could, and follow some six or seven *sahibs* (officers) who, the day before, had gone on towards Goruckpore. We were about leaving the boat, when a party of men came down and inquired who was in the boat; being satisfied by the boatmen, they went away, and we then immediately quitted the boat, leaving our remaining property, which the subahdar had directed to be given us at Fyzabad, and which was now plundered by the villagers.

"We began our flight towards Goruckpore on foot, with only the clothes we had on. Our *ayah* (woman-servant) and *khitmutgur* (table-attendant) accompanied us; we stopped often under trees and at wells, and had proceeded about six miles (it being now ten o'clock), when we halted at a village, and having got a draught of milk, prepared to rest during the heat of the day. We were, however, soon disturbed; for a horseman advanced over the country, armed to the teeth, having a huge horse-pistol in his hand, which he cocked, and levelling it at my head, desired me to follow him to the camp of the 17th native infantry, and make no delay, for he was to get a reward of 500 rupees for each of our heads. We had not retraced our steps for more than a mile, when a lad joined us who was known to the horseman, which determined the latter to make us quicken our pace. The lad, however, persuaded him to let us drink water and rest near a village; and while so doing, he sent a boy to bring men to our rescue. It appears that a nazim (Meer Mahomed Hossein Khan) had a small fort close by, about three-quarters of a mile off. The nazim immediately sent out ten or twelve foot-men armed, who, on coming up, directed us to follow them, and also led the horseman by the bridle, having disarmed him. One of the men sent out for our rescue greatly abused me; and looking at his pistol and priming, swore he would shoot those Englishmen who had come to take away their caste and make them Christians. About mid-day, we reached the fortified dwelling of the nazim, and were ushered into the place where he was holding a council. He bade us rest and take some sherbet, assuring us that no harm should happen to us; and he rebuked his insolent retainer for hinting that a stable close by would do for us to dwell in, as we should not require it long, he being prepared to kill the dogs. The nazim again rebuked him, and told us not to fear, for he would not suffer us to quit till the road was open and we could reach Goruckpore in safety. On the second day the nazim, fearing that the scouts of the 17th would give intelligence that Europeans were hid in his fort, made us assume native dresses; the zenana clothed my wife and daughter, and the nazim clothed me. He then dressed up a party in our English clothing, and sent them out with an escort, about nine at night, to deceive his outposts, and also the villagers; they returned about midnight in their proper dresses; and it was supposed by all, except the confidential persons of the nazim's household, that he had sent us away. We remained in captivity in rear of his zenana, in a reed hut, nine days, treated kindly, having plenty of food, and a daily visit from our keeper.

"The nazim personally visited the mutineers at Fyzabad, to learn their plan; which was to march to the attack of Lucknow, and then proceed to Delhi. The first time he visited the regiments at Fyzabad, they inquired very minutely concerning certain Europeans he had harboured. The nazim declared he had only fed and rested three Europeans, and then sent them on: to this they replied—'It is well; we are glad you took care of the colonel and his family.'

"After we had been in captivity seven days, the nazim came to me and said, he had just heard that the collector of Goruckpore was at the station, and if I would write a letter to him he would get it safely conveyed. On Thursday, the 18th of June, an alarm was given that an enemy was in full force coming against the fort; my wife and daughter were immediately hid in the zenana, and myself hid in a dark wood (godown.) The horsemen, however, on nearing the fort, were found to be a party sent by the collector of Goruckpore for our rescue. The nazim furnished my wife and daughter with palkees; and the rest of us, on horses, left our noble and considerate host at 11 A.M., and passing Amorah, reached Captaingunge at 4 P.M., where I found Farrier-sergeant Busher, of the artillery, who also had been rescued from captivity by Mr. Pippy, with a guard of the 12th irregular cavalry. The next day we arrived at Bustee, and were hospitably received by Mr. Osborne, opium agent, and his family, who gave us European clothing. After remaining three days, we proceeded to Goruckpore, thence to Azimgurh, thence to Ghazeepore, and by river steamer to Calcutta; when the medical board advised that I should proceed to England for the recovery of my health.

"Throughout this severe trial, I have found the promise fulfilled to me and my family—'And as thy days, so shall thy strength be.'

"W. LENNOX, Colonel, Bengal Army.

"Calcutta, August 1st."

Of the party of officers that left Fyzabad in the boats at sunrise on the 9th of June, we have several accounts; the boats having separated, and each freight of fugitives having its peculiar adventures. The following appear to be the most distinctly-marked portions of their narratives. One officer writes thus:—"After a long altercation amongst the mutineers, it was determined that the officers should be allowed to go. They went off in boats; but just opposite Begumgunj they were seen by the 17th regiment native infantry (mutineers from Azimgurh), who gave chase, and here poor Goldney, Bright, and a sergeant appear to have been shot; Mill, Currie, and Parsons drowned, having left the boats and attempted to escape inland. The rest of the party got to the Tehseeldaree of Kuptamgunj, where they were well treated, and received fifty rupees to prosecute their journey to Goruckpore. At a bazaar on the road called Mahadewa, a body of armed men sallied forth, and, without the slightest provocation, cut the unfortunate fellows to pieces. Here English, Lindsay, Cautley, Thomas, and Ritchie, with two sergeants, fell. One artillery sergeant (Busher) alone escaped. Another party—O'Brien, Gordon, Collison, Anderson, and Percival—changed their boat, and got a covered one at Ajoodhia; they lay *perdu*, and were not observed by the 17th regiment native infantry. Hiding in the daytime and travelling at night, they managed to reach Gopalpore, in the Goruckpore district, where a powerful rajah took them under his protection, and forwarded them to Dinapore. A third party consisted of Morgan and his wife, Fowle, Ouseley, and Daniell. They were robbed, imprisoned, and suffered great hardships—almost starvation; but they, too, eventually escaped. I must now return to my own party. The troops mutinied on the night of the 8th, but did not come down to the city till the morning of the 9th of June. Orr and Thurburn slept at my gateway; Bradford, being obstinate, slept at the Dilkoosha. We had about a hundred armed invalids. We tried to raise levies, and, with Maun Sing's co-operation, might have succeeded. As it was, we failed. We collected 400 or 500; but the greater portion were rather a source of apprehension, and I was obliged to get rid of them.

"During the night of the 8th, the gaol guard (6th Oude irregulars) and others left their posts, and the mutineers stationed themselves so as to prevent all communication through the city. I was unable to warn Bradford. They came down upon us in three divisions, with two guns attached to each; and, having no means of resistance, we bolted from my gateway towards the Akburpore-road. We at first intended to go to Shahgunj, but, fearing

the sowars, who were most bloodthirsty, I turned off as soon as we got out of sight, and made for Rampore, but finally went to Gowrah. I knew the zemindars well in these parts. We changed quarters in the evening to a pundit's at no great distance, and thence went to Shahgunj. We had at that time the Azimgurh mutineers coming on the Tanda-road, and those from Benares on the Dostpore and Akburpore lines. Bradford managed to get away on foot. I had lent him my Arab for the flight, but he could not find it. We were afterwards told that these brutes of sowars followed us as far as Bhadursa, but we saw nothing of them.

"The day after we reached Shahgunj, Maun Sing sent to say, that the troops would not harm the ladies and children, but insisted upon our being given up, and were coming to search the fort; that he would get boats, and that we must be off at once. We were all night going across country to the ghat at Jelalooden-nuggur, during which time we were robbed by Maun Sing's men of almost all the few things we had managed to take with us. The ladies took some of their valuables to Shahgunj; of course we had only the clothes on our backs: however, we got off—first in two boats, but afterwards in one—eight women, fourteen children, and seven men. We suffered great misery and discomfort. The heat, too, was terrific. We were plundered by Oodit Narain, one of the Birhur men; and when they took Orr and me into one of the forts, I fully expected to be polished off; and all the ladies got ready to throw their children into the river and jump after them. However, God willed it otherwise, and Madho Persad, the Birhur Baboo, came to the rescue—entertained us hospitably for five or six days, and then forwarded us to Gopalpore, where we were comparatively safe."

Another gentleman who shared the perils of the Fyzabad mutiny, says—"I remember the officers in the two boats. I accompanied Lieutenant Bright, 22nd native infantry; Lieutenant Parsons, 6th Oude irregulars; Lieutenant Cautley, 22nd native infantry. Sergeant Busher, Sergeant-major, Quartermaster-sergeant, 22nd native infantry, and myself were in one boat; Colonel Goldney, Lieutenant Currie, artillery; Lieutenant Ritchie, 22nd native infantry; Sergeant Edwards, and Sergeant-major Matthews, in the second boat; three other boats followed behind. We waited two hours for them, but, as they did not come, we pushed off. As we were getting into the boat we saw the sepoys of the 22nd rushing towards the treasury; there were about two lacs and 40,000 rupees in Captain Drummond's house, where the treasure had been placed. On reaching a place called Begumgunj, about ten miles below Fyzabad, we met some mutineers encamped; at half-past one these men fired upon us; there were 800 or 900 of them; about 100 men fired upon us when we were 600 yards off. Colonel Goldney advised our pushing off to the opposite bank of the Gogra; we got on an island among some jhow fields. The mutineers got into dhingies and followed us; we made for the main boat from the island; there were about forty or fifty yards of water between. Major Mill was drowned. The sergeant-major, Lieutenant Bright, and I were made prisoners, and taken to the camp of the mutineers, who were men of the 17th and 37th native infantry and the 17th irregular cavalry. We were taken before the subahdar commanding the rebels: I don't know his name; he was a Hindoo, and belonged to the 17th native infantry. He was an old man, slightly made, about five feet eight inches high, with gray hair, no hair on his face, and dark complexion. He asked us who we were: we replied. He then appealed to the Mussulmans on the Koran, and to the Hindoos on the cow, not to injure us, and told us to go away. Two men of the 17th then stepped out and shot the sergeant-major and Lieutenant Bright. I was rescued by an artilleryman, and was hid in a serai at Begumgunj, and sent off in disguise. While we were talking to the subahdar, some fifteen or sixteen of the irregular cavalry, and ten or twelve sepoys, went after the remainder of our party. We heard firing across the river; the party returned, and reported they had killed Colonel Goldney and six other officers, and that three had escaped. On arriving at Tanda, on the 10th instant, I heard people in the serai saying that six or seven officers had been killed, and two or three were sheltered by some zemindars in the Goruckpore district. After this I came *viâ* Mattoopore, Shahgunj, and Juanpore. Captain Reed, deputy-commissary; Captain A. P. Orr, assistant-commissary; Mr. E. O. Bradford, ditto; and Captain Thurburn, reached Rajah Maun Sing's house, and he promised

shelter and protection. When I was at Mattoopore I heard that the above officers were going down in boats, with their families, escorted by some of the rajah's guard. At Tanda I heard that a Mr. Fitzgerald (clerk in the deputy-commissioner's office) and Overseer-sergeant Hurst, who were escorting the families of some sergeants to Allahabad, *viâ* Sultanpore, were killed, and the women and children also murdered. I do not know what has become of the officers who were in the boats behind us when we left Fyzabad."

A great deal of the uncertainty that might otherwise have existed as to the ultimate fate of many of the fugitives, is removed by the personal narrative of Farrier-sergeant Busher, of the light field battery, who left the station in one of the boats on the morning of the 9th; and, after many extraordinary deliverances, arrived in safety at Ghazeepore on the 26th of June. The sergeant's statement commences with the incidents of the 8th of the month, and proceeds thus:—"On the morning of the 8th of June news was brought into the station, that the 17th native infantry, mutineers of Azimgurh, had encamped a day's journey from Fyzabad, and intended marching into the station the following morning. I received orders from Major Mill, commanding the battery, to send my family without delay to Shahgunj, and place them under the protection of Rajah Maun Sing, of that place. I accordingly did so, sending along with them the families of four other non-commissioned officers. In the evening, by order of Colonel Lennox, commanding the station, two companies of the 22nd native infantry were ordered to support our guns, and to take up their position, one on either side of the battery, or a company on each flank. This they did. The officers and men—both Europeans and natives—remained with their guns all ready for action, when about 11 P.M. the alarm was sounded in the lines of the 6th Oude irregular infantry, on hearing which the *golundauze*, or native artillery, immediately loaded their guns with grape. While the portfiremen were in the act of lighting the portfires, the two companies of the 22nd, that were placed on either side of the guns, rushed in, with loaded muskets in hand, among the artillery, and pointed them at the heads of the golundauze. Colonel Lennox, and the other officers of the 22nd native infantry, were on the spot almost immediately after the occurrence, and tried, by every persuasion, to get the men from the guns, but to no purpose. About this time the whole of the 22nd native infantry left their lines, and advanced towards our position shouting. On coming up they ordered us (the Europeans) to quit this place, and said the guns were no longer ours, but theirs. We were escorted by a portion of the 22nd native infantry to the quarter-guard of that regiment, and kept there under restraint till the following morning, when at break of day we were escorted to the river-side, and directed to enter some boats that had been provided for us by the insurgents, and proceed down the river.

"While at the ghat, intelligence was brought to our escort, that the mutineers were helping themselves to the treasure. This caused the escort to hasten back to the lines as quickly as possible. Here I will take the liberty to mention, that the rissaldar of the 15th irregulars appeared to be the moving man in the mutiny, and undertook the general direction of affairs.

"When the escort left us we took to the boats, four in number, but found them without boatmen. However, as there was no time to proceed in search of boatmen, it was resolved that the boats should be manned by ourselves; so we got in, and, as far as my memory serves me, in the order mentioned below.*

"In this way we dropped down the river on the 9th, a little before sunrise. While dropping down, a sepoy of the 22nd (Teg Ali Khan), who had not joined the mutineers, was observed following in a canoe. He hailed and requested to be taken with the party. He was accordingly taken into No. 1 boat. An hour or so after he was

* "In No. 1, or the first boat:—Colonel Goldney, commissioner; Lieutenant Currie, artillery; Lieutenant Cautley, 22nd native infantry; Lieutenant Ritchie; Lieutenant Parsons, 6th Oude irregulars; Sergeant-major Matthews; Sergeant Edwards, 13th light field battery; Sergeant Busher, ditto.—In No. 2, or second boat:—Major Mill, commanding 13th light field battery; Adjutant Bright, 22nd native infantry; Sergeant-major Hulme, ditto; Mrs. Hulme; Quartermaster-sergeant Russell, 22nd native infantry; Bugler Williamson, 13th light field battery.—In No. 3, or third boat:—Colonel O'Brien, 6th Oude irregulars; Captain Gordon, ditto; Assistant-surgeon Collison, ditto; Lieutenant Anderson, 22nd native infantry; Lieutenant Percival, 13th light field battery.—In No. 4, or fourth boat:—Lieutenant Thomas, 22nd native infantry; Lieutenant Lindsay, ditto; Lieutenant English, ditto."

taken up he made himself useful in procuring boatmen for Nos. 1 and 2 boats near a village. After a little delay, which occurred in procuring boatmen, we again proceeded, and in a short time boats Nos. 1 and 2 passed the town of Ajoodhia. This was between 8 and 9 A.M.; boat No. 3 was observed to put in at Ajoodhia, and No. 4 was lost sight of, having dropped far astern. Nos. 1 and 2 proceeded on, and after leaving Ajoodhia about three miles in the rear, put-to to await the arrival of Nos. 3 and 4. After waiting two hours, and seeing no signs of the boats coming, we again proceeded on for about nine koss (or eighteen miles) down stream, when we observed what appeared to be scouts running along the right bank of the river, and giving notice of our approach. We then suspected all was not right, that we had been duped, and purposely led into danger. On proceeding a little further we distinctly observed a regiment of mounted cavalry, and another of native infantry in a body, at the narrowest part of the stream, awaiting our approach. We had no alternative but to proceed on. When Nos. 1 and 2 boats arrived opposite to them they opened a brisk fire on us. Sergeant Matthews, who was one of the rowers, was the first who fell, a ball having struck him at the back of the head. Another ball struck my hat and knocked it into the stream, sustaining no injury myself. Those in No. 2 boat, about 100 yards behind, seeing our hazardous situation, put their boat to at a sand-bank, entirely surrounded by water. We in No. 1 then put-to also and went ashore, when Colonel Goldney requested us to lay down our arms and wait to see if we could come to terms with the mutineers, they directing their fire on us (Nos. 1 and 2) the whole time. Some boats with mutineers pushed off from the opposite shore, and came towards us. When about the centre of the stream they opened fire on us. Colonel Goldney observing this, directed that those who could run should, without any further loss of time, endeavour to escape, remarking that there was not even the shadow of a chance of our meeting with mercy at their hands, and at the same time added that he was too old himself to run. We, now seven in number, including Teg Ali Khan, took Colonel Goldney's advice, and hastened off, taking a direction across the country. I may here mention, that from this period we remained in ignorance of the fate of Colonel Goldney and those of No. 2 boat.

"We now started, and continued running, but did not do so long before meeting with an obstacle which precluded our further advance in the direction we marked out; and this was the junction of two streams of considerable width. While at a standstill, and deliberating as to our future course, we saw a number of men coming towards us, whom we took for sepoys. All but Teg Ali Khan and Sergeant Edwards jumped into the stream, and thought to escape by swimming to the opposite bank. After swimming a short distance, Teg Ali Khan called us and told us to return, as they were only villagers. I, Lieutenant Ritchie, and Lieutenant Cautley returned; but Lieutenant Currie and Lieutenant Parsons got too far into the stream, and, in endeavouring to return, were both drowned. I myself narrowly escaped, having twice gone down, but, through the timely aid of one of the villagers, was safely got out.

"We had no sooner got out of the water than we were again alarmed at seeing a boat full of people rounding a point, and thought they, too, were sepoys. We now ran, and continued our course along the bank, not missing sight of the stream, until we were fairly exhausted. We then entered a patch of high grass growing at the river-side, or at a short distance from it, and rested ourselves. We missed Teg Ali Khan at this time. While in our place of concealment, a boy herding cattle caught sight of us, and ran towards the river, and with his herd crossed over, himself holding-on by a buffalo's tail. On crossing over, it appears he informed the jemadar of his village of our situation; for, shortly after, the jemadar came down and called out to us, and told us not to be alarmed, and that he would bring a boat for us. This he did; and on reaching his side of the river, he informed us that Teg Ali Khan had reported all the particulars to him, and requested that a party be sent in search of us, and that the boy who had been herding cattle brought him information of where we were. This jemadar very kindly took us to his hut, and entertained us as hospitably as he could, supplying us with provisions, and cots to lie on. We remained under his protection till twelve o'clock; and as we had the light of the moon we recommenced our journey, and took the road for Amorah, the jemadar himself accompanying us to the next village; a little before entering which we were surrounded by a party of freebooters, who demanded money. We

told them we had none; but this did not serve them, and they satisfied themselves by searching our persons. When convinced we possessed nothing, they offered no molestation, but allowed us to prosecute our journey. On entering the village, the jemadar, who accompanied us, made us over to a chowkedar, and directed him to take us on to the next village, and leave us with the chowkedar of it; and thus we proceeded on from village to village till we arrived at Amorah. Here we were rejoiced to meet the party who belonged to No. 4 boat, who told us that as they could not get their boat along they deserted her, and proceeded across country. We were glad to find that these gentlemen had arms, for we who had joined them had not even a stick. I must not forget to mention that Teg Ali Khan again formed one of our party, for we lost sight of him crossing the river, where we experienced the kind treatment at the village jemadar's hands. We did not remain more than a few minutes at Amorah, as we were anxious to renew our journey. The tehseeldars, who at this place gave us protection, further aided us by giving each a couple of rupees, and one pony to Lieutenant Ritchie, and another to Lieutenant Cautley, for the journey. We again started (now at 7 A.M. of the 10th), taking the road to Captaingunge, under the guidance of a couple of Thannah burkandazes.

"We reached Captaingunge safely, and inquired at the Tehseeldaree if there were any European residents at Bustee, a place of some note; and were informed by the jemadar that there were not, but were told that he had received information that a party of the 17th native infantry, with treasure, had marched from Goruckpore, and were *en route* to Fyzabad, having halted at Bustee; and advised us not to take the road to Bustee, but to go to Ghie Ghat, where he said we should meet with protection, and get boats to Dinapore. The jemadar furnished us with five ponies and fifty rupees, and put us under the protection of three burkandazes, giving them directions to proceed directly to Ghie Ghat. We accordingly started, and, after making about eight miles, sighted a village (Mohadubbah), which one of the burkandazes invited us to go to, telling us that we could there rest ourselves for a short time, and that he would refresh us with sherbet. We agreed; and this burkandaze who gave the invitation started off ahead, with the pretence of getting ready a place of accommodation and the sherbet. Nothing doubting that all was right, we proceeded on, as we thought in perfect safety. On nearing the village this burkandaze again joined us, and had some conversation apart with the two other men. On our reaching it, we observed, to our horror, that the whole village was armed. However, we made no remark, but passed through it under the guidance of the three burkandazes. On getting to the end we had to cross a nullah, or small stream, waist-deep in water. While crossing, the villagers rushed on us, sword and matchlock in hand. Seeing that they were bent on our destruction, we pushed through the water as quickly as possible, not, however, without leaving one of our number behind, who, unfortunately, was Lieutenant Lindsay; and him they cut to pieces. On reaching the opposite bank the villagers made a furious attack on us, literally butchering five of our party.

"I and Lieutenant Cautley then ran, and most of the mob in full chase after us. Lieutenant Cautley, after running about 300 yards, declared he could run no longer, and stopped. On the mob reaching him, he also was cut to pieces. After dispatching poor Lieutenant Cautley, they continued the chase after me: they ran but a short distance, when finding that I was a long way off, they desisted. I was now the only one left, not having even Teg Ali Khan with me. I proceeded on, and in a short time came to a village, and the first person I met was a Brahmin, of whom I begged a drink of water, telling him I was much exhausted. He asked me where I came from, and what had happened to me. I told my tale as quickly as I could, and he appeared to compassionate my case. He assured me that no harm would come to me in his village, and that, as the villagers were all Brahmins, others would not dare to enter it to do me any harm. He then directed me to be seated under a shady tree in the village, and left me. After a short absence he returned, bringing with him a large bowl of sherbet. This I drank greedily, and was hardly done when he started up and bade me run for my life, as Baboo Bully Sing was approaching the village. I got up and attempted to run, but found I could not, and tried to get to some hiding-place. In going through a lane I met an old woman, and she pointed out an empty hut, and bade me run into it. I did so, and, finding in it a quantity of straw, I lay down, and thought to conceal myself in it. I was



not long there when some of Bully Sing's men entered and commenced a search, and used their lances and tulwars in probing into the straw. Of course it was not long before I was discovered. I was dragged out by the hair of the head, and exhibited to the view of the natives, who had congregated round him, when all kinds of abusive epithets were applied to me. He then commenced a march, leading me from village to village, exhibiting me, and the rabble at my heels hooting at and abusing me.

"After passing through each, his men used to stop and tell me to kneel, and then to ask Bully Sing if they were to decapitate me. His usual reply was, 'Not yet; take him on to the next village.' I in this manner passed through three villages, and was then taken to his own house. I was led into the courtyard and put into the stocks; this was about nightfall. During the night, I heard angry words pass between Bully Sing and his brother. I could not exactly make out the particulars; but I remember his brother telling him to beware of what he was doing, and that his acts of this day would perhaps recoil upon himself. However, the result of the quarrel proved in every way beneficial to me; for, about three in the morning, Bully Sing came to me himself, directed my release from the stocks, asked me if I should not like to have something to eat and drink; and his bearing towards me was entirely changed, and different from what it had been.

"The following morning a party made their appearance, headed by a villain named Jaffir Ali, whom I recognised as the person who shot poor Lieutenant Ritchie the previous day, and also fired at me. Of this he made a boast to Bully Sing when he saw me, and asked Bully Sing to make me over to him, and that he would burn me alive. He was told, in reply, that I should not be delivered over to any person, and to quit the place. This rascal said my *kismuth* (fate) was very good. I remained at Bully Sing's ten days, during which time I had no reason to complain of the treatment received; but this I mainly attributed to the interference of his brother on my behalf.

"On the tenth day a Mr. Pippy sent a darogah, with an elephant and an escort, to take me to him. I was glad of the opportunity, and willingly accompanied the party; but it was not without some trouble, and a good deal of persuasion, that the darogah induced Bully Sing to let me go. Previously to this, a Mr. Cook, indigo planter, and Mr. Patterson, collector of Goruckpore, made several attempts to get me away from Bully Sing, but to no purpose. I here offer my best and most grateful acknowledgments to all these gentlemen for their kind consideration and endeavours on my behalf. On joining Mr. Pippy, I proceeded with him to Captaingunge; and there, to my joy, I met Colonel Lennox and his family. Here we remained for the rest of the day and the night. The next morning, I accompanied Colonel Lennox and family to Bustee, escorted by a party of sowars. Here we were most hospitably entertained by Mr. Osborne, of the opium department. I shall not soon, myself, forget this gentleman's kindness, nor that of Colonel Lennox to me, and here offer to both my hearty and sincere thanks. At Bustee we were joined by Teg Ali Khan, who managed to effect his escape from the onslaught at Mohadubbah. At Bustee we halted two days, and in the evening proceeded to Goruckpore, thence to Azimgurh, and from Azimgurh to Ghazeepore, without anything further of note occurring. At this station I arrived on the morning of the 26th, thankful to Providence for bringing me safely through all my difficulties."

Colonel Lennox, in a list of casualties appended to his statement, enumerates the following officers as among the victims of this mutiny. He says—

"I believe the casualties of the Fyzabad officers to be as follows:—Colonel Goldney, superintendent commissioner of Fyzabad district, taken into the camp of the 17th Bengal mutineers (afterwards allowed to go away in one of the boats on the 9th of June, and killed at Begumgunj); Major Mill, drowned; Lieutenant Currie, ditto; Lieutenant English, murdered by the villagers of Mohadubbah; Lieutenant Lindsay, ditto; Lieutenant Bright, taken prisoner in the camp of the 17th regiment (afterwards embarked); Lieutenant Thomas, murdered by the villagers of Mohadubbah; Lieutenant Cautley, ditto: Ensign Ritchie, ditto; Lieutenant Parsons, drowned; Sergeant Hulme and wife, 22nd regiment, taken prisoners into the camp of the 17th regiment (afterwards embarked); Quartermaster-sergeant of the 22nd regiment, taken prisoner into the camp of the 17th regiment (fate unknown); Sergeant Edwards, artillery, murdered by the villagers of Mohadubbah."

On the 17th of June, the following officers of the Fyzabad station arrived at Dinapore by boat, and reported themselves to Major-general Lloyd, commanding the division—viz., Brevet Lieutenant-colonel Charles O'Brien, commandant, 6th Oude

irregular infantry; Lieutenant W. R. Gordon, second in command; Ensign J. W. Anderson, 22nd native infantry; Lieutenant Percival, of the artillery; and assistant-surgeon J. B. Collison. These gentlemen occupied the boat No. 3, on Sergeant Busher's list, and are mentioned by him as lost sight of at Ajoodhia.

The exact number of Europeans at Fyzabad, when the mutiny commenced, has not been stated in any official document; but that many families were there is very evident, from occasional reports that have been made public. Thus one writer, dating on the 22nd of June, says—"We are now with a friendly rajah at Gopalpore, on the river, twenty-five miles from Goruckpore. He has promised to send us to Dinapore, which is distant 120 miles. I believe we are now quite safe, though we have been in danger, and suffered much discomfort and misery. Our party consists of Captain and Mrs. Reed and two children; Captain and Mrs. Orr and sister, and five children; Captain and Mrs. Thurburn and one child; Captain and Mrs. Dawson and four children; Mr. and Mrs. Bradford; Mr. and Mrs. Fitzgerald and child; and Mr. and Mrs. Hurst and child."—Another correspondent, on the 24th, writing from Allahabad, says—"Mrs. Black, Mrs. Goldney, and Mrs. Strahan, have been brought into Allahabad by that noble fellow, Ajeet Sing, who saw Lieutenant Grant, and the party of thirty-seven Europeans that accompanied him, from his camp near Fyzabad."

An officer of the 22nd regiment, whose name has not transpired, says, in a letter from Gopalpore on the 15th of June:—"I have only a few minutes to write and tell you that, by the mercy of God, I am all right. On Monday night last I had, with all the officers of the regiment, to run away to save our lives. We got into an open boat, and tried to work our way down to Dinapore; but we have been hunted like dogs, and have twice been taken prisoners, and robbed of everything we had. I have hardly a thing left, except the shirt and trowsers I have on, and which I have not taken off for seven days. The rajah has taken compassion on us, and is going to send us to Dinapore."

Of any others of the unfortunate European community at Fyzabad, there does not exist an account that can be relied on, with the exception of the following, which is contained in a letter from the Rev. H. Stern, of the Church Missionary Society, stationed at Goruckpore, who, on the 3rd of August, writes thus:—"Two gentlemen and a lady, with two children, are in my house. This poor lady is Mrs. Mill, fugitive from Fyzabad. Her husband, Major Mill, is one of those who was murdered in this district; however, she has still some hope of his being alive. This poor lady was wandering about in the district for a fortnight, with her three children, one of whom died since she came here. She has suffered awful hardships and privations, and was obliged to beg her bread in the villages. I am thankful to say that she is recovering and gaining strength. Other fugitives are brought in; among them five women and seven children, one of whom was born on the road during the flight."

How far the indignity offered to Maun Sing, at the very moment his good offices were most essential and were relied upon for the protection of the females and children, may have contributed to increase the difficulties by which they were afterwards surrounded, we can only conjecture from the result. The fact is, however, quite evident, that his friendly interposition for their safety was but of short duration; and that those who, unconscious of the wrong done to him, relied upon it, were grievously disappointed and betrayed.

Almost daily throughout the month of June, 1857, the fires of rebellion glared wildly over the wide provinces of British India; and it was but in few instances that the reeking blade of the murderer did not precede or follow the torch of the incendiary. The confidence that for more than a century had subsisted between European and native society had been rudely shaken, and the bonds of union that connected the European officer with the native soldier, were suddenly and irreparably severed. It had become less a cause of surprise than of apprehension when, day after day, intelligence spread over the country of unexpected outbreaks in this or that quarter of the Bengal presidency, sometimes accompanied by rumours of the most dire import—at others, appearing only as an effect of some popular and systematic design to shake off the yoke of foreign domination, without unnecessarily provoking the wanton effusion of blood that too frequently already had characterised the progress of the insurrection, and had degraded a struggle for liberty and independence as a people, into

a war of senseless cruelty and unmanly vengeance. It was under the milder phase of the guilty obscuration of Indian renown, that the revolt of the troops at Jullundur—a large town and military station in the Doab, about seventy-five miles east of Lahore—occurred on the 7th of June.

JULLUNDUR.—For some time previously, this cantonment had been occupied by the 36th and 61st regiments of native infantry, and some troops of the 6th regiment of Bengal light cavalry; there was also at the station a troop of European horse artillery. Nothing had occurred to give rise to suspicion that the native troops were yet tainted by the mutinous spirit that hovered like a destroying angel over every station of the Bengal army; but the repose of the cantonment was at length to be interrupted.

On the night of the 3rd of June, an alarm was raised that fire had broken out in the lines of the 61st regiment—a circumstance that of itself, when the general good conduct of the regiment was taken into consideration, might, in all probability, have been regarded as accidental, and so would have passed away without necessarily exciting any serious fears of impending mischief from the troops; but it happened that, on the following night, the hospital of the cantonment was also discovered to be on fire, and was entirely destroyed. It was no longer doubted that the continuous mischief was the work of an incendiary; but, from the mystery that enveloped the occurrence, it was not possible to trace the guilty hand. Sufficient cause had, however, been given to encourage suspicion of the fidelity of the soldiers; and the inhabitants of the station ventured to suggest to the officer in command, that their position was one of considerable danger—an idea which he decidedly refused to adopt. The European residents then took measures for ensuring the safety of their families, and most of the women and children were removed from the station. The day and night of the 5th passed over without renewing cause for further apprehension; and on the 6th the force at Jullundur was augmented by the arrival of a troop of native horse artillery, and the 4th regiment of Sikh infantry. The appearance of the latter in the cantonment gave umbrage to the men of the Bengal regiments; and the brigadier in command of the station, yielding to some inconceivable influence, sought to conciliate the offended fanatics by a most unmilitary concession; and the Sikhs were actually ordered out of the cantonment on the evening of the very day they had marched into it. The troopers of the Bengal artillery, who had arrived at the same time, were encamped in the lines of the European horse artillery, and their guns were safely parked with those of the latter.

The propriety of disarming the men who had exhibited so much feeling against the Sikhs, was urged upon the brigadier; but he could not be persuaded to doubt the fidelity of the regiments, and hesitated to offer such an offence to men whom he still believed to be loyal and well-disposed. His indecision encouraged the discontented, and enabled them to choose their own time for action.

The 7th of June (Sunday) passed quietly until about an hour before midnight, when an alarm of fire was raised in the lines of the 36th regiment, and at the same time a party of the 6th light cavalry galloped into the infantry lines, shouting furiously that the Europeans were at hand to attack the native troops. The latter were instantly in a state of disorder, and rushed to the bells of arms to secure means of defence. The officers of the two corps hastened to the lines to endeavour to pacify the men, and recall them to their duty; but their efforts only provoked insult; and at length the mutiny was complete. Two or three of the officers were slightly wounded in the confusion, and in the random firing that occurred while the lines were blazing; but there was no meditated attempt to murder or even injure the Europeans of any grade by the soldiers, even when their excitement was at the highest pitch. After setting fire to some bungalows, in revenge for not being allowed to take possession of the guns (which were manfully held by the European artillerymen, and preserved without bloodshed), the mutineers left the station in a body, in the direction of the Sutlej, taking Phillour, a neighbouring cantonment, in their way, where they were joined by the men of the 3rd Bengal regiment, and, together, marched off *en route* for Delhi.

Owing to the prevalence of the same strange hallucination that had controlled his previous conduct, the mutineers were suffered to get a start of several hours before Brigadier Johnstone could be persuaded to allow the European troopers to follow them. When at length he did move,

his force was halted after a march of ten or twelve miles, and the fugitives were thus enabled to cross without molestation, by the chief ferry, over the Sutlej. Upon their arrival at Loodiana, they were opposed by a few Sikhs, under Mr. Ricketts, the civil magistrate; but numbers prevailed over valour; and the rebels, after setting free the prisoners in the gaol, pushed on by forced marches for the Mogul capital. During the stay of the mutinous force at Loodiana, a body of Cashmerees took advantage of the disorder occasioned by their presence, and commenced plundering the town, and ill-using some of the inhabitants who would not join in their outrages; the missionary house, and buildings occupied by the public officers, were partly destroyed, and some valuable property carried off; but on the departure of the rebel force, quiet was restored, and the authority of the civil magistrates re-established. The punishment of those who had been taken in the act of plunder and outrage, followed as a necessary consequence, and on the 13th of June twenty of the offenders were hanged, in the presence of the whole native population.

The mutiny of the native regiments at Jullundur naturally excited some alarm among the Europeans resident at the station; but the timely provision made for the safety of the women and children, relieved them from much of the anxiety they must otherwise have suffered. Beyond a few slight wounds, and firing some of the bungalows, it does not appear that any serious injury was sustained either at Jullundur or Phillour.

Some details of this almost bloodless *émeute* are furnished by the subjoined extracts from a letter dated June 10th, 1857. The writer, an officer of one of the mutinous regiments, says—"I must explain, as briefly as possible, how all this miserable business took place. After about a week of comparative quiet, we were put on the *qui vive* on the 3rd inst. by a fire breaking out in the men's lines of the 61st. On the following night they burnt the hospital. On the 5th all was quiet. On the 6th a native troop of horse artillery marched into this station; the 4th Sikh infantry also came in. I believe that the reason of the move on the part of the native troop was, that it was not considered safe to leave a native troop at a station where there was no European regiment. The arrival of the 4th Sikhs, it appears, caused great anxiety in the minds of the men of the native regiment here; and the brigadier, fearing that some of them would desert, ordered the Sikh regiment out of the station on the evening of the day on which they arrived. The native troop were encamped in the horse artillery lines, and their guns were parked with those of the European troop. This brings us up to the morning of Sunday, the 7th: during the whole of the day everything was quiet. Our men showed no symptoms of uneasiness, and all went on as usual. So quiet was everything, that in the evening my wife went to church with our old friend Harris, the veterinary surgeon. I could not go, as I wished to visit the lines, as has been my invariable custom ever since hearing the lamentable news from Delhi. After church several of our regiment dined quietly with us; and at ten o'clock, having sent my wife to sleep at the artillery barracks with the other ladies and children, I went to bed at eleven, with all my clothes on as usual. I had just closed my eyes, when I heard one of my guard call out that there was a fire. I jumped up, and saw the reflection of fire in the direction of the 36th native infantry lines. I instantly mounted my horse, and rode down to our lines as hard as I could gallop. On reaching our men's lines all appeared quiet. I rode gently up between the men's and horse lines, and had nearly reached the lines of the second troop, when I heard a shot fired in the direction of the 36th lines. Not an instant elapsed before I saw a rush made by the men of the second troop for the bell of arms, which they had reached before I could get up to them. I drew my sword, rode at them, and succeeded in driving them back to their lines, but not until they had forced one of the doors. The troopers stood at the end of their lines, and I appealed to them in every possible way—reminded them of the distinguished name their fathers had gained for the regiment, and told them to prove they were faithful soldiers by returning every man to his hut. (In the meantime I sent off to our commanding officer, Macmullen, who was in the lines, to tell him what was going on.) The men seemed to have come to their senses, and I hoped the panic was over, for they turned to obey me, and walked back towards their huts. Before they had reached them a brisk file firing commenced in the infantry lines: the men turned

again and made another rush towards the bell of arms. I stopped them at the head of the troop, and swore I would cut the first man down who crossed the little ditch that runs across the front of the lines. I kept them in check for a minute or two, during which I heard horses galloping, and, glancing in the direction of the sound, saw men galloping out of the horse lines of the 3rd squadron. A cry was raised that the 3rd squadron had mounted, and the men of the right wing dashed off to the bell of arms. I rode at them, and upset some of the infatuated scoundrels, but it was of no use. One fellow drew his tulwar, which he had in addition to his regimental sabre, and made a cut at my leg. Fortunately, I managed to guard it. Some of the men tried to catch at my reins; and seeing that it was all up, and that half the regiment was mounted, I rode through them, and galloped off towards the artillery, to warn them that our men were in open mutiny. I must tell you that the artillery lines are between the 36th native infantry. Before I had left the lines, some of our men came at me and rode across the road after me, close up to the barracks. I rode up to the orderly room, and told the first person I met, who happened to be Hill, what had occurred, and told him to go off to the brigadier and warn him. I then rode back into our lines along the front of the horse lines, and found that almost all the men had made off. As I reached the horse lines of the 1st troop I was overtaken by our quartermaster-sergeant, who told me that Macmullen had been shot by one of our men. I instantly went off with the sergeant, and found poor Macmullen with some of the other officers between the men and horse lines of the 6th troop. He was wounded in the hand. Just at this time there was a rush made towards us by part of our men, and, seeing that to remain was only to sacrifice our lives uselessly, I prevailed on Macmullen to leave the lines and proceed to the artillery barracks, which was the rendezvous. On reaching the barracks, where all the ladies were congregated, we found poor Bagshawe, the adjutant of the 36th, had just been brought in severely wounded. It appears that some of our men rode off to the 36th and 61st lines, and attempted to cut down all the officers they saw. They wounded three officers in the 61st, and one in the 36th; the scene at the barracks was one of the utmost confusion—ladies, children, servants, and soldiers all mixed up together. An order was given for the ladies, children, &c., to be taken to a barrack nearer the gun-sheds; and off they went, my wife in an awful state, and our little boy sitting on my holster-pipe. We had nearly got them into their new quarters, when file firing commenced from the direction of the 36th lines, the shot whistling through the artillery lines. Shortly after the firing commenced, some of our men made a dash at the guns, but were received with a couple of rounds of grape and a smart volley of musketry, which stopped them. I was standing in view of the guns, and saw the wretches sheer off to the right. There is no doubt that they fully expected the native horse artillery to join them; and I am told that they shouted to them to do so; but this I did not hear myself.

"The native troop were, by a judicious arrangement, so dovetailed with the European troops, and, in addition, had a company of the 8th foot to look after them, that had they wished it they could not have sold us. We were troubled no more by the mutineers, who seemed to have commenced their march to Phillour, on finding that it was hopeless to attempt to take our guns. The hours passed slowly enough till morning; and, to make matters still more uncomfortable, we were treated to a sandstorm, which at once blinded and choked us. At 2 o'clock A.M. Macmullen and Farquharson went into our lines, and found many of our men there. They called the roll, and took the names of all the men who were present. This I did not know until afterwards. As soon as day broke, Ray (our riding-master) and I went to our standard guard, and, to my great delight, found that the guard had remained at their post, and our standards were safe. I had been up to the guard during the night, but could not hear or see a soul, and concluded that they had also gone off. We went to the men's lines, turned them out, and took the muster; the result was, that we found 156 men, not including the native non-commissioned officers, were present; doubtless many of them had gone off and returned.

"We had ninety troopers on furlough, so that just one squadron of the regiment has joined the mutineers. However, I have now no confidence in any native. Some of our best men have proved the most active in this miserable business. A

rough rider in my troop, who had been riding my charger in the morning, and had played with my little child, was one of the men who charged the guns; he was wounded, and had the impudence to go up to our hospital. On taking the muster in the morning, we compared it with the one which was taken by Farquharson, and found that a native officer and ten men had returned subsequently to the muster being taken. These we made over to a party of the 8th foot. We tried them by a drum-head court-martial, and had them shot. We received an order to make over all the horses and arms that remained to the artillery. The men were ordered to give up their arms, and did it. It was a cruel sight, and we all felt it most bitterly. These were men in whom we had implicit confidence.

"The 6th has now virtually ceased to exist. Our horses are all being given to irregulars, or being draughted into the artillery, and our men guard their lines with bludgeons. It seems, that after their attack on the guns, finding that the native troop would not join them, the whole of the mutineers left this station, and marched for Phillour; and I believe the larger number of them were out of this station by two in the morning. When the mutiny commenced, we telegraphed to Phillour to break the bridge of boats, to prevent the rascals crossing; but, the men at Phillour being all asleep, the message was passed on to Umballah, to be telegraphed back to Phillour in case the wire between this and Phillour should be cut, which was done very shortly after the message was sent. I am perfectly certain that our men went in a panic; some, of course, were bad; but many galloped off, believing what they were told—viz., that the guns and 8th foot, with the Kapootallah rajah's men, were coming down on them; and then, feeling that they had compromised themselves, they feared to return."

The intended warning to the authorities at Phillour failed for the reason alleged, and the consequence was, that the mutineers from Jullundur were actually at the station before their revolt was known. The men of the 3rd regiment did not hesitate to make common cause with the rebels, and at once set out with them for Delhi—first, however, assuring their officers that their persons should be respected; and they appear to have acted in accordance with such assurance, as no personal injury was sustained by any one, although the whole of the European families were completely in their power, if they had chosen to exercise a vindictive spirit. The officer in command at Phillour at the time, writes from Simla on the 23rd of July, in reference to the occurrence, thus:—"I could have managed my own regiment, had not the three regiments at Jullundur—viz., the 6th cavalry, 36th and 61st native infantry, mutinied, and fallen back on us. The telegraph wires were cut; so I got no information of the Jullundur corps coming our way till they were almost on our parade. I got my family, and the families of all the Europeans then in cantonments, off to the fort, which had latterly been garrisoned by a hundred men of her majesty's 8th foot.

"On going to parade, I found the officers could not get the men to turn out and form in any numbers; and as fast as they got a few here and there, others went back to the lines. Seeing the case was hopeless, we retired to the fort, myself and other officers on foot. Our men had always said, 'Happen what would, not one of us should be hurt while they lived.' This is all I can say for my men: they kept their word; for had they liked, they could have murdered every man, woman, and child before I got them out of the cantonments. On reaching the fort, I found everyone safe. A few days after, the families of all officers were ordered off to the hills, and I arranged for my wife and children coming here. A few days later I got a letter from the general, saying, that as the fort was garrisoned by her majesty's corps, he wished the command to rest with the officer of that regiment, and, as my corps was gone, I might proceed on leave; so I followed my family.

"Some 80 of my men remained stanch, and I had a company on duty at Delhi; making 180. Stanch, 180; Sikhs, also in the regiment, 75; sepoys away on furlough, 150: total left, out of the 1,000 men of the 3rd regiment, 405."

It certainly appears strange—although it may admit of a satisfactory explanation—that, with a fort in his immediate neighbourhood, garrisoned by 100 men of her majesty's 8th regiment, and the 80 of his own corps that "remained stanch," this officer should so unresistingly have acquiesced in the quiet and unobstructed desertion of his regiment. It may be fairly

assumed, that permission to retire from active duty, "on leave," at such a crisis, may have been only an inevitable consequence of such acquiescence.

The opportunities afforded for recounting incidents of such bloodless ebullitions of disaffection as those exhibited at Jullundur and Phillour, are but rare throughout the wild progress of the Indian rebellion; the pages of its history being far oftener shaded by the sombre hues of a desolating and indiscriminating vengeance, than brightened by the lighter tints of human feeling, or the recognised usages of modern warfare.

In connection with the mutiny at Jullundur, the following graphic letter of an officer of the 60th regiment of native infantry, stationed at Umballah, will probably be deemed entitled to attention. We shall best preserve the interest of the narrative by following the text of the gallant writer, without interrupting it by comment. Writing on the 15th of July, from Umballah, he says —"One day I was hastily summoned to a council of war, and learnt that the troops at Jullundur had mutinied, consisting of three regiments, a cavalry corps, and two guns, and that they were marching on us; so, with my 100 men, I was ordered to defend the left flank of cantonments—not a pleasant duty, as I should be a mile away from the rest of the Europeans in the fort, and my men had been whispering ominously among themselves. The next afternoon some troops were perceived advancing; the dust was so great, that their numbers could not be ascertained. Directly the alarm was sounded, every man took refuge in the church, while I rode away to my lines. However, I put on a good face, and being mounted on a capital horse of Colonel Seaton's, I soon reached the lines, and turned the men out. They were very eager, and talked amazingly of what they would do; but I thought very differently, and determined to fight on horseback. However, it turned out a false alarm, the troops being friends; but as they filed under the guns of the fort, a European artilleryman requested leave to give them some 'grape,' saying, 'Sure they are niggers.' All that night I patrolled by myself, being more afraid of my own sentries than any enemy; however, like all nights, it at last came to an end; and I felt like another man when daylight came and no enemy; for I do not think I am maligning my men when I say, that had an enemy appeared, they would have shot me and joined the rebels. That morning information was received, that General Johnstone, from Jullundur, was pursuing them, and that the 61st native infantry had separated, and was sneaking along the foot of the hills by by-roads, and thus trying to get to Delhi. Two companies of Europeans were immediately ordered in carts to intercept them in the Malka-road, and I volunteered to go with them, and was appointed aide-de-camp and quartermaster to the force. I had previously volunteered for Delhi, for a volunteer troop of cavalry and a volunteer troop of infantry, and had been invariably refused. We did not start till 1 P.M., a wind blowing as hot as the breath from a furnace. There were no carts for us, and we had to ride. The officer commanding got struck by the sun, and two others fell sick, so at last I was left by myself. We did not halt all day; and at about 11 P.M., my pony having outstepped the carts, I was about a mile ahead, and passing through a nasty brushwood, and thinking what a place it would be for a surprise, when a volley of musketry came on one side. I pulled up, clutched that invaluable weapon 'Colt,' and listened. The night was as dark as ink, and all quiet and still again. I listened for the carts, but could not hear them, and was surprised to find how I had unconsciously wandered away from them. Just then I faintly heard the bugle sounding the 'assembly,' followed by the 'double:' putting spurs to my 'tat' I flew back, and found that the enemy were close by, and we were going to foot it after them. A party was put on some elephants and sent ahead, but those on foot declared they would get on first, and set off at about five miles an hour. I got off my elephant and fell-in with them, and we had a hottish walk, beating the elephants hollow. I was afterwards called out, and sent on ahead to where the commissioner was to give orders; so I galloped off, and found the said gentleman in an unpleasant state of fear, and so disordered in mind that he could give no orders, except that Mr. Forsyth (civilian) had come upon the rebels, and that his men had all bolted, and Forsyth had taken refuge in a walled town. I took the liberty of ordering dinner for six, sharp, and carried back this intelligence, and strongly advised pushing on eight miles more to relieve Forsyth. We all arrived at the bungalow, and then the commissioner kept saying that we were too late by three hours. So

we ate our dinner at 1 A.M., and, putting my saddle for a pillow, I turned-in on the floor. In about an hour I was awoke, and told we were going on to relieve Forsyth; so we all got up, weary and tired, having had just enough sleep to make us wish for more. We reached Forsyth, and heard we were just too late again; but he had carriage for fifty men, he said, if we were game to pursue, and he offered fifty rupees for every head brought in; so of course all volunteered, but only fifty were chosen, and the officers drew lots for it. The commanding officer told me to do as I liked, so I volunteered and attached myself to Forsyth as deputy-assistant, and found him a jolly companion, and a resolute, energetic man. He mounted me on his elephant, and, the men being all likewise mounted, we started at 6 A.M. after the rebels. The heat was fearful that day, and the road nothing more than a track over dazzling, drifting sand. After marching for two hours, a temporary halt for water was called, and I was thinking how lucky I was to have a flask of brandy with me, when Forsyth offered me claret. I was delighted of course to find myself attached to one who marched with claret. We did not halt again till 12 P.M., and then found the rebels still ahead, but very close.

"Forsyth then asked me to make a 'dour' twenty miles on horseback, and try to reach a police-station before the rebels, and check them till the Europeans could arrive. As I had no good horse, he lent me a government artillery horse, as it was imperatively necessary to be well mounted in case of having to bolt. He rode a beautiful Arab, and, buckling on swords and pistols, and slinging our rifles on our backs, away we went as hard as we could, with an escort of ten mounted natives. We were meeting the wind, and the heat was insufferable; the wind dried me up, and blistered my face almost to suffocation; still, 'forward' we cried, and in a state of mad excitement we hammered along, our poor horses suffering greatly, mine especially; however, I never mounted a gamer animal; he would not allow the Arab to be one inch ahead of him. The escort had fallen to the rear, and were nowhere. Still we flew along, and at last reached a fort, and, summoning up the head man, demanded intelligence. He lied to us, and tried to break our scent, so he was hung there and then, and another fined 1,000 rupees. After having been so merciful we started afresh, and actually rode right through the 61st native infantry, who were eating their dinners, when a cry arose of 'Two Europeans!' They immediately fled to the jungle. We, observing places for cooking, and fires burning, thought they must be just ahead, and dashed forwards with renewed speed. I never could understand why they spared us, except that they were chased off their legs, and had lost all pluck and heart. Just beyond we came to a nullah, with steep banks. We charged it abreast, without looking to see what it was, and took it exactly together; but my horse had not the blood of the Arab, and was done. He reached the other side, but his hind legs slipped back, and over he went to the bottom. I got bruised from the lock of the rifle entering my back; but it was softish ground, so I scrambled up and soon remounted; but the horse was nearly done for; still he gallantly held out for five miles more, when we entered the police-station, and then he lay down and died. I got some rice to eat, almost the first thing I had tasted since I left Umballah. We laid down and got a bit of rest, all owing to my poor horse; for if he had not failed, we should have ridden on and destroyed a bridge over the Jumna. The detachment soon arrived, and we let them rest a little, seeing nothing of any rebels. After our dinner, Forsyth and I were once more in the saddle, and ready to proceed. I was on my white pony. No mounted men would come with us unless we promised to ride like men in their senses. As it was pitch dark, we promised, and off we went for fifteen miles more. We went very quietly at first, Forsyth's Arab as fresh as if he had not been out of the stable for a month. We soon increased our speed, and at last were in a sharp canter, to the horror of the men behind. One man was very troublesome, and would persist in keeping close by me, making my pony very fidgety and warlikely inclined; so, at last, I paid him out beautifully, though quite by accident. We came suddenly on a great fissure across the road. It was too late to stop, so I rode at it, and reached the other side all right. The native behind me did not see it, and rode right into it. I heard a heavy fall and cry of 'I'm killed!' but we only laughed, and rode on and saw no more of the escort. Just before we arrived at the little station we rode through a clump of

trees, and a low bough caught Forsyth, who was thrown. I caught his horse, and we rode quietly on, and got in just in time to warn Plowden (civil servant.) The next morning, the fall, combined with fatigue and heat, prostrated Forsyth, and, not willing to leave him in the jungle, I stayed with him, and returned to Umballah the next night, having been out three days, two of which, night and day, had been incessant marching; but the sun had no effect upon me, and no one stood it better, if so well, as I did. I only changed the skin on my face and hands. Perhaps the excitement is good for me; but certainly it seems to me to be the coolest hot weather altogether that I have experienced. On my return, I heard the news of the mutiny of our regiment. They are all gone! The men that we so trusted; my own men, with whom I have shot, played cricket, jumped, and entered into all their sports, and treated them kindly. They mutinied at Bhotuck. It was a hard trial their being sent there, only three marches from Delhi. While there they received hundreds of letters from the rebels to come over to them. So, on the 11th of June, they rushed on the drummers. The officers were collected in the mess-tent when the regiment came up, fired a volley through it, miraculously hitting no one, and then off they went. The officers rushed out, got on their horses, and bolted to Delhi to join the camp. Shebbeare refused to leave them at first, hoping to bring them round again, and trusted to his great popularity to get off; but their looks were so murderous that he soon walked off, and, when told by them to quicken his pace, told them that he would not put himself out for any of them. They then looted the mess, smashed all the mess-plate, carried off all our silver of every description, plundered the wine, took the treasure chest, and, after hanging a policeman who had hid their camels, they marched for Delhi. But the officers arrived first, and gave information, and all the guns were laid for the gate by which they would enter; so as they approached they were awfully cut up, and the 9th lancers swept down upon them, so that the left wing was annihilated. The next day the rebels made a fierce attack upon the camp, and the 60th were told to lead, and were cut up almost to a man. Miraculous to say, this is the only station that has escaped a massacre, and it was a touch-and-go here; few knew their danger until it was over; even now we dare not go to church. Sunday here is a day when revolvers and two-barrelled guns are by our sides. What has kept us afloat so long is the constant passing of Europeans, and the rajah of Putteeala, who is for us at present; but if he were to go we should have to fight our way either to Delhi or Loodiana—the latter is only six marches, and then we can drop down the Sutlej to Mooltan; but I hope it will not come to that; for fancy the ladies, who have all been ordered up to the hills! some thousands of them.

"I have got into the habit of sleeping so lightly, that a cat walking across the room would wake me. Under my pillow is a revolver and a suit of mud-coloured clothes, in which I am at night nearly invisible; my sword by the bed, and rifle and gun in the corner; so I think I could manage a few of them if they came. All I want now is a good horse, and then I am game for anything. * * * We have had that terrible scourge the cholera. It has been raging here with frightful violence for two months; but, thank God, has now left us without harming the 'sahibs.' It seemed a judgment on the natives. They were reeling about and falling dead in the streets, and no one to remove them. Now it is all over. It is the only time we have looked on it as an 'ally,' though it has carried off many soldiers, two native officers, and six policemen, who were guarding prisoners. All fell dead at the same place. As one dropped another stepped forward and took his place, and so on the whole lot. We have just disarmed the natives here, and got three cartloads of weapons from them. I have applied for leave of absence for all the men left here under my command. If granted, I shall be free and able to join my officers in the camp. I am looking forward to my furlough, or rather sick certificate, or something—sick, indeed, of India and its army of murderers. This dâk is going round by Mooltan, Kurrachee, and back to Bombay. Three sepoys to be executed this evening. We have blown away a great number from guns; in fact, we show them every week what they will get."

The hand of retributive justice was by this time uplifted, and the sword ready to fall upon the guilty perpetrators of unprovoked and hitherto unparalleled crimes; and it was at Ferozepore and Peshawur

that the presence of the avenger was first impressively manifested to the actors and abettors of a career of treason and murder. At the former place, it will be remembered, the men of the 45th regiment of native infantry had broken into revolt, and attacked the Magazine fort during the morning of the 13th of May.* They were, however, repulsed by a detachment of her majesty's 61st regiment, and finally driven out of the cantonment; but not before they had committed great depredation, and wantonly destroyed much property of the Europeans at the station. Some of the mutineers were taken prisoners; and as an example was necessary, to deter the other troops from following their example, a number of them were tried by court-martial, and sentenced to death.

On the morning of the 13th of June, exactly one month from the mutinous outbreak by which the destruction of the whole European community at Ferozepore was to have been accomplished, a huge gallows was erected at the south-east end of the Suddur Bazaar, and north of the Old Fort, the side at which the rebels had effected an entry. All the available troops, and persons belonging to public departments at the station, were collected to witness the scene. On three sides of the area, of which the gallows formed the centre, the troops were stationed in the following order:—On the east a squadron of the 10th native light cavalry, the remnant of the disbanded 37th regiment of native infantry, and some persons belonging to the commissariat and magazine departments: on the south, her majesty's 61st regiment and the artillery, with twelve guns loaded and portfires lighted: and, on the west, the city and cantonment armed police. When the hour arrived for the execution of the sentence, twenty-four of the mutineers, wearing irons, were brought into the centre of the area by a guard of the 61st regiment, one of them being carried in a dhooly, in consequence of a wound received by him in the attack upon the fort. Lieutenant Hoggan, adjutant of the 61st, then, by order of the brigadier, read aloud the proceedings and sentence of the court-martial, and, at its close, announced to the condemned, that if any among them would become queen's evidence, the brigadier would reprieve them. The sight of the preparations for an otherwise inevitable punishment, had an instantaneous effect upon twelve of the miserable wretches, who declared their readiness to inform against the ringleaders of the movement, and also to divulge the secret as to the origin and object of the revolt. These men were immediately marched to the rear of the artillery, from whence they were compelled to witness the fate of their more inflexible comrades. Of the latter, two were then led, or rather taken to the gallows, one of them being the wounded man. Each of them ascended the ladder with a firm step, and without betraying the slightest indication of terror at the fate they had provoked. On gaining the platform, they coolly adjusted the ropes with their own hands in silence; their arms were then pinioned, and their eyes bandaged, and in another second they were suspended in the air. With one, death appeared to be instantaneous; but the wounded culprit struggled for some time, as the knot had slipped from its position, and the hangman had to readjust it, and again launch him from the platform before his death was accomplished.

As soon as this, the first act of the tragedy, had been performed, the remaining ten prisoners were marched up to the guns, and their irons were struck off, previous to their being bound to the muzzles of the terrible implements of destruction. While being freed from their shackles, some of them appealed to the brigadier for mercy, exclaiming, "Do not sacrifice the innocent for the guilty!" Two others indignantly cried out to these, "Hold your tongues!—die like men, not cowards! You defended your religion, why then do you crave your lives? Sahibs!—they are not sahibs, they are dogs!" Others upbraided the commanding officer, saying, "He released the havildar-major, who was chief of the rebels." By this time the process of fastening them to the guns had been completed. The commandant then gave the word, "Ready—Fire!"—and instantaneously the ten miserable wretches were scattered in bloody fragments over the ground.

As the smoke cleared away from the horrible scene, the view to the spectators was overpowering: many of the firmest nerved were shaken by a glance at the carnage that lay around and before them. The native lookers-on—and they were numerous—appeared awe-stricken, and, according to the description of one of the officers, "not only trembled like aspen-

* See *ante*, p. 119.



leaves, but their colour actually changed into unnatural hues." Unfortunately, this execution was attended by a series of accidents, that rendered it painfully impressive upon others than those for whose just punishment it was required.

In the first place, precaution had not been taken to remove the sponge and loadmen from their proper station near the muzzle of the guns; and the consequence was, that they were bespattered with blood, and bruised by the scattered limbs of the prisoners—one man in particular being struck down by a heavy fragment of one of the mutilated bodies, and severely injured by the contusion. The next mishap was yet more disastrous in its consequences. An order had been given that the guns should be loaded with blank cartridge only; but, by oversight or neglect, one or two of them were charged with grapeshot. In the direction in which the guns were pointed, a number of spectators, supposed to be out of the range of blank cartridge, had assembled, and amongst them the grapeshot was scattered with distressing effect. Five were carried off the ground, severely, if not dangerously, wounded; two others were shot through the thigh, and three more in various parts. All were promptly conveyed to the station hospital; and of some, the limbs had to suffer amputation.

The execution of these mutineers was but an instalment of the just vengeance that the crimes of their race had provoked. In the evening of the same day, two ruffians, who had taken advantage of the disturbed state of the district to commit depredations upon the roads, were summarily tried, convicted, and hung at the gaol: from their capture to their death, three hours had not elapsed! On the 14th of June, the trials of the deserters from the 16th and 49th native regiments were proceeded with, and the various sentences accorded to them were instantly carried into execution. Some mitigating circumstances in the conduct of the men of the 57th regiment, rendered a sentence of imprisonment sufficient, in their case, to satisfy the requirements of justice.*

PESHAWUR.—At this place also, although as yet preserved from the ferocious outrages of a sepoy revolt, there were sufficient reasons, about the beginning of June, for apprehending that the immunity from danger would not be of long continuance. It had, by some means, been made known to the officer in command of the station, that a total massacre of the Europeans was contemplated, and that its execution had been fixed for the 23rd of May; but, for some reason not explained, had been deferred. With a conviction of the perfect truth of this information, it would have been perfectly suicidal to have allowed the troops implicated in the frightful project to retain possession of their arms, if even they were allowed to be at liberty; but the disarming of four regiments was not a feat to be undertaken without some danger of failure, or without precautions for neutralising its effect, should the failure actually occur. At the time this necessary step was resorted to, the position of the 2,000 Europeans at this station was as follows:—

The native force in cantonments at Peshawur consisted of the 21st, 24th, 27th, 51st, and 64th regiments of Bengal native infantry, and the 5th light cavalry. The cantonment in which this host was quartered, was filled to repletion with vagabonds and camp-followers of the vilest description. The city itself was thronged with a disaffected rabble, ripe for any atrocity; and in a chain of forts surrounding the station, were four other native regiments, all animated by the same spirit of hostility to the Europeans, and only waiting the signal to concentrate upon their prey, and carry out the sanguinary purpose of the whole body. Beyond the line of forts the station was again encircled by hills, swarming with Mohammedan fanatics, who thirsted for the blood of the Christians, and were known to be in communication with the embryo mutineers; and to add to the difficulty of the European residents, the country people, to whom the intended rising of the 22nd of May was well known, had refused to furnish supplies of provisions; and, being in daily expectation of the destruction of the Feringhees, no longer cared to have any intercourse with them, or to minister to their wants. It was obvious this state of existence could not be endured long after its reality had become apparent; and, by the judicious and energetic measures adopted, the evil was remedied, and the cause of disquietude removed.† It yet, however, remained to punish such of the guilty contemplators of a wholesale massacre as, by

* See *ante*, pp. 120, 121.

† See *ante*, p. 124.

their conduct, had put themselves beyond the pale of forgiveness.

At the time the regiments in Peshawur were deprived of their arms without offering resistance, the men of the 56th native infantry, occupying the adjacent fort of Murdan, were also required to surrender their arms; and the result was a furious mutinous outbreak, during which a reckless disregard of life and property was as usual exhibited. Upon the arrival of Colonel Nicholson with a sufficient force of Europeans to compel obedience, it was found, that in addition to other calamities produced by the misconduct of the regiment, its commanding officer, Colonel Spottiswoode, had, in a paroxysm of frenzy and disgust, terminated a life of honour by an act of suicide. The rebels had the audacity to offer battle to the men with Colonel Nicholson, and the offer was eagerly accepted to their cost; for after the first discharge of musketry, their hearts failed them, and they sought to escape in every direction. This, however, could not be permitted; 150 of them were shot down in the momentary contest; others were made prisoners; and of these, several were tried by drum-head court-martial as soon as the contest had ceased, and were at once consigned to the death they merited. Some few of the mutineers fled before their pursuers into the hills, and were dispatched by the hill-men for the sake of a reward of ten rupees per head.

Of the prisoners taken during this affair, it became of course requisite, for the better instruction of the inhabitants of Peshawur and the adjacent district, that an example should be made; and, like that at Ferozepore, it was a terrible one. On the 11th of June, forty of the sanguinary demons that would have revelled in the hearts' blood of their too long confiding friends, were marched to the parade-ground of the cantonment at Peshawur, where a square of troops had been formed, with ten guns loaded and pointed outward. The usual formalities were observed as to the proceedings of the court-martial, the sentence, &c., and then ten of the miscreants were bound to the guns, and, at a signal, the horrible salvo was fired. Without clearing away the mutilated and shattered fragments that lay around, the guns were again prepared—a second ten were bound—and again a shower of blood and human fragments marred the light of the sun. Twice more was this awful scene repeated; and twice again was retributive justice exhibited in its most fearful aspect. In one of the sections of ten that were thus to be destroyed, there were two prisoners who, from terror or, it might have been, some yet lingering hope of mercy, refused to be bound to the guns, and, in their desperation, struggled hard with the men appointed to place them before the engines of destruction. With this insane conduct there could be but one way of dealing; and the painful scene, thus aggravated by unavailing resistance, was terminated by throwing the two men upon the ground, and discharging the contents of two muskets through their heads. The appalling business of the morning was then proceeded with; and at its close, such of the native troops as were present, were marched round the field of slaughter, and dismissed to their lines, thoroughly, if not usefully, impressed with the importance of the terrible lesson they had received. The result of this decisive conduct on the part of the commandant, Colonel Edwardes, C.B., was quickly apparent in the altered demeanour of the native inhabitants and the people of the valley, who now hastened to renew a friendly intercourse with the Europeans, and evinced wonderful activity in furnishing supplies of all kinds of necessaries almost gratuitously, that a few days previous they would not produce for any amount of money, or, in short, for any consideration whatever, if they were required by the Europeans, or by those connected with them.

Of the terrible exhibition thus briefly described, the following account is rendered in a letter from Peshawur, which appeared in *Blackwood's Magazine* for November, 1857:—

"It was an awfully imposing scene. All the troops, European and native, armed and disarmed, loyal and disaffected, were drawn up on parade, forming three sides of a square; and drawn up very carefully, you may be sure, so that any attempt on the part of the disaffected to rescue the doomed prisoners would have been easily checked. Forming the fourth side of the square, were drawn up the guns (9-pounders), ten in number, which were to be used for the execution. The prisoners, under a strong European guard, were then marched into the square, their crimes and sentences read aloud to them, and at the head of each regi-

ment; they were then marched round the square, and up to the guns. The first ten were picked out, their eyes were bandaged, and they were bound to the guns—their backs leaning against the muzzles, and their arms fastened to the wheels. The portfires were lighted, and at a signal from the artillery-major, the guns were fired. It was a horrid sight that then met the eye; a regular shower of human fragments of heads, of arms, of legs, appeared in the air through the smoke; and when that cleared away, these fragments lying on the ground—fragments of Hindoos and fragments of Mussulmans, all mixed together—were all that remained of those ten mutineers. Three times more was this scene repeated; but so great is the disgust we all feel for the atrocities committed by the rebels, that we had no room in our hearts for any feeling of pity; perfect callousness was depicted on every European's face; a look of grim satisfaction could even be seen in the countenances of the gunners serving the guns. But far different was the effect on the native portion of the spectators; their black faces grew ghastly pale as they gazed breathlessly at the awful spectacle. You must know that this is nearly the only form in which death has any terrors for a native. If he is hung, or shot by musketry, he knows that his friends or relatives will be allowed to claim his body, and will give him the funeral rites required by his religion; if a Hindoo, that his body will be burned with all due ceremonies; and if a Mussulman, that his remains will be decently interred, as directed in the Koran. But if sentenced to death in this form, he knows that his body will be blown into a thousand pieces, and that it will be altogether impossible for his relatives, however devoted to him, to be sure of picking up all the fragments of his own particular body; and the thought that perhaps a limb of some one of a different religion to himself might possibly be burned or buried with the remainder of his own body, is agony to him. But notwithstanding this, it was impossible for the mutineers' direst hater not to feel some degree of admiration for the way in which they met their deaths. Nothing in their lives became them like the leaving of them. Of the whole forty, only two showed any signs of fear; and they were bitterly reproached by the others for so disgracing their race. They certainly died like men. After the first ten had been disposed of, the next batch, who had been looking on all the time, walked up to the guns quite calmly and unfalteringly, and allowed themselves to be blindfolded and tied up without moving a muscle, or showing the slightest signs of fear, or even concern. Whence had these men this strength? Their religion, bad as it may be and is, in all other points, at least befriends them well at the hour of death; it teaches them well that great and useful lesson, how to die."

The beneficial effect of the plan adopted at Peshawur for the instruction of the disaffected, was not confined to the immediate locality, or to the population around it, as may be inferred from a communication of Colonel Edwardes, dated from that place between the 21st of June and the 6th of July, in which the gallant officer thus expresses his view of the state of local affairs at that period:—

"This post, so far from being more arduous in future, will be more secure. Events here have taken a wonderful turn. During peace, Peshawur was an incessant anxiety. Now it is the strongest point in India. We have struck two great blows—we have disarmed our own troops, and raised levies of all the people of the country. The troops are confounded; they calculated on being backed by the people. The people are delighted, and a better feeling has sprung up between them and us in this enlistment than has ever been obtained before. I have also called on my old country, the Deragât, and it is quite delightful to see how the call is answered. Two thousand horsemen, formerly in my army at Mooltan, are now moving on different points, according to order, to help us in this difficulty; and every post brings me remonstrances from chiefs as to why they have been forgotten. What fault have they committed that they are not sent for? This is really gratifying. It is the heart of a people. It does one good all through. The Peshawurees had often heard that I had been grateful in getting rewards for my followers after the Mooltan war; but they were not prepared to see such a demonstration from the other end of the Soolimanee mountains. It excites their better feelings, and will do them good too. All yesterday I was busy fitting out 700 horse and foot levies (Mooltanee) to reinforce Nicholson at Jullundur. How all the liberality shown to these Mooltanese after

the war of 1848-'49 is now repaid, in the alacrity with which they rush to our side again to help us! They are now invaluable, and so glad to see me again; it is quite a pleasure in the midst of this howling wilderness."

RHONEE.—About the time the stern but imperatively called-for measures we have recorded were progressing in one division of the great presidency of Bengal, ample grounds for the introduction of somewhat similar correction were daily obtruded upon the attention of government in other directions. At Rhonee (Deoghur), a small station in the Sonthal district, garrisoned by a company of the 32nd regiment of native infantry, and a portion of the 5th irregular cavalry (the whole under the command of Major Macdonald, of the latter corps), a sudden and murderous attack was made, in the evening of the 12th of June, upon three of the officers at the station, which resulted in the death of one, and the severe and dangerous mutilation of the others, under the following extraordinary circumstances:—

On the evening mentioned, the three officers—namely, Major Macdonald, Lieutenant Sir Norman Leslie, and assistant-surgeon Grant, also of the 5th irregulars—were sitting together in the verandah of the major's house. The night was dark and cloudy, and the moon was not yet up, when, shortly before nine o'clock, as Dr. Grant rose from his seat, and was turning to enter the house, his attention was attracted by hasty footsteps. He had scarcely time to exclaim, "Who can these fellows be?" when, on the instant, three men, in the undress of troopers, rushed into the verandah with their swords drawn, and furiously attacked the three unarmed men. The assassin who struck Sir Norman Leslie, threw such vigour into his blow, that the unfortunate gentleman was cut down from the shoulder to the chest; another aimed at the head of the major, whose scalp was completely taken off; and the third selected for his victim Dr. Grant, whom he severely wounded in the arm and hip. The lieutenant, deprived of all power by the magnitude of the injury, fell from his chair to linger a short time and die. Major Macdonald seized the chair on which he had been seated, and used it to defend himself against successive attacks of the murderers, one of whom he struck a blow that induced him to retreat from the place: the miscreant was quickly followed by his companions; and the major and Dr. Grant made their way, streaming with blood, into the house, and gave an alarm. The whole affair was so sudden, and so entirely unexpected, that, at the moment, pursuit of the assassins was unthought of.

Upon recovering from the surprise occasioned by the attack, the major and Dr. Grant went back to the verandah, to see after Lieutenant Leslie, whose condition is thus described by his gallant commander:—"We found poor Leslie stretched on the ground, in a dying state. He must have received his death-blow the first cut, and have fallen forward on his face, for he was cut clean through his back into his chest, and breathing through the wound in the lungs; also many cuts on the head: he was quite sensible, and said, as I bent over him, 'Oh, Macdonald, it is very hard to die in this manner!'—and added, 'My poor wife and children! what will become of them?' I told him he had only a few minutes to live, and to make his peace with God, and that all should be done for his poor wife and family that could be done. Under such fearful circumstances he then applied himself to make his peace with God, poor fellow! and breathed his last in about half-an-hour afterwards."

The surprise and consternation occasioned by this sanguinary attack was so great, that some time elapsed before the servants of the house could be prevailed upon to go to the lines (a short distance from the house) and alarm the soldiers. To the credit of the latter, the major states that, as soon as the men were acquainted with the cowardly transaction, every man off duty crowded round his bungalow, all evincing sympathy, and expressing horror and detestation of the murderous act that had perilled the life of their commandant, and had actually deprived another officer of existence.

Any attempt to trace or pursue the ruffians by whom the savage attack had been perpetrated, was now useless. Some of the troopers, nevertheless, rode off to Deoghur, about two miles from Rhonee, where they found everything perfectly quiet. A detachment of the 32nd regiment (of which the head-quarters were established at Deoghur) were immediately marched over for the protection of the major and his station; but the former at once sent them back, as he considered the hundred men he already had in the lines, quite suf-

ficient for that purpose; and the men themselves declared they were more than a match for any odds that might appear, composed of such miscreants.

Neither Major Macdonald or Dr. Grant were dangerously, although badly wounded. One of the blows aimed at the major took off his scalp, which was found next morning near the scene of outrage. For a short time, it was supposed the three assassins were some of the disbanded sepoys who were prowling about the district, and trying to instil their mischievous doctrines into the Sonthals; the object being to induce the troops to join them by first removing the obstacles in the way of revolt, presented by the watchfulness of the European officers, who were, therefore, to be murdered out of the way.

On the 14th of June, an official communication referring to this lamentable affair, was made to the adjutant-general by Captain Watson, second in command of the 5th irregular cavalry. In this report, the incidents of the murderous attack are related; and the detail thus proceeds:—"Major Macdonald had his head cut open and was insensible when the express was dispatched to me, four hours after the occurrence; the assistant-surgeon received two cuts, one on the arm and one on the leg; and Lieutenant Sir Norman Leslie was cut down from both shoulders to the waist, and expired in about half-an-hour. A guard was at the major's quarters; but the sentry says he saw nothing of the men, who escaped immediately after attacking the officers The Woordie major of the regiment assembled all the men who were present, and examined their swords, which were perfectly clean. As far as I can judge, none of the men seem to have been implicated in any way."

On the 15th, Captain Watson forwarded to the adjutant-general a copy of a letter sent him on the 13th by Major Macdonald, describing the murderous affair thus:—

"I am as fairly and neatly scalped as any Red Indian could do it. Grant got a brace of ugly cuts, but Leslie was literally cut to ribbons; he lived half-an-hour, poor fellow, and quietly died. We were sitting in front of my house, as usual, at 8 P.M., taking our tea, when three men rushed quickly upon us, and dealt us each a crack. I was scalped; Grant cut on the elbow; Leslie, sitting in his easy chair, appeared to fall at the first blow. I got three cracks on the head in succession before I knew I was attacked. I then seized my chair by the arms, and defended myself successfully from two of them on me at once; I guarded and struck the best I could, and, at last, Grant and self drove the cowards off the field. God only knows who they were and where they came from, but they were practised swordsmen. Leslie was buried with military honours, and had the burial service read over him at Deoghur, in Ronald's garden. This is against my poor head, writing; but you will be anxious to know how matters really were. I expect to be in high fever to-morrow. I have got a bad gash into the skull, besides being scalped. Grant and I have had the most miraculous escape from instant death. The men of the regiment are most attentive, and would sit up all last night round us. My poor head is aching, so I can write no more."—Captain Watson adds to this communication, that he has received a report of the occurrence from the civil commissioner of the district, and that he has great satisfaction in repeating the opinion of the latter official, "that the men of the 5th irregular cavalry are loyal, and not in the smallest degree suspected."

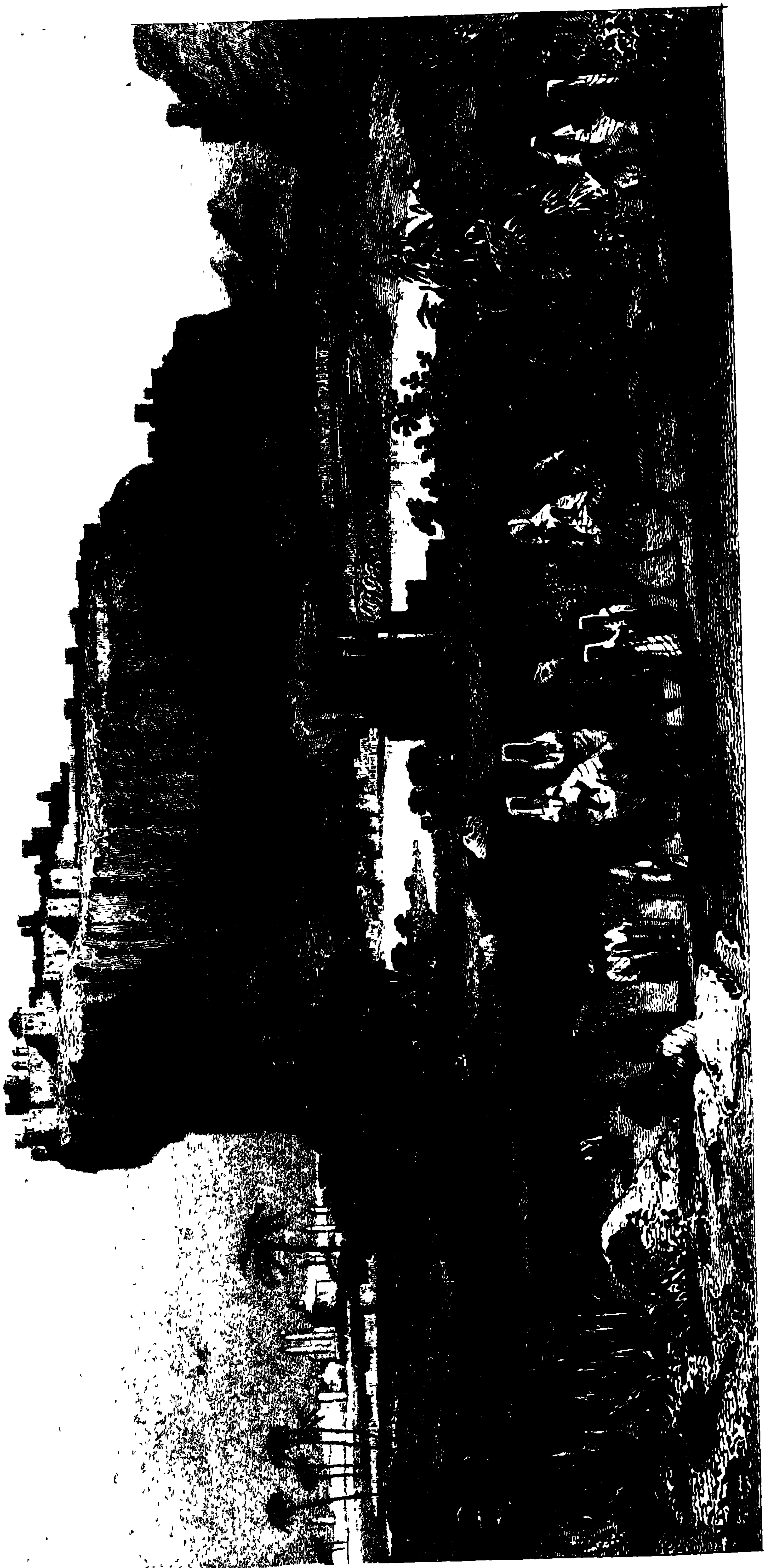
The mystery, however, that darkness had thrown around the perpetrators of the savage act, was not of long endurance. On the 15th, it was discovered that three troopers of the major's own regiment were the assassins by whom Sir Norman Leslie was foully murdered. The means by which they were detected, or the motives upon which they acted, are not stated; but summary justice was awarded the miscreants by drum-head court-martial on the 16th, and they were immediately hung in the presence of their comrades, within view of the scene of their butchery, and under the eyes of their surviving victims. Major Macdonald, whose good spirits, like his high courage, appear to have been indomitable, wrote on the same day to Captain Watson thus:—

"I received your kind note as I was sitting in my verandah, seeing the last struggles of our friends (the three assassins.) To tell you the truth, when we were attacked, I felt convinced that our own men did the deed, and I told the Woordie major so; but Grant thought otherwise, and I was only too glad to think our own men could not have had a hand in it. Yesterday evening two of the fellows were found with bloody clothes; and the third, who lived with a sick sowar, confessed he had done for

Leslie; and this was evidence enough. I had them in irons in a crack, held a drum-head court-martial, and convicted and sentenced them to be hanged this morning. I took on my own shoulders the responsibility of hanging them first and asking leave to do so afterwards. One of the fellows was of very high caste and influence; and this man I determined to treat with the greatest ignominy by getting the lowest caste man to hang him. To tell you the truth, I never for a moment expected to leave the hanging scene alive; but I was determined to do my duty, and well knew the effect that pluck and decision had on the natives. The regiment was drawn out: wounded cruelly as I was, I had to see everything done myself, even to the adjusting the ropes; and saw them looped to run easy. Two of the culprits were paralysed with fear and astonishment, never dreaming that I should dare to hang them without an order from government. The third said he would not be hanged, and called on the prophet and on his comrades to rescue him. This was an awful moment; an instant's hesitation on my part, and probably I should have had a dozen of balls through me; so I seized a pistol, clapped it to the man's ear, and said, with a look there was no mistake about, 'Another word out of your mouth, and your brains shall be scattered on the ground.' He trembled and held his tongue. The elephant came up; he was put on his back, the rope adjusted, the elephant moved, and he was left dangling. I then had the others up, and off in the same way; and after some time, when I had dismissed the men of the regiment to their lines, and still found my head on my shoulders, I really could scarcely believe it. However, it is now all over. I have had a sad time of it, and but little able to go through such scenes, for I am very badly wounded; but, thank God, my spirits and pluck never left me for a moment. Grant says I am playing the dickey with my head, with all this work and bother. Certainly not! any strange officer with the men. I'd rather stay and die here first. There will be no more such scenes, depend upon it. You must make the report to army head-quarters. I think I must come in for fever. Thanks be to God for such a miraculous escape, and enabling me to go through all I have done. When you see my poor old head, you will wonder how I could hold it up at all. I have preserved my scalp in spirits of wine; such a jolly specimen!—I had hopes our men had no hand in it; but, after all, two were only recruits."

A correspondent of the *Hurkaru*, writing upon the subject of the execution, says—"When these scoundrels were being executed, they gave utterance to expressions that were most mutinous in their character. One of them cried, 'Which of you, my brethren, have the courage to rescue me from the hands of these dogs!' But the brave old major, who, despite his wounds, was sitting in his chair with his pistol in his hand, instantly and sternly exclaimed, as he pointed his weapon at the miserable assassin, 'One word more, and I will fire.' This decisive act settled the affair; not a voice was heard, and the execution proceeded without any further effort to interrupt it."

Throughout this extraordinary business, nothing appeared at the time upon which to found suspicion that it was in any manner connected with the object for which the mutineers of the Bengal army were in a state of general revolt; yet as, within two months of the occurrence, the sowars of the 5th irregular cavalry (to which regiment the assassins belonged) broke into mutiny at Bhaugulpore, Deoghur, Rhonee, and their other stations, it is more than probable, that the murderous attack upon their commanding officer and adjutant, was only part of a more comprehensive design, by which the lives of all the European officers would have been jeopardised, but which was happily frustrated by the impetuosity and subsequent cowardice of the miscreants employed to strike the first blow. At all events, the conduct of the regiment was so unexceptionable at the time, that the confidence of Major Macdonald in its loyalty was unshaken; and to mark his sense of their soldierlike behaviour, three of the non-commissioned officers were promoted, and rewarded with handsome gratuities; while, upon his recommendation, the Woordie major was presented by government with a handsome sword and belt, as a token of its approbation. The head-quarters of the regiment was then removed from Rhonee to Bhaugulpore, where it remained quietly until the period of its mutiny and desertion in the following August.



CHAPTER XXII.

GWALIOR; RECOGNISED AS A SUBSIDIARY STATE; LOYALTY OF THE MAHARAJAH; REVOLT OF THE GWALIOR CONTINGENT; MURDER OF OFFICERS; FLIGHT OF THE EUROPEAN FAMILIES; HAZARDOUS FIDELITY OF SCINDIA; FUTTEHPORE; EXCITEMENT OF THE POPULACE; DEFENCE AND ESCAPE OF EUROPEANS; TREACHERY OF A DEPUTY COLLECTOR; MURDER OF MR. TUCKER; BARBAROUS TREATMENT OF HIS REMAINS; BANDA; ARRIVAL OF MUTINEERS OF THE 6TH REGIMENT; THE LIVES OF THE EUROPEANS DEMANDED; PROTECTED BY THE RAJAH; ESCAPE TO NAGODE; REVOLT OF THE TROOPS, AND THEIR REVENGE; AURUNGABAD; INSPECTION OF THE TROOPS; REVOLT OF THE HYDERABAD CONTINGENT; CAPTAIN ABBOTT'S REPORT; CONCILIATORY MEASURES RECOMMENDED; ARRIVAL OF GENERAL WOODBURN'S COLUMN; THE CAVALRY DISARMED; FLIGHT OF THE EUROPEAN FAMILIES; RARE FIDELITY OF A MOHAMMEDAN TROOPER; PROGRESS OF THE REBELLION; CONCESSIONS TO THE NATIVE TROOPS AT CALCUTTA; DISAFFECTION AT CUTTACK; OCCURRENCES AT JUBBULPORE AND NAGPORE; FLIGHT FROM ARRAH; OFFICIAL CORRESPONDENCE; ALARM AT GYA; PRISONERS AT MIDNAPORE; THE PANIC AT TIRHOOT; MARTIAL LAW AT SARUN.

THE subsidiary state of Gwalior—formerly an independent principality of Central India—extends between lat. 21° 27′ N., and lon. 74° 79′ E., and is surrounded by the Rajpoor, Baroda, Indore, and Bundelcund dominions, and the Bengal and Bombay presidencies. It is now the dominion of the Maharajah Scindia, one of the most faithful and disinterested of our allies among the native chiefs of the Indian empire; and had become, early in June, infected by the malaria of religious animosity: its subsequent contribution to the ranks of the rebels and murderers of the Bengal army was merely a question of time and opportunity, which at length arrived.

The celebrated hill fortress of Gwalior, in the centre of the capital city of the same name, is situated upon a precipitous rock, about eighty miles southward from Agra, and at a short distance from a branch of the river Jumna. The hill on which the fortress is built is a mile and three-quarters in length, rising at its northern extremity to an elevation of 342 feet: a parapet of stone runs along its entire length, built close to the edge of the rock, the sides of which are almost perpendicular, and so difficult of scaling, that until it was taken by escalade by the troops under Major Popham, on the 3rd of August, 1780, it was deemed perfectly impregnable and secure from assault. The fortress was afterwards restored to its native prince; but, in 1804, it was again surrendered to the English, to be again relinquished; and upon this occurrence, the Mahratta chief, Scindia, made it his capital and seat of government. The position and natural strength of this stronghold always rendered it a military post of great importance. Under the Mogul dynasty it was used as a state prison, in which obnoxious members of the royal family were imprisoned, tortured, and murdered, as expediency required; and, on account of its presumed security from the attack of an enemy, it was also used as a grand depôt for artillery, ammunition, and military stores. The town, which surrounds the fortress, has externally a fine appearance, with its countless minarets glittering in the sun, and interspersed with luxuriant trees: it is unenclosed; but the streets can be shut by numerous gates, many of which possess great architectural beauty. The chief mosque, palace, and buildings within the citadel, are in the most ancient style of Hindoo architecture; and a fine tomb of a Mohammedan saint is erected on the east side of the city. In the sides of the rock upon which the fortress of Gwalior is built, are numerous excavations used as Hindoo temples, covered with sculptures and inscriptions.

The contest that terminated the independence of Gwalior, and eventually procured its recognition among the subsidiary states of India, was precipitated by the feuds and anarchy that had for some time prevailed among its native chiefs; and as the British government was bound by treaty with the late rajah to protect his successor and preserve his territory undivided, it was deemed necessary, in 1848, to take measures for the effectual promotion of those objects. The then governor-general (Lord Ellenborough) thereupon directed the necessary advance to be made upon the disturbed territory; and, after a succession of brilliant actions, the Mahrattas were finally defeated by Sir Hugh Gough, at Maharajpore, on the 29th of December, and the British troops again became masters of

the fortress and capital of the enemy. Under the auspices of the victorious government, the infant heir of the deceased rajah was forthwith installed, with great ceremony, in the presence of the British troops; and the state and its sovereign were alike taken under the protecting care of the government. By this act, tranquillity was for a time restored to the whole of our Indian empire; and the service rendered to the sovereign of the subdued territory, was destined to produce results that could not at the time be contemplated.

The loyalty of the maharajah of Gwalior had hitherto been tested by acts of the most unequivocal friendship to the English authorities; and but one opinion existed as to the reliance that could be placed upon his disinterested fidelity, in case an emergency should arise for its further development. A trial was, however, before him, that had there been the slightest wavering of principle in his mind, might suddenly have deprived the government of all the benefit assured to it by an alliance with a chief so universally popular as the Maharajah Scindia. The active services this prince had already rendered by placing the flower of his troops, including his own body-guard, at the disposal of the lieutenant-governor of the North-West Provinces,* had occasioned some murmuring among the men of his contingent not so employed; and the resentment felt by some few of the troops on account of being passed over in the selection for an honourable service, was soon blown into a flame of general insubordination and revolt by the management of emissaries from the mutineers of the Bengal army. The process was silently and slowly carried on without awakening suspicion, until the plot was ripe for execution; but the aim was sure, and success certain, before a blow was struck.

Nothing had occurred to excite alarm, or even suspicion of impending evil, at Gwalior, from the beginning of the troubles that had agitated the adjacent country; and consequently, the European residents at the capital of Scindia were not prepared for evils they did not care to anticipate the possibility of. They were, however, awakened from their dream of security on the night of Sunday, the 14th of June; and too late; for many of them had cause to regret the want of reasonable precaution, by which, it is possible, the calamity suddenly scattered amongst them might have been altogether prevented or greatly mitigated.

About two o'clock in the afternoon of the 14th, a fire broke out in the lines of the contingent, which destroyed three dwellings and a mess-house: the event appeared purely accidental; and as the men of the contingent worked steadily and heartily in an endeavour to preserve the adjacent buildings, the affair was soon over, and the European officers and their families resumed their wonted Sunday pursuits—dined, and retired to rest. Presently, as night advanced, shouts were heard from all parts of the cantonment, followed by an announcement that the troops had risen, and were preparing to fall upon the Europeans, whom they were determined to destroy. Upon the first alarm, followed by a report of musketry, some officers who had dined with Brigadier Ramsay, of the Maharajah contingent, and had not yet separated, were ordered to their regiments; but on their way, were informed, that they would be murdered by the men of the 4th regiment, who were in a state of frantic excitement and insubordination. Shots were now flying in every direction, and several of the unfortunate officers were shot down; nothing remained, therefore, but to escape, if possible: but again a difficulty was presented. The troops, in order more completely to carry out their plan of extermination, had dispatched a number of their body to take possession of the roads by which the unoffending objects of their vengeance might attempt to escape. The route to the fortress occupied by Scindia was alone open to the fugitives; and of this several, fortunately, availed themselves. The maharajah had no sooner been informed of the danger that menaced his English friends, than placing himself at the head of his body-guard, he hastened down towards the city, meeting on his way many of the affrighted supplicants for his protection, and for whose safety he immediately interposed his authority, and ultimately facilitated their escape to Agra. The first intimation of the defection of the Gwalior contingent, reached government in the following communication of Mr. Colvin, lieutenant-governor of the North-West Provinces:—

"My Lord,—I have the honour to report, that last night I received an express from Major Macpherson, political agent at Gwalior, informing me, that on the pre-

* See *ante*, pp. 127; 184.

vious night of the 14th instant, the regiments of the Gwalior contingent stationed there had risen in mutiny, and that the maharajah had declared, that from the temper of his own Hindoo and Mohammedan troops, he could not answer for the protection of the British officers and families; and that the agent himself, with a number of the officers and residents of the cantonment, had, in consequence, quitted Gwalior, and were in retreat upon Agra. Of the fate of some of the officers and families, Major Macpherson could not give me any account, as the departure from Gwalior had been so hurried. This event gravely complicates the difficulty of our position here; for it may lead to an open declaration of the Gwalior government against us.—I am, &c.—J. R. COLVIN."

The uncertainty in which Major Macpherson's report left the question of life and death among the unfortunate residents compromised by the outbreak, was shortly afterwards removed by the publication of the following list of officers, &c., killed by the excited soldiery during the night of the 14th of June:—

"Major Blake, 2nd native infantry, Gwalior contingent; Lieutenant Proctor, adjutant, 4th infantry; Dr. Kirke, superintending surgeon; Captain Hawkins and Captain Stewart, artillery; Major Shirriff, 4th infantry; Rev. Mr. Coopland; Sergeant-major Twitcham; Quartermaster-sergeant Webb; Mr. Collins, brigade-major's clerk; Sergeant Cronin."

Of the officers and families that escaped the perils of that night, and subsequently arrived at Agra, the subjoined list was also promulgated:—

"Major Macpherson; Brigadier Ramsay; Mr. Innes; Mrs. Hennessy, son, and infant; Mrs. Christian and child; Mrs. Ferris and three children; Captain and Mrs. Meade and two children; Captain and Mrs. Murray and child; Lieutenant and Mrs. Pearson; Lieutenant Smalley; Dr. M'Keller; Mr. Sheet; Mrs. Bryant and child; Sergeant Lynch, artillery; Mr. Martin, customs; two gentlemen of the electric telegraph department; Captain Maude, her majesty's 8th foot, and Lieutenant Ryves, 12th native infantry; Mrs. Raikes and child; Mrs. Gilbert and children; Mrs. Kirke and child; Mrs. Campbell; Mrs. Blake; Mrs. Proctor; Mrs. Coopland; Mrs. Monks, with two children; Mrs. Cronin and child; Mrs. Webb; Mrs. James; Mrs. Quick (died on the road.")

It is observable, that with the exception of one female, who died from fatigue and fright on her road to Agra, none of the women were molested, nor did the children sustain any injury beyond the terror consequent upon the circumstances of their parents.

Some interesting details of the outbreak and subsequent flight of the Europeans, are given in the following extracts. The first are passages from a letter written by the adjutant of the 2nd Gwalior regiment, who, describing the incidents of the revolt, says—"It was sacrament Sunday, and I went to church; but at twelve o'clock up went the mess-house in flames, and, there being a strong wind, it was soon burnt down, as well as the bath and another bungalow. The day passed off, and we went to bed as usual; but shortly afterwards we were aroused pretty quickly by the whole of the troops having risen and lined all the roads, with the determination of killing all Europeans they could lay their hands on. We both got up and dressed as quickly as possible, and, putting a bag of money into my bearer's hands, I mounted my horse to go to my regiment, telling him to take every care of my poor wife. As soon as I got out into the road, I was joined by M'Keller and Ryves (12th), who had just escaped from Jhansie, and we were regularly hustled down to parade by crowds of sepoys, who put their arms between our legs and the saddles, as much as to say, 'Do not attempt to bolt.' Before we got a hundred yards, we sustained three volleys from men not fifteen yards off, but were not touched. The fourth volley saluted us just as we passed the head of the grenadier company, one ball of which shot my poor charger right through the heart. He fell dead on me; and I had the greatest difficulty in extricating myself, expecting a bayonet in my back every moment. In getting from under him I tore off my boot, so proceeded to parade without it, as retreat was hopeless. Almost the first thing I saw, was poor Major Blake lying mortally wounded, shot through the lungs. They said it was useless even to unfasten his coat; but I insisted on it, and did it myself, placing his head on my shoulder, and trying to make him speak; but it was no good—the poor fellow was dying fast. All the time we were with Blake, we were surrounded by hundreds of mutineers; but none touched us. After we got into the light cavalry lines, the firing was very brisk, and we all thought it was all over with us; but a merciful Providence watched over us, and not a ball hit us. Those who were mounted were then able to get off—

made a rush for it, crossed the river, and rode straight across country for Agra—leaving me in this delightful predicament. Just at this moment, three sepoys caught hold of me, and said they would try and save me. They threw off my hat, tore off my trowsers and the remaining boot, covered me as well as they could with my horsecloth, which my groom had brought along with us, and, putting me between the two, the third walked in front; and what between knocking up one man's musket, whose bayonet was just at my back, and declaring I was one of their wives, we got through all the sentries, and crossed the river. They then wanted me to make the best of my way off, saying, that the chances were ten to one that my wife was killed by that time; but I told them plainly I would not try to escape without her. After a great deal of persuading, they took me down the bank of the river (the opposite side of which was regularly lined with sentries to prevent escape) till we came opposite our house, where they set me down, and one man said, 'Now I will go and bring your wife to you if she is alive:' so off he went; and after about twenty minutes of the most agonising suspense, dear M—— and I met again. I must say, the three sepoys with us behaved splendidly. Seeing poor M—— was unable to walk, they tied my horsecloth in a sort of bag fashion on to a musket, put her into it, and placing the butt and muzzle on their shoulders, carried her this way seven miles, till we reached the residency, by which time I could hardly put my feet to the ground, from walking barefoot over the thorny ground. On arriving there we met three other people just escaped, and I got an elephant, on which we all mounted, intending to seek further protection in the Lushkur, with the maharajah, where lots of people had gone; but before we had got half a mile, we met nearly a dozen carriages, all in full gallop, accompanied by the body-guard, in full retreat back to the residency. Well, we went ''bout ship' in less than no time, and a party of sowars were left with us, and we soon after arrived, where mutual congratulations were exchanged, and in half-an-hour we were all provided with carriages, and set off to Agra. We have now a room in the fort; and I am appointed superintendent of the first division of the commissariat. We are 7,000 people in the fort, all living in gunsheds and casemates; the appearance of the interior is amusing, and the streets are named. We have Regent, Oxford, Quadrant, Burlington, and Lowther Arcade. Ours is Trafalgar-square, Nos. 48 and 49."

An officer of the 12th native infantry, that had mutinied at Nowgong on the 10th of June, and who had to ride for his life from that station, was also present at the outbreak at Gwalior, whither he had fled for an asylum. This gentleman, in a most interesting letter to a relative, dated June 24th, says—"I wrote to you from Sepree on the 10th, which will tell you of my escape from the mutineers of our regiment and the 14th irregular cavalry. It was dreadful work. I left Sepree on my horse for Gwalior on the 11th, and reached it in three days—eighty miles; and on the day I came in, the 14th inst., about 2 P.M., they set fire to three houses and the mess, and burnt them down. The Gwalior contingent came, and gave every assistance, so I fancied they were all right. However, we sat down to dinner at the Brigadier Ramsay's, and at nine o'clock, when the gun fired, we heard a row in the lines, and the brigadier ordered the officers to go to their regiments. So I went with the doctor, Mackallan (whom I was living with), and the others, first getting our swords, and gave the word that the corps and batteries were in mutiny, and then were riding towards the lines, when some men of the 2nd regiment met us, and said we must come to their lines, as the 4th regiment were murdering every one. There was heavy firing going on all round the station. They had pickets all over the place to catch us. When we got among their lines, they blazed away at us from every direction. How I escaped is marvellous; the adjutant, and myself and doctor, were together, and a volley was fired, and down fell the adjutant and his horse. The horse was shot dead; but he escaped. I put spurs to my horse, and galloped on until I was stopped by a man who fired about two yards away, right in my horse's face, the sparks all about me; but the bullet passed me, and the horse and I went on, and came on 200 men drawn up at the quarter-guard, and whom I spoke to, and asked them what was the cause. They said some of the regiments were going to kill every one in the place. They said we must go on the top of the quarter-guard; that it was the safest place; but I said, if we did we

should be murdered at their leisure: the commanding officer and his horse were lying dead near us. The officer was mortally wounded in the lungs, and dying; some of the men crying over him, saying their regiment did not do it, that it was the men of the 4th. We remained some time with them—half-an-hour; they wanting us to go into a house; but we would not go. At last, I asked some of the men why they did not let us out of cantonments; and they said, after a time, they would; so they took myself and the doctor, and prevented the men from firing any more at us, and we galloped away towards what we supposed, in the dark, the road to this place. We rode all night among ravines, and, in the morning, luckily came on the Agra-road. We went towards a ford in the river Chumbul, but found some troops were ahead, so we turned back and made for a fort twenty miles off. We were from ten o'clock at night until four o'clock the next day without food, upon our horses. We then got some milk, and fed our horses; and the people said, that at the other side men were ready to shoot anyone, so we were rather in a mess, we thought. As no one would come on with us, after some conversation, I promised, if they would come and see us safe in Agra, which was forty miles away, we would give them 500 rupees. Seven men then came with us, and we crossed and reached a bungalow some five miles off, passing a fort and numbers of men armed, who behaved well in letting us pass. We had a fowl, and then started and reached Agra the following night, or morning at sunrise, on the 17th, and the lieutenant-governor advanced me 500 rupees for the men, government paying half. I was glad to give it them, as it may save some poor ladies and children; and they have brought lots in safe. They killed eight or ten officers of the Gwalior force; only one lady and three or four children were killed. All the officers who were at mess with me, were shot in about five minutes after. It was a dreadful sight, I assure you."

There is no authenticated report of the death of any lady or children in the course of the disturbances at Gwalior; and it is therefore probable, that the above passage, referring to one lady and three or four children as among the slain, was grounded upon erroneous information. Another correspondent, writing on the 19th of June, from Agra, says—"The rumour of mutiny at Gwalior, of which I wrote to you the day before, has proved but too true. Several officers and men have been killed; but such as could escape from Morar towards the rajah's cantonment were saved, and have come into Agra. There is an *on dit*, that the rajah has been murdered for siding with us; and Beja Baie raised to the musnud. The mischief began on the parade-ground. Some officers were here shot at, and others escaped; but this did not satisfy the mutineers: they made towards the bungalow of the brigadier, called him out vociferously, and sent in shots after him on his non-appearance. He was miraculously, however, saved; for, as he attempted to escape out of his closet, a sepoy is said to have laid hold of his hands, and to have quietly cut out of the compound, in the dark, towards the ravines. Here is one instance of the fidelity of some of the sepoys, and goes much in defence of the lieutenant-governor's proclamation; for it is not wise to destroy the grateful with the ungrateful. The insurgents, however, on not finding Brigadier Ramsay, ransacked the whole of his property, and then set fire to his bungalow. And this is not the only instance of a sepoy's fidelity. There was another officer who was roused by his guard at 10 P.M., and out of the nine that were in his compound, one is said quietly to have gone up to him, and said, 'Khamin, bhago, sub bigurgaya.' This sepoy had just moved off when the rest came up in a body, saying, 'Houses are on fire, shall we load?' The officer observed, that it was folly to load muskets to put out a fire. On this they retired, and the officer into his bungalow, whence, through a window of his closet, he descried the whole of the guard quietly loading. He roused his servant at once, and escaped behind his house. Two shots were fired at him, but did not tell. He then made toward the bed of the river, and escaped among the ravines, four shots again whizzing over his head and that of his khansumah. Happily none told. Consternation became general at this time; and the Christian portion of the place—man, woman, and child—were flying in all directions towards the rajah's. Another rumour has reached us, that the maharajah is not killed. He was bent upon going down upon the insurgents; but the Baie would not allow him, saying, that he was sure to be killed, and, as he has no legiti-

mate issue, the estate would be confiscated, and he, his wife, and daughter, ruined. She advised him, therefore, to send the minister, Dhunker Rae, who is said to have been killed. The mutineers are gone towards Jhansie—some say towards Oojen. We have no official report, but are glad they have not visited us."

For the present, our notice of the outbreak at Gwalior may conclude with the following extract from a letter of the wife of one of the murdered officers, who, writing from Agra on the 27th of June, says—"I will now try to describe all this as it happened. A rising had long been expected at Gwalior; but, alas! nothing was done, and we had no English troops. On Sunday, the 14th of June, just as we were going to bed, about half-past nine, our servants rushed in, and said the sepoys had risen. We dressed as quickly as we could, and then walked to an officer's bungalow, to learn what we could do to escape. We found the family in a state of great alarm. As we were talking to Mrs. ——, her husband's horse rushed by, and they said he had just been shot. We then went and hid in the garden, under some trees, for about three hours; the shot was flying round us in all directions, and the houses were burning. The servants then hid us—that is, my husband, Mrs. ——, and myself, in one of their houses. Here we lay hid some time, expecting every moment to be discovered and dragged out. The sepoys came in once or twice, but did not see us; at last, about five o'clock in the morning, they found us. They were afraid to come in at the door, so they pulled the roof off, and fired in upon us. We then went to the door, and begged them not to kill us. When my husband went to the door, they fired twice at him. There were about twenty-nine of these horrid-looking men, and quite drunk. He was not wounded, and rushed on, they pursuing him, and firing at him as he ran. I then rushed forward too; and at first they fired at me as well, but then they dragged me away. I never saw —— after this; but I have since heard that he was killed two or three compounds further on. I got an officer here, who escaped, to make all the inquiries he could. It is not known if the bodies were buried or not, but it is believed they were all thrown into the river. I can scarcely write or think, so fearful is it all!

"After, I suppose, they had killed ——, the sepoys came back to us; they pushed all the ladies into a little hut that was near, and then they all crowded in and mocked at us, and threatened us with death—worse than death. They then took us to the lines. After keeping us there some time, they said they would not kill us, as we were only women, and they had killed our husbands; and so they crammed about six ladies into a carriage, and sent us away. I cannot tell you the misery of the five days it took us to reach Agra. Our lives were in danger the whole time, both from villagers and from parties of sepoys we fell in with. They held loaded pistols and naked swords over us again and again. Our party, altogether, consisted of eight ladies, besides four sergeants' wives and a number of children. We had nothing but grain to eat and water to drink. One sergeant's wife died on the way from a sun-stroke. We had no covering to our heads, and some had no shoes. The sepoys had robbed us of everything; they even took the ladies' wedding-rings. I tied mine round my waist, and so have kept it. At last we reached here. I am staying with the political agent, as I have no friend here. My miseries are almost more than I can bear. On the first anniversary of our wedding-day, I heard for certain of ——'s death. Even here we feel far from safe. We sleep in our clothes at the barracks; and every night we expect an attack. There is only one English regiment here; and in the gaol there are 3,000 of the worst characters."

The conduct of Scindia throughout this affair, and in the complications that followed—in which he maintained his authority over his mutinous troops, and yet preserved his loyalty to the English government—stands out as a remarkable exception to the behaviour of the native princes generally. Of his fidelity there was no doubt from the first moment in which the difficulty arose; but of the good faith of those around him there was much ground for suspicion. The Bye-za-bye (his adoptive grandmother) was known to be an intriguing and active enemy of the English government; and the whole weight of her influence and great wealth was employed in fomenting the hatred of her grandson's troops against the Europeans. It was discovered, that, by her desire and assistance, secret emissaries had been dispatched to the rajahs of Baroda and Kolapore, under a

pretence of mere complimentary intercourse: the positive object of the mission was studiously concealed from the English residents at both courts, and had occasioned considerable disquiet for some time previous to the actual explosion at Gwalior. Surrounded as he was with advisers inimical to the policy he had steadfastly followed from the day he ascended the musnud under the protection of the British government, and thwarted in his views by the domestic and natural influences that pervaded his court, the position of Scindia was one of extreme perplexity; and the manly courage with which he opposed, and ultimately conquered, the adversaries of his career of loyalty and honour, entitles him to high consideration and substantial gratitude.

FUTTEHPORE.—Among the perilous adventures that chequered the existence of Europeans in India, during the first two months of the military revolt, those connected with the individuals at the large civil station of Futtehpore,* between Cawnpore and Allahabad, were not among the least hazardous, although happily, at the time, unattended by a fatal result, except in one solitary instance. Early in the month of June, the attention of the European authorities was attracted by an appearance of unusual excitement among the lower class of the people, who, day after day, congregated together with the budmashes and vagabonds of the adjoining villages, as if for the purpose of deliberating upon some design studiously concealed from the Europeans. At length, it fortunately became known that a plot was in agitation, the object of which was the massacre and plunder of all the Europeans at the station; who, being exclusively in the civil employment of the government, were without any adequate means of protection beyond those afforded by their private resources. Upon this nefarious plot becoming known, no time was lost in adopting measures for ensuring the common safety, until the arrival of troops, known to be on their way from Allahabad toward Lucknow *viâ* Cawnpore, should relieve the intended victims from the grasp of their destroyers, which was daily tightening around them. The protective measures taken were effectual, and the whole of the English residents found shelter and safety in a large pukha building, which they stored with provisions; and from the roof and windows of which they kept the rabble at bay during ten days. At the expiration of this period, their ammunition and provisions began to fall short; and as the expected troops had not arrived, it was determined to hazard an attempt to escape. This, owing to the fidelity of some native servants, they were enabled to effect; and having conveyances prepared at the outskirt of the town, the whole of the beleaguered band, with one exception, took advantage of the darkness of night, and one by one silently emerged from their retreat, and, gaining the vehicles provided for them, rapidly fled towards Banda, a small rajahship, about forty-six miles distant in a north-western direction, which they reached in safety, and remained there until the revolt of the rajah's armed followers on the 16th of the month, compelled them again to seek other protection for their lives. But one blood-spot stains the record of the popular outbreak at Futtehpore; and the victim sacrificed to the fury of an excited mob, was the judge of the district, Mr. Robert Tudor Tucker, a gentleman whose amiable qualities had procured for him great and deserved influence over the native population; and whose rigid sense of duty prevented him from quitting his post, while a possibility existed of his calming down the excitement of the rioters by his presence and remonstrances. In the patriotic execution of the hazardous experiment, this valuable public servant fell a sacrifice, through the treacherous act of Hikmutoolah Khan, one of the deputy collectors of his district, by whom he was betrayed, when, in full reliance upon his fidelity, he had entrusted him with a knowledge of his intention to leave the town. It appeared that, as soon as the escape of the English families had become known to the rabble, who were thirsting for their blood, the rioters gave way to the most vindictive rage, destroying everything that yet remained belonging to the race they so much detested. Mr. Tucker at length perceived, that for him to remain at Futtehpore, was now only to provoke his own certain destruction, without the possibility of any advantage to the government. He therefore arranged with the deputy collector for the means of escape by dâk to Allahabad. The traitor pretended to have made the requisite preparations, and announced that all was ready for the judge's departure, when he should think fit to

* See *ante*, p. 362.

leave the shelter of the pukha building that had so long protected the Europeans from their assailants. The hour appointed for flight had arrived; and the collector, upon a pretence of assisting him from the compound, introduced a number of armed men, who seized the unfortunate gentleman before he was aware of the miscreant's treachery. He was instantly dragged from the building, and riddled with shot from a score of guns levelled at random. His body was then stripped, and shamefully mutilated in the presence of the mob; and his head, hands, and feet were chopped off, and held up by the kotwal of the town for the savages to exult over as trophies of their victory over a "Feringhee"—whose countrymen and women, they were told, were then undergoing the like punishment in all parts of the Mogul's dominions. It was subsequently found that the outbreak had been arranged and headed by Hikmutoolah Khan, for whom a reward of 10,000 rupees was offered by the government.

The details of this tragic episode in the history of the insurrection, could hardly have been known to the English troops when triumphantly driving the armed rebels from Cawnpore, through the streets of Futtehpore, on the 11th of July, or justice might have paused in its onward career, to avenge this unprovoked and cowardly murder. While the blood of an upright magistrate lay upon the stones of the city—unatoned for, and, it may be, unrepented of—little consideration was due to the sufferings of the inhabitants, who had, at least, abetted the treacherous act; and it was perhaps well for the whole of them that their complicity in the foul affair was not then generally known among "Havelock's band of avengers."

BANDA.—The generous example of the Maharajah Scindia, of Gwalior, was not without a beneficial influence in quarters even remote from the confines of his own dominion; and among the faithful few of the chieftains of India who adhered to the obligations they had taken upon themselves, in return for the recognition and protection of the English government, the ruler of the tributary rajanship of Banda—a flourishing district of Bundelcund, about ninety-five miles north-west of Allahabad—is entitled to honourable notice. In consequence of the disturbed state of the country around Banda, in the latter part of May and the beginning of June, many European families from the adjacent stations availed themselves of the known loyal disposition of the nawab, to seek protection and hospitality within his territory. Both were readily and liberally accorded; and it was hoped, by the numerous guests that found shelter within the walls of his palace, that there, at least, they would be secure, until the proximity of European troops might render their departure for a more permanent asylum practicable and convenient. This hope was, however, fallacious. The storm of revolt approached the little territory of Banda; and, by the middle of June, the whole of the adjacent districts were in open insurrection, and murder and plunder raged on every side. On the 16th of the month, the 6th native infantry, which had mutinied and deserted from Allahabad on the 5th of June, arrived in the neighbourhood of Banda; and learning that some European families were sheltered in the nawab's palace, they at once declared their determination to have the "Feringhees" delivered up to them, or to destroy the palace. Very little persuasion sufficed to induce the Mohammedan troops of the nawab to join them in the vindictive movement; and, together, they congregated in front of the royal residence, where they unfurled the green standard, and with shouts of "Deen! Deen!" demanded that the Christians should be brought out to them. The nawab had, however, yet some men on whose obedience and fidelity he could safely rely; and he peremptorily refused compliance with the insolent demand. The mutineers made some demonstrations of a design to attack the palace; but finding preparations were made for a vigorous resistance, they abstained, and their intended victims were saved. The nawab had sworn to protect the fugitives who came to him defenceless, and confiding in his friendship; and, with rare fidelity, he honourably discharged his self-imposed obligation; and, moreover, provided means for their safe conveyance to Nagode, where they arrived without molestation, although the roads were swarming with released prisoners of all grades from the gaols of Allahabad and other revolted towns, by whom every kind of atrocity was perpetrated with impunity. The fidelity of the nawab cost him dear; as, in revenge for the disappointment caused by his determination to protect the Europeans, the sepoys of the 6th regiment set fire to the palace and



town; and before the fugitives had got a mile from the latter, it was in a blaze from one end to the other, and the destruction of property was very great. On the 16th, a telegraphic communication from Major Ellis, the political agent at Nagode, announced to the secretary to the government the safe arrival at that place, on the same morning, of the individuals named on the appended list;* and proceeded to say—"I have addressed requisitions to the nawab of Banda, and other pensioners of the British government at Banda, one jemadar of Newshar, and others, calling upon them to exert themselves in recovering all property, either government or private, plundered consequent upon the outbreak on the night of the 14th instant. I have written to Major Hampton, commanding at Nagode, drawing his attention to the necessity of troops being sent, with as little delay as practicable, to take possession of the strong fort Kulinsi, and beg earnestly to draw the attention of the government to the necessity for something being especially done for the purpose of assisting in repressing the existing panic, and restoring order to the Banda district."

To this communication, the reply from the government secretary ran thus:—

"(Telegraphic.) Calcutta, June 19, 1857. —With reference to your message of the 16th, the governor-general can hold out no hope of European troops being detached from the main line of operations at present."

AURUNGABAD.—The large province of this name, forming, with Bejapore, the western region of the Deccan, is the native country of the Mahrattas, and was the original seat of their government. It lies principally between the 18th and 21st degrees of north latitude, extending about 300 miles in length, by an average breadth of 160. The country is rugged and mountainous, and abounds with natural fortresses and strongholds: its population has been estimated at 6,000,000, of which the far greater portion were Hindoos. The ancient capital of this province was, until its conquest by Shah Jehan in 1634, at the city of Dowlatabad; but upon the reduction of the country to a province of the Monghol empire, the distinction was transferred to a neighbouring town called Gurka; and the latter becoming a favourite residence of Aurungzebe during his vice-royalty of the Deccan, the new capital received from him the name of Aurungabad, which it has since retained. Favoured by its royal patron, Aurungabad rapidly increased in size and importance, and continued to be the capital for some time after the Nizams became independent of Delhi, and until they found it expedient to remove the seat of their government to Hyderabad, from which it was distant 274 miles. The city was surrounded by low walls, flanked with round towers; and, in its flourishing state, was of importance as a great mart for the exchange of European and Indian commerce. It is now much reduced; but the magnificent ruins of Aurungzebe's palace and gardens may yet be traced; and a building called the "Fakir's Tomb," is still described as a structure of great elegance.

A portion of the Hyderabad contingent force, consisting of the 1st regiment of the Nizam's irregular cavalry, was, in May and the beginning of June, stationed at Aurungabad, under the orders of Captain Abbott, who had no reason to doubt the loyalty of the corps until, some time after, intelligence of the revolt in the North-West Provinces had reached his cantonment. The best feeling appeared to exist between the European officers of the regiment and their men, until a rumour became prevalent, that the services of the contingent would be required for the suppression of the mutinies, and that it would consequently be transferred to the disturbed provinces. This difficulty was at once seized as a pretext for mutiny by some Mohammedans of the regiment, and they speedily contrived to infuse a spirit of alarm and dissatisfaction throughout the entire corps, which eventually determined to resist any order for its removal; and, if necessary, to murder the officers that should attempt to interfere with its views on the subject.

* Arrived at Nagode from Banda, June 16th, 1857:—G. Edmondston, Esq. (civil service), and lady; H. B. Webster, Esq. (C. S.), and lady; Dr. Clarke; — Bence, Esq., Nawab's agent; Dr. Hutchinson; Captain Benjamin (Nawab's troops); Lieutenant Bennett; Ensign Fraser, 1st N. I.; Ensign Clarke, from Futtehpore; J. W. Sherer, Esq., C. S.; E. MacNaghten, Esq., C. S.; B. Stenthcote (Qy. Heathcote), East Indian Railway Service; W. Bews, E. I. R.; G. Currew (Qy. Cassens), E. I. R.; O. Swift, E. I. R.; P. G. Anderson, Esq., opium agent; R. G. Lymes, Esq., salt department; Mr. Mayne, C. S.; Mrs. Crawford, and family of seven, from Ameerpore; and five English writers from Futtehpore and Ameerpore: the whole amounting, in number, to thirty-three individuals.

The first intimation of this insubordinate state of the regiment, came upon its commanding officer by surprise on the 12th of June, notwithstanding that mischievous influences had been operating throughout the cantonment for several days previous. The question of religion, and of fidelity to the king of Delhi, had been earnestly discussed by the troopers, both Hindoo and Mohammedan, and they resolved to do no act that would be likely to injuriously affect either. The mode in which this resolution was made known to Captain Abbott, is described in the following communication from that officer to the political resident at Hyderabad, dated June 13th:—

"Sir,—It is with the deepest regret I have to report, that serious disaffection exists in the 1st cavalry. It first manifested itself yesterday morning, about seven; but no information regarding it reached me until about one o'clock, at which time I was on duty at the mess-house, as president of a court of inquiry.

"A non-commissioned officer and his brother (Sikhs) came to me, and reported that the regiment was in a state of mutiny; that the men declared that they had been enlisted for service in the Deccan, and would not march beyond it; that they would not fight against their king: to this they added, that many, both Mussulmans and Hindoos, had taken their oaths. They said, that the 3rd cavalry had been entrapped into their service; that reports were circulated and believed, that the 2nd cavalry was to go up to Umballah, the 4th to come here, and that this regiment also would be sent up to join some column which they thought would be composed almost entirely of Europeans. I had intimated to the rissaldar, that I should come to the lines in the afternoon, to look at the horses: they fancied that this was preparatory to a march; and they declared (and subsequent inquiries have corroborated this), that they had determined on mine, Lieutenant Dowker's, and the rissaldar's death, if we went to the lines in the evening. I sent immediately for the rissaldar, and the senior rissaldar, who has been for many years in the regiment (Mahomed Booron.) I asked the rissaldar if all was well? He replied, 'Yes;' and seemed to be—and I believe was, in a great measure—ignorant of what had really happened, as he had been spending the morning in the house of a relative in the 3rd cavalry lines. Mahomed Booron, however, acknowledged that a great disturbance had been going on in all the troops of the regiment during the morning; that it had commenced in the 5th troop, and that meetings had taken place in all the other troops; that a number of men had collected, and come to his tent, and spoken of 'the flag of their religion having been established,' and expressed umbrage at my having spoken to a man on the march who had taken off his regimentals to pray. Though the circumstance itself was one of a most trivial nature, I will relate it circumstantially, that the president may see that no blame can, in justice, be attached to me; but that the men, being disaffected, are ready to seize any pretext for an outbreak. I halted the regiment at a nullah about ten miles from Aurungabad, on the morning we reached this station, to give the men time to rest a little, and water their horses. After half-an-hour had elapsed, I sent the rissaldar to tell the regiment to mount and form up, which they did in an open spot; and, as I walked my horse up to the regiment, previously to sounding the march, I observed a man in the nullah, with his regimentals off, washing himself. I turned to my orderly, and asked what the man was doing; and was told he was washing himself previous to saying his prayers: and I replied, that though it was quite right he should say his prayers, this was not the time to do so, and that he should put on his regimentals, and join us as soon as possible. This was all that occurred, except that I mentioned it to the rissaldar when I joined. After consulting both the rissaldar and Rissaldar Mahomed Booron, I directed the rissaldar to go to the camp, and assemble all the troop officers at his tent, and speak to them about what had occurred; that I trusted it would be found that this movement had been commenced, and was supported, by a few bad men; and that they would have sufficient influence to prevent its spreading. I went down to the lines myself, in company with Lieutenant Dowker, about half-past five o'clock. The rissaldar came from his tent to meet us, and said that this had been caused by certain bad men in the regiment, and there was every reason to hope that it would soon subside. The rissaldars were all present with him, and accompanied us as we walked through the

lines of each troop and looked at the horses: many men were respectful, and seemed well disposed; others not so, I thought. I then asked the rissaldar and the troop officers to ride with me; and we rode for camp, when I and Lieutenant Dowker entered into conversation with the native officers, and pointed out the folly and disgrace of such conduct. It was ascertained, that the 3rd troop, to a man, both Hindoo and Mussulman, refused to move from this place; that is, if they were ordered to march, they declared that they would refuse to do so. The 1st troop rissaldar said, he believed some portion of his men were disaffected, but that the rest of the troop were not, and would obey any orders given to them. I could get no satisfactory accounts of the other troops, except that they all acknowledged that a great portion of the men were disaffected; and they all, when I left, promised to do their best to bring them to reason. I, of course, informed them, that I was not aware of there being any probability of their being ordered to move to the north. The report of this morning was very unsatisfactory indeed: one troop only has sent in its report (the 1st troop), in which the rissaldar says, that he had endeavoured, to his utmost, to bring the men to reason; but they had abused him, telling him he was no Mussulman, but a 'Norsara;' and they said distinctly, that if ordered to march, they would refuse; and that they would not fight against their king ('Assue badshah rieussur rumar naheen bandnigga.') There was an attempt made in the night, about one o'clock, to saddle the horses; and many loaded their pistols: but it was stopped. The rissaldar and native officers are at present endeavouring to influence the men for good. I have directed the rissaldar to instruct troop officers to assemble the native officers, silladars, and other respectable men in their troops, and point out to them the ruin and disgrace to which such conduct must inevitably lead. As the native officers are so employed at present, and things appear quieter, I am unwilling to interfere in too direct a manner, which I am assured, and I myself believe, would lead to an open rupture. The rissaldar has just sent word to me, that he cannot bring me a satisfactory report of the result of his endeavours before three o'clock this afternoon. He was of opinion this morning, that the regiment was in such a state, that it was unadvisable, just at present, to take any steps for separating those who might be well-disposed towards the government, from those who are openly disaffected. He assures me, that it is out of his power to collect around him any number of men over whom his influence would be sufficient to insure their acting as ordered: he ascribes this to his being in the regiment a short time only, and to an ill-feeling existing against him by certain parties, which was manifested on the occasion of the Mohurrum two years ago. The rissaldar's uncle, Huncour Ally Beg, has remained at Ambah with his troop. This, also, is instanced by the mutinous men as a grievance; the rissaldar, they say, has been favoured by his relations being allowed to remain behind, whilst they have been sent up. Strong reports were circulated and credited by the 1st cavalry, that the 3rd cavalry would not proceed on the service on which they had been sent; and it was said, that one of their most influential native officers had returned at four o'clock on Monday afternoon (the 8th.) I have just received the visits of the rissaldar and the senior rissaldar; and I regret to say, that the men are in much the same state as that I have already described. There are some few who say they are ready to obey any orders given to them; but there are a very great portion who speak of the son of the Delhi emperor (whom the mutineers have proclaimed king) as their king, and say they will refuse to march if they are ordered to proceed against him. Acting on the suggestion of the officers here in command of regiments, I have refrained from making any demonstration; but I have warned all to be in readiness.

"I have, &c.—H. D. ABBOTT, Captain, commanding 1st Cavalry."

The receipt of this unfavourable report was acknowledged by the resident at Hyderabad in a letter from Major Briggs, the military secretary, in which he says—"The resident trusts that the excitement that prevails in the regiment will have subsided previous to the arrival of the report of it. He approves of your proceedings, as you are aware that, situated as Aurungabad is now, no immediate assistance can be afforded you. He begs you will assemble the regiment, and assure the men, both in his capacity as British resident, and as their old friend and brother-officer, that he is satisfied that their present conduct arises

from the pernicious counsels of bad and designing men; that the government have no intention to call for their services to act against the king of Delhi, who is himself a supplicant for the protection of the British government; but, wherever their services are required, it will be necessary for the regiment to obey.

"The resident trusts that, by the early return of the corps to fidelity, he will be able to induce government to overlook their present proceeding; but, at the same time, he must point out the ruin and disgrace that a persistence in their present conduct must inevitably lead to. You will mention that the resident had hoped to be able proudly to point out to government that every corps in the contingent was stanch and loyal. The 3rd cavalry are now in the field against the mutineers; the 2nd are in charge of the residency; and the whole corps have volunteered to march to suppress the revolt at Delhi. Should your next report on the regiment not prove satisfactory, the resident will telegraph to the commander-in-chief of the Bombay army, to march the movable column assembling at Malligaum, upon Aurungabad, to coerce the regiment.—I have, &c.—L. C. BRIGGS."

On the 15th of June, Captain Abbott again reported the state of his regiment in the following letter to the military secretary at Hyderabad:—

"Sir,—I have much pleasure in being able to report that affairs appear to be taking a much more favourable turn, and that one troop of the regiment (the 1st troop), as well as all the Hindoos, have separated themselves from the rest of the regiment, and encamped between the regiment and cantonments. The 1st troop have given in a paper to say that they regret what has occurred, and that they are ready to march anywhere they may be ordered. The Hindoos I believe have, for the last two days, been ready to do this, but they were deterred from fear of the rest.

"Things looked so serious yesterday, that I wrote to Nuggur and Poonah for assistance, but I have this morning sent off express to say they are not required. After writing to you on Saturday afternoon, things remained quiet until about nine, at which time a Sikh trooper rode down to me, and told me that the regiment was mounting, intending to come into cantonments. I had heard during the afternoon, that the men had determined on planting a standard, and that the Mussulmans had tied the *nara* (pieces of red and yellow thread used at the choborrum) round their arms. I believe myself this was in truth a panic, caused by an infantry picket being placed at the bridge, and a report having been spread by a syce that the infantry and guns were to be taken against them. Jemadar Ameer Khan, supposed at first (though I cannot say whether justly or not) to have been in some measure mixed up with this disaffection, came to me, and I sent him up to assure the regiment that no orders had been previously issued. Although the regiments had turned out on the alarm being given that the cavalry had mounted, I placed a strong picket at the bridge leading to the cavalry, and remained there myself during the night. The rissaldar and the senior rissaldar of the regiment quitted camp that night, as they considered their lives in danger.

"The following morning (Sunday) I had an interview with the 3rd troop rissaldar, who is said to be the head of the Shahjehanpore men, a great number of whom are disaffected: he replied, in answer to my inquiries, that he had tried all in his power to bring his men into a proper state, but that the universal feeling in his troop was, that they would 'not move' beyond the Nizam's country, and that they would not act against the insurgents in Hindostan. The exact words were, 'Nizam ke Serhud ke bahir naheen jamgy. Our deen ke upeer kumur naheen bandingy.' I then sent for the troop officers and the jemadars of each troop, and word was sent back that they would not come, as they suspected that they would all be arrested if they came; but if they did come, they would come making their own arrangements; by which they meant, they would bring a large body of these disaffected men with them, which I saw was likely to bring on a rupture at once. At about nine o'clock, all the rissaldars and jemadars of the regiment, accompanied by a number of troopers, came to the bridge: the men were stopped by the picket, and I went out to converse with them: they were respectful, but excited and loud in their way of talking; and no change whatever seemed to have taken place in the determination they had expressed, to which I have before alluded. Jemadar Chedah Khan seemed to be the principal person, and was spokesman. On their leaving me, I went out with Captain Sinclair and Cap-

tain Spied to select a position for the troops, in the event of anything happening: reports were circulated that the city men were congregating in large numbers; and it was said that the cavalry had determined to leave this and proceed to Ambah. About two o'clock, Duffadar Husso Khan reported to me that the cavalry would certainly leave, and had made up their minds to march at three; but that there would be considerable bloodshed on the occasion, as they had determined to take by force all the native officers and others who might wish to separate themselves. If bloodshed were commenced, I knew it was likely to spread: I therefore turned out the troops at three o'clock, taking up a position with the guns so as to protect the flank of the infantry lines, at the same time to sweep the road leading up from the cavalry lines, as well as the small space towards the parade-ground, if the river was crossed at other points lower down. The infantry took up very strong positions covering the lines, and strong advanced parties at the mess and travellers' bungalow. I caused some trees to be felled and placed across the bridge, as well as the ascents on the side of it; and I sent away the ladies and the families of the non-commissioned officers. The cavalry seem to have changed from this time. At about half-past five, Rissaldar Abdool Rhyman Khan came and reported his troop ready to obey any orders; that they regretted what had occurred; and each man put his seal to a written document to that effect. I told him to return and move his troop off from the rest, which he did. This morning, all the Hindoos of the regiment sent word that they wished to join Abdool Rhyman Khan's encampment, and have done so. I have had visits from the 2nd, 3rd, 5th, and 6th troop officers, all of whom represent their men as being sorry for what occurred. They each brought a paper to say, 'that they had always done their duty, and that they were still the servants of government.' But I have represented to these officers, that what I require is an acknowledgment of their offence, and of their willingness to do and go wherever they were ordered.

"I hope now that the regiment as a body will become quiet and orderly; but, at the same time, I cannot help feeling that full reliance cannot be placed on men who were so ready to fall off from allegiance to government without the slightest pretext or cause of offence or discontent being given to them. I think it right to mention, that Captain Sinclair entertains doubts of the fidelity of one or two of his men. One man is reported to have invited the troopers to send up a troop and take possession of the arsenal, which is on one flank; and for the protection of which we cannot spare many men. Under the provisions of the order lately published by the governor-general, I believe I have power to promote a man who shows himself anxious to assist government; and I have promoted to the next rank of jemadar, two duffadars who have been very useful and zealous in their endeavours to assist me; and I trust the resident will confirm the promotions. Throughout the whole of these occurrences, I have had no reason to think otherwise than that Rissaldar Zoolficar Ally Beg was, at heart, most anxious and desirous to do anything in his power to assist us; but I am fully impressed with a conviction that he is a man entirely unfitted for his position; the men look upon him with the greatest contempt. Had there been a man of a different stamp as rissaldar—a man of high spirit and courage, who could have rallied round him some twenty or thirty Bailcunds—he could have suppressed this feeling, I think, in its outset. The infantry regiment has hitherto behaved in the most exemplary manner.—I have, &c.—H. D. ABBOTT,

"Captain, commanding 1st Cavalry."

This report was acknowledged on the 19th, and Captain Abbott was informed that the resident would admit of no compromise with the men; and he was directed, as soon as he was in a position, by the aid of European troops then upon the march towards Aurungabad, to select the ringleaders of whatever rank, and try them by court-martial, carrying the sentence into execution. He was also informed, that the movable column, under the orders of Major-general Woodburn, was ordered to Aurungabad, for the purpose of coercing the mutineers.

On the 24th of June, General Woodburn arrived at Aurungabad with the force under his orders; and having left a portion of his troops to protect the cantonment, he proceeded with the guns, dragoons, and native infantry, to the camp of the 1st cavalry. The proceedings there are thus described by Captain Abbott:—

"I preceded the general to the camp, and ordered the men to fall-in at foot-

parade; they did so: and I first called on the 1st troop rissaldars to read out the names of the men who were most to blame, and most implicated in this mutiny. Jemadar Abdul Bazan Khan began to read out the names, and he commenced with that of Jemadar Ameer Khan. While reading out the names, Ameer Kkan became very violent, and said this was very improper, that it was all false and untrue, and called on the men to prime and load. While doing so, a number of the men ran off the parade, and proceeded to saddle their horses. Every endeavour was made to stop the men, and induce them to remain and hear what was to be said to them. With great difficulty, a large portion of the men were separated and ordered to fall back in rear of the force. The rest dispersed among the lines, refusing to return, though frequently called upon to do so. They mounted their horses; upon which General Woodburn ordered the guns to open upon them. They all then immediately fled, and were pursued by the dragoons, but I am afraid with scarcely any effect. The whole of the bad men were among them; only five men of the 2nd troop had remained. Ameer Khan has sought refuge in the city, but the Poobah refuses to allow our men to enter."

A letter from Aurungabad of the 23rd of June, gives the following account of the affair described by Captain Abbott:—

"This morning, at ten o'clock, General Woodburn's brigade came in, and having marched direct to the ground occupied by the mutinous cavalry, the latter were ordered to give up their arms. All, save one troop, gave up. To this troop the general allowed six minutes' time to consider; after which, seeing no inclination on their part to obey, the artillery opened on them with canister, by which a few were killed, and about a dozen or so more were cut down by the dragoons, whose horses being tired could not keep up with the runaways; the remainder made their escape into the city close by. Captain Mayne, with a troop, or portion of one, of the 3rd cavalry, has just galloped into the city, and, if resistance is offered, will cut up the rebels. The men of the 1st cavalry who were on guard have since been disarmed, and their places taken by the men of the 3rd. To-morrow we expect to have a number of these wretches either hung or blown from the guns."—Another letter says—

"When Captain Abbott directed the men of the cavalry to lay down their arms, a trooper stepped forward and snapped his pistol at the officer, but it fortunately missed fire. The fellow was secured, and during the night a gallows was erected in front of the lines. On the following morning, General Woodburn's force was paraded, and the prisoner was brought out, tried by drum-head court-martial, placed on a gun-carriage, the rope adjusted, and the limber moved away: in a few minutes from the first appearance of the prisoner, all was over! Such of the cavalry as remained stanch were then posted, while the native infantry and artillery marched past the gallows. The execution was witnessed by a great number of people from the city and adjacent villages. From thirty to forty of the cavalry mutineers, a subahdar of the 2nd infantry Hyderabad contingent, and some golundauzes, are now upon their trial; and the alacrity of General Woodburn's movements has thrown the native inhabitants into a panic. They look particularly crest-fallen and disappointed."—Another officer, describing the affair, says —"The general could not order the guns to fire, as he feared to knock over the good men with the bad; but they did not get clear off after all, though much less execution was done in consequence of the delay, than might otherwise have been the case. Two of our companies afterwards went all through the lines, and we fully expected a slight struggle there; but they were not game; and such as did not run away gave themselves up quickly. We took their standards. These mutineers are, without exception, the finest body of men I have seen in India—immense fellows, of sixteen or seventeen stone each, and scarcely one of them under five feet ten inches. We have already disposed of a goodly number of the ninety-four prisoners we took in the first haul of the net. One has been hung, four shot, one blown from a gun—a frightful sight indeed! his head ascended about twenty yards into the air, and his arms were thrown about eighty yards in either direction. I was astonished to see how coolly they received intelligence that they were to suffer death. The man who was blown away only said, 'that witnesses against him would have to answer for this in the next world,' and begged of them not to tie him to the guns, as he would not flinch at all. The fellow who was hung said, that

having washed his hands of life, he had washed away all his sins, and the sooner he went to paradise the better.' We have yet plenty of this work before us."

Of the prisoners taken in this affair, two were blown from guns; seven shot by the dragoons; four cut down in the charge; several hung; between thirty and forty transported; one hundred disbanded and turned out of the station; and some fifty or sixty others flogged and otherwise punished.

And so, for the present, terminated the mutiny at Aurungabad, some interesting features of which are delineated in the following correspondence. The first extract is from the letter of a civilian attached to the movable column of General Woodburn, dated at Ahmednuggur, June 28th.

"On the morning of Thursday week (*i.e.*, June 18th) the general sent for me, and said that the troops were to march towards Aurungabad the next morning, in consequence of a most urgent requisition from Captain Abbott; and he begged me to go out with his assistant-quartermaster-general that same evening as far as Emanpore, and choose pitching-ground, and make arrangements for supplies, &c. Well, at 4 P.M. out we went, chose pitching-ground, dug trenches for watering cavalry horses, and sent for all the supplies available. The general had told us that he should march next morning at 3 A.M., and at half-past six we began to look out for the 'army.' At about ten, up came Captain Mayne of the Hyderabad contingent, lately commanding Aurungabad. He had come to escort Mrs. M—— and the other ladies from Aurungabad, where it was no longer safe for them to remain. They went on to Nuggur, and we got an express from the general, saying that fresh orders had arrived, and that the force was to march in the old direction to Malagan. So we went in sharp, and Mayne rode with us. He went at once to the general, and represented very strongly to him that, as he (Mayne) had been connected with the contingent for fourteen years, and had been for six years commanding the very cavalry regiment which had mutinied, and again as he had only just left the scene of the row, he felt himself competent to give an opinion on the subject, and most strongly advised that we should march at once on the place, smash the mutineers, and strike a decisive blow. * * * The general sent for orders to head-quarters, which arrived in two days, to the effect that he was to march *instanter* on Aurungabad. I went on to Emanpore, in my district, and managed to get supplies, and the force came on in the morning about seven. A fine sight—14th dragoons first, then the general and his staff, then 28th native infantry, and Captain Woolcombe's battery last; the rear brought up by a pontoon train, some twenty elephants, and the baggage—extending some two miles in length. We came on to Jobra, and here my mission ended, as the troops were now out of my district, and, indeed, out of the Company's territories altogether, so I went to the general for orders. Mayne had not arrived; and as no one present knew the road to Aurungabad except myself, the general asked me to go on with them, which I was glad to do, as there were worse accounts from Captain Abbott. During the day the general received another express from Abbott, which made him determine to get on at once by forced marches. We got into Aurungabad at 10 A.M., and Abbott and his officers came out to meet us. Mayne had joined us just before. It was fortunately a cool morning, or man and horse would never have got through the work cut out for them. Well, Abbott told us that things were in a most unsatisfactory and critical state; that since the ladies had left, the officers had lived barricaded in the mess-room, and that there was reason to fear not only the stanchness of the cavalry, but of the infantry and artillery also. He said that we were quite unexpected, and that the best thing would be to march up to the cavalry intrenchments at once and surprise them. The general consented to do so at last. We found some good camping-ground for the force on the Nuggur side of the cantonments, and we marched on towards the mutineers' lines (1st cavalry pickets.)

"Two guns and a squadron of the dragoons were left to guard the bridge, in case of a rising of the Nizam's artillery or infantry; and we went on up to the cavalry lines, which we reached at twelve. A long line of white tents, with horses picketed in front, showed us where they were; and the general galloped over the ground to select a good position. All the officers were, of course, with their regiments; so that in the general's staff were only his aide-de-camp (Macdonald), Deputy Adjutant-general Coley, Mayne, Abbott, and myself. The cavalry

bugles were sounded, and men ordered to fall-in on foot, except their mounted (native) officers. Abbott then rode past them, and ordered the few men who had remained faithful to fall out of the ranks, leaving the mutineers in a body in front of their lines. The guns of Woolcombe's battery were then ordered to be loaded with canister, and drawn up within thirty yards; and the general, with Abbott and the other four of us, rode up to the ranks. Abbott was then ordered to speak to the men, and he did so, asking them the reason for disobeying orders and for mutinying; reminding them that government never dreamt of attempting to make them change their religion, and of the punishment which awaited them. The mounted officer (a jemadar) who commanded this troop, and who was one of the principal instigators of the affair, here broke out, 'It is not good; it is all false!' Abbott drew his pistol, and would have shot him as he stood (for speaking in rank is equivalent to open mutiny); but the general turned to him and said, 'Captain Abbott, I desire that you will not fire on your own men.' So Abbott put up his pistol, and went on with his harangue. After another minute the jemadar broke out again, 'It is not true; it is all false. Brothers all, prime and fire!' Upon this, with a clash, out came all their pistols; and, had they fired, we six must have fallen, as we were not five yards from them. My pistol, a revolver, was in my hand in a moment; and as I was next to the jemadar, I feel confident I could have shot him before he had time to raise his. But a panic seized them; and they bolted towards their lines, and we rode back behind the guns. Woolcombe had dismounted, and was pointing a gun at them himself; the portfire was lighted, and one word only was wanted to blow every soul of them to the four winds; and thus strike a decisive and terrible blow, which would never have been forgotten; but the word was not given. The general allowed them to get to their horses; and then, as they stood in a group mounting, some 260 yards off, Woolcombe ran to another gun, armed and pointed it, and, losing his patience at not being ordered to fire, sung out, 'May I fire, sir?' If any answer was returned, certainly no order was given; and the rascals got to their horses, and were up and on them, and away in a moment. Then came the order to fire, just as they were getting under cover of some buildings: some twenty-nine shots were fired at them, but without effect, only killing some few horses and a poor Ghorawalla. The dragoons were then ordered to charge, as the mutineers had by this time cleared their lines, and were drawn up in a line on a plain to our right, out of shot of the guns. Forward went the 14th at a gallop; and the men of the 1st waited in line till the 14th were tolerably near them, and then broke up, and each man turned his horse's head and dispersed in every possible different direction. The dragoons caught and cut down some half-dozen, and the rest got away. Abbott joined the charge; and, his horse being fresh, he managed to get up with one of the mutinous officers, who, seeing no chance of escape, put his sword between his teeth, dropped his reins, and held up his hands in token of submission, and as a sign for quarter. Abbott lowered his sword, and the brute, as he passed him, drew his pistol, and fired it straight at his face. A motion of the horse saved him; and he drew his pistol and fired two shots at the ruffian, but missed him. He was caught later in the day, and hung next morning before all the troops. After the charge, the rest of the native cavalry were brought out, and those suspected were disarmed and placed in confinement, to await their trial by drum-head court-martial. Towards the evening, nearly seventy of those who had escaped were taken or given up; and this reduced the number of those who had actually got away to about fifty-five. The jemadar who had first drawn his pistol was missing altogether, and no tidings could be got of him, though the general was most anxious to secure him. Had the guns opened upon the rascals directly they drew their fire-arms, not one could have escaped; and a blow direct and decisive would have been struck, and the mutiny in all probability quelled in these parts, at all events. All were disappointed at the result, and particularly as the general had them so entirely at his mercy."

An instance of disinterested fidelity on the part of a Mohammedan trooper of the Hyderabad contingent, to the family of one of the European officers, has been recorded by one of the ladies preserved by his courage and devotion. There are few, indeed, of such records to break the monotony of the continuous tale of horror, and connected

with the revolt of the Bengal army; and, as it is gratefully expressed by the individual preserved, "it seems an imperative duty not to conceal from observation this solitary ray of light shining in a dark place." The lady alluded to writes thus from Ahmednuggur:—

"On the 12th of June, the day preceding the more open mutiny of the 1st cavalry Hyderabad contingent, we heard that some part of that corps had armed itself on the previous night with the intention of advancing on the cantonment, but that from the absence of unanimity among the men, the plan had been for the time abandoned. We heard, also, that they had spoken of murdering their officers. These and other reports made us feel very uneasy; but in the course of the morning, a sowar of the 3rd cavalry Hyderabad contingent, named Booran Bucksh, whom we had known for some little time, and whose character we had always respected for its truthfulness and simplicity, came to my husband, and told him he need feel no apprehension for his family, for he had made every provision for their safety and for that of a lady who was staying with us, to whose husband he was greatly attached. He said, 'They shall travel to Ahmednuggur as my family;' and, looking up to heaven, he swore 'by Allah' that he would never reach that place alive alone. He added, 'I will leave my children behind; and if any evil happen to yours, you may destroy them.'

"On the evening of that day, we thought it prudent to go as usual to the band to avoid the appearance of suspicion; and as it became dusk, we observed some horsemen watching us from a distance; and on going home, we heard that some of the sowars of the 1st cavalry had been in the lines of the 2nd infantry, to inquire which of the houses in the cantonment were occupied by English officers (the corps had only recently arrived at Aurungabad), and also to ascertain the state of feeling of the 2nd, and their intended line of conduct should they receive orders to march towards Delhi. These and other facts which had come to our knowledge increased our anxiety; but faithful Booran Bucksh had said, 'Fear nothing, I will watch day and night; sleep quietly, and the moment danger approaches I will be with you.' We implicitly relied on him; and my husband having issued some necessary orders for the night to a native officer of the 2nd, retired to rest. At eleven o'clock that night Booran returned to us, and said we must prepare to leave, as the cavalry were again arming. My husband, hastily commending us to his care, left us to make preparations to man the bridge between the cavalry and infantry lines; and Booran, placing us in a country cart, and covering its open front and back with sheets, in the fashion practised by the families of Mussulmans when travelling, armed himself, and, mounting his horse, proceeded at our side to a place some twenty miles distant, where we halted for a time. We continued the journey for several successive days, till we reached Ahmednuggur; and he endeavoured the whole time, by the most vigilant attention and kindness, to lessen the discomforts of the road. In the course of the four or five days, I several times offered him a bag of rupees, which I begged, nay, besought him to take and use as freely for his own wants as for ours; but I could only persuade him to take very small sums from time to time, as they were required for our expenses. Again and again, in the course of our subsequent intercourse, knowing him to be much embarrassed by a large and unavoidable addition to his usual expenses, I begged him with great earnestness to allow me to relieve his necessities, or even (as I found it impossible to induce him to listen to this proposal) to accept any sum he might require for a time, and till, possibly, he might be in better circumstances: he said it would be a 'great disgrace' to him to accept money from me, and that he only desired 'that his name might be good' among the English; and neither by tears nor entreaties could I ever persuade him to change his mind. I had some difficulty in inducing him even to accept as a memorial a ring of little value which I chanced to have on my finger when I bade him farewell; but the tears streamed from his eyes when I told him I felt I owed him more than I ever could repay, and that to the latest hour of my life I should consider him one of my most valued friends. Since the above circumstance occurred, Booran's house has been burnt down, as it is supposed, by some one inimical to the English."

Such testimony is alike honourable to the protected and the protector; and the name of Booran Bucksh, of the 3rd Hyderabad cavalry, stands recorded with that of the fakir, Himam Bhartee of Dhunoura,* as rare exceptions, and most worthy of public

* See *ante*, p. 67.

acknowledgment among the few right-minded individuals of the native races who, at intervals, have stepped out from the chaos of revolt, to turn aside its horrors by alleviating the wretchedness of its otherwise helpless victims.

The progress of the insurrection had, by the middle of June, spread widely in every direction. Early in the month it had been announced, that the rajah of Etawah had rebelled, and had cut off all communication between Agra and Allahabad; that the Bhurtpore levies had joined the rebels at Muttra; that mutineers, driven from Lucknow, had made an irruption into the Doab, and stopped the dâk from the stations in that quarter of the presidency; that the troops at Gya were upon the eve of breaking out; and that the cavalry of the Malwa contingent had also mutinied. On the 27th of the month, it was officially announced that, with the exception of Lucknow, every station in Oude was in the hands of the rebels; and that Sir Henry Lawrence was so ill, that a council had been appointed to assist him.* On the other hand, assistance had been called for from the rajahs of Rewah and Banda, and the Nepaulese government had volunteered the aid of six regiments of Ghoorkas,† comprising 3,000 men, who were to flesh their swords among the revolted sepoys and zemindars of Oude.

At Midnapore (a town on the banks of the Cassal river, seventy-two miles W.S.W. from Calcutta), a regiment of native infantry, under the command of Colonel Forster, was dispatched with treasure to Calcutta on the 17th of June; and, as a specimen of the deference shown by the officers, and even by the government itself, to the humours and prejudices of the men, the following extracts from the correspondence incident to their march and reception at the capital, will not be out of place in these pages.

On the 21st, Lieutenant-colonel Forster, commanding the Shekawattee battalion, announced to the secretary to the government, that a party of 150 men of the regiment had marched, on the previous Wednesday, with treasure for Calcutta, and, he expected, would reach their destination about the 23rd or 24th: and he then proceeds to say—"As I believe that this will be the only party of native troops who will appear with their arms at the presidency, I humbly hope that the governor-general and his excellency the commander-in-chief, will, in consideration of their present trustworthy behaviour, on all occasions permit them the honour of retaining their arms."—This unusual application was followed by an extraordinary letter from another officer unconnected with the regiment, who addressed the secretary to the government in support of Colonel Forster's request. After stating that the regiment had been tampered with, but that it was not expected to be other than perfectly loyal; he says—"Now the loyalty and good disposition of this regiment depends conscientiously, and, I believe, entirely, on the trust reposed in the word of honour of their colonel, as their head. He is to them their governor-general; and any step, however trifling, tending to lead them to suppose he is not above board, would be highly detrimental to the good feeling that exists; and this leads me to the object in addressing you—viz., that a body of the regiment armed, and in whom perfect confidence is placed, have marched with treasure to Calcutta; and I conceive it would be a timely and wise measure, if the government took the opportunity of their presence to notice favourably both officers and men; that they, being honoured thereby, may, on their return to Midnapore, increase the high feeling among the rest of their comrades: whereas, if any of these men are distrusted by being disarmed, the case would be understood as one of treachery; would be aggravated by repetition; and would no sooner be heard, than a panic might seize the remainder, when no commanding officer, not even Colonel Forster, might be able to stem the consequences."

The writer then proceeds to describe his journey from Cuttack, in the Madras presidency, at which a portion of the regiment was stationed; and thus reports the state of military feeling at that place:—

"I lived with Captain Harris, at a dis-

* Parl. Papers, 1857.

† The Ghoorkas, from whom these regiments are named, are descended from a powerful tribe of Monghol origin (but chiefly of Hindoo faith and descent), who conquered Nepaul about the middle of the 17th century, and the government of the country has since been retained by their descendants, who are of a warlike disposition and ferocious habits when opposed to an enemy. The capital of Nepaul is called Ghoorka, from the name of the dominant tribe. These regiments are among the most valuable of our auxiliaries, and their bravery is unsurpassed.

tance from the station, and we were warned by a native to watch every hour of the night; that the Mussulmans were determined to sul vert the raj; that there was no head, as there were no men of sufficient influence; but that they were at work with the regiment to tamper with the men. At 3 A.M., a Mussulman procession came, chanting, 'Khubudar Khuda Iita raho;' but on our going out, every fellow dispersed. This was either insolence or a feeler. However, they openly gave thanks when they heard of the reported massacre of the officers of some cavalry regiment. This was followed up by good espionage, which elicited the fact that the sepoys had been tampered with; but the body would have nothing to say to the business; whilst others said, that they were bound by both hands—in one they had their wives, in the other their children; and others with the excellent commanding officer, who is much loved by them. The grievance urged upon them was, that the Europeans were to be sent down to disarm them, and then they (the sepoys) are to be marched away several hundred miles. Now, a Madrassee, with his family and relations, is naturally most averse to march; and this weak point has been touched upon, but, I trust, ineffectually.—I am, &c.,

"W. D. SHORT, Captain, Engineers."

This singular appeal for the relaxation of a known rule, as regards native regiments, at the seat of government, merely for the sake of humouring the pride of the men, was transmitted by the secretary to the government to the deputy adjutant-general, with a "request that, in consideration of the good conduct and loyalty hitherto displayed by the men, his excellency the commander-in-chief may be moved to allow them to retain their arms, though the governor-general in council is of opinion, that they should not remain in Calcutta longer than may be necessary." With a belief thus encouraged, that they had only to make a demand, or desire a favour, to ensure its concession by the government, the haughty independence of discipline and subordination that characterised the native soldiers of the army of Bengal long previous to the actual outbreak of the revolt, cannot be surprising, however much the unchecked influence of such belief may be opposed to European notions of the unyielding firmness that is essential for the due maintenance of military discipline.

JUBBULPORE.—While upon the subject of temporising with men whose simple duty is instant and unquestioning obedience to command, the state of the 52nd regiment of native infantry, in cantonment at Jubbulpore—a small station in the south-western province, about 124 miles north-east of Nagpore—is not altogether undeserving of notice. Up to the commencement of June, the temper of the men had not appeared to be affected by the rumoured example presented by the native troops at other stations; and although, at times, intelligence from the disturbed districts occasioned much anxiety to the European residents, who had no means of repressing outrage if attempted by the troops, yet nothing to warrant a serious apprehension of immediate danger had occurred. Doubts would nevertheless disturb the equanimity of the little community which, in the language of one who shared the sunshine and the shade of the position, was "one day full of hope, and cheered by a feeling of comparative security, and the next depressed by gloomy forebodings, that led them to estimate their lives as not worth a day's purchase." This unenviable state of feeling was, however, approaching a crisis.

On the 9th of June, Major Erskine, commanding the 52nd regiment of Bengal infantry, in a communication to Mr. Plowden, the civil commissioner at Nagpore, observes:—"Here (Jubbulpore) all is quiet, and, to all appearance, the 52nd are behaving very well; but there is no saying how long this may last. I feel sure, that if the 52nd heard of a Madras force coming here, it would have the worst effect; but still, I think it would be right to strengthen the detachment at Seonee* by another company or two of Madras sepoys, and a troop of cavalry, with two guns and plenty of grape, from Kamptee, if only to re-assure the inhabitants of the country there; and I shall be greatly obliged if you will order this; but with a full understanding that they are to come no nearer to us than Seonee, unless ordered by authority

* Seonee is a small civil station, in the Saugor and Nerbudda territory, on the high road from Nagpore to Jubbulpore, from which latter place it is distant eighty-seven miles in a southward direction: from Nagpore, Seonee is about seventy-seven miles, north. Kamptee is a cantonment of the Madras regular troops, and lies ten miles north of Nagpore, the capital of the rajah of Berar.

from this. I greatly fear, when the Saugor troops hear of the Jhansie affair, that they will rise and seize the treasury and magazine at Saugor; and if so, I can hardly expect the 52nd to stand quiet here. There is great alarm here amongst many of the Europeans, and I rather think some of them have resolved to send their families towards Seonee; but I hope all the civil officers will stand fast, and I can answer for myself and the deputy commissioner.—Please keep all I tell you private."

Upon receipt of this communication at Nagpore, it was at once transmitted to Brigadier Prior, in military charge of the district at Kamptee; who, considering that to detach the small force asked for, to remain inactive at a station nearly a hundred miles from the point supposed to be in danger, would be perfectly useless, and that if the 52nd regiment should actually mutiny, the whole of the convicts in the central and Thugge gaols at Jubbulpore, would, in all probability, be let loose upon the inhabitants—he deemed it expedient to put in motion a much larger detail, under the command of Major Baker, of the 32nd regiment, whose head-quarters would be at Seonee, while its active operations would be spread over the district, as occasion rendered necessary.* The commissioner, notifying this arrangement to Major Erskine, says—"I would strongly advise you not to halt the force at Seonee, but to order it on to Jubbulpore straight. The 52nd will never believe that the force is intended for the defence of the Seonee district; and I would therefore tell them openly, and at once, that it is coming to Jubbulpore, not because you doubt their continued fidelity, but because it is necessary to move up troops in the direction of the disturbed districts, and that you count with confidence on their joining the force in any service which may be required of it."

Notwithstanding the request of Major Erskine, that the object of his letter of the 9th of June should be kept "private," it seems that so early as the 12th, a rumour prevailed in the cantonment at Jubbulpore, that a large force of Europeans or Madrassees was advancing upon the station by forced marches, for the purpose of disarming the 52nd regiment. The report instantly threw the entire corps into a state of angry excitement, which presently assumed the features of a general mutiny. The officers were treated with disrespect, and their orders contemptuously disregarded; and when at noon the buglers sounded the usual dinner-call, the men of the grenadier and 1st companies refused to move in obedience to the summons. Gathering in little knots, they held consultation together; and a proposition being offered that they should take possession of the bells of arms, a general movement was made for the purpose. Any collision that might possibly have occurred with the European officers, in an attempt to effect the mutinous object, was, however, prevented for the moment by the persuasions of some well-disposed men of the regiment, who reminded their more impulsive comrades that the arms were, in fact, already in their possession, as their own regiment necessarily furnished the guard over them, and that they could use them at any time, if required, for defence of their honour. Whilst this disturbance raged in the lines, the subahdar-major of the regiment, an old and favourite officer, hastened to Major Erskine's quarters, and represented the excited state of the regiment, at the same time suggesting, that a few men of each company should be allowed leave to examine the roads and intervening country for a short time, and thereby satisfy the corps that no European troops were approaching in any direction—the assurances of their officers to that effect not being believed! To this extraordinary act of humiliation and confession of weakness the major assented; and some sepoys, in whom the regiment professed to have confidence, were selected by the different companies, and permitted by the commanding officer to start upon their mission. During the absence of these messengers, endeavours were made to restore subordination among the men; but they were deaf to remonstrance, and would not be persuaded that the report was only a mischievous fabrication. At length the scouts returned, and reported (as the fact then was), that they had neither heard of, or seen, any approaching European force; and, for a time, quiet prevailed at the station; but it was a quiet that brought with it no feeling of security—no confidence in its duration; and forebodings of ill were universal. An officer

* The movable column consisted of the 32nd regiment Madras infantry; one squadron 4th light cavalry, and one squadron irregular cavalry, with three guns from the field artillery, two 9-pounders, and one 24-pounder howitzer.

of the corps, writing on the 19th, says, in reference to this state of disquietude:—

"This mutiny (for it can be called by no other term) was the more to be regretted, as the men that same day had shown a good spirit under circumstances which might, if mutinous intentions existed, at once have brought things to a crisis. The adjutant was inspecting the men for duty: a man he had passed a pace or two suddenly rushed upon him with the cry of 'Death to the Feringhees!' and accompanied his cry with a downward thrust of his bayonet. The bayonet passed down the sleeve of the adjutant's jacket, and grazed his arm and side. A sudden turn forced the bayonet from the musket, and the old subahdar-major tried to seize the sepoy, but he was thrown down; the man, however, was soon captured, though he laid about him with the butt-end of his musket like a fiend. He has been twice treated for madness; so, if not mad, it is politic to say he was so on this occasion. He has been sent off to Benares under an escort. The man said he expected to have been backed by others, who had put him up to act as he did. I suppose his expected backers saw they would meet with no sympathy, and were not sufficiently numerous of themselves to get up a mutiny. There are a great number of good men in this 52nd regiment, and we must hope that they have sufficient interest to keep the bad men in order.

"On Sunday we heard of the march of a force from Kamptee to Seonee. This had to be told at once to the sepoys here; for they had said they would murder us all if any Europeans were sent here. Again the men were told they might send some of their number to see that the force had no intention of moving beyond Seonee. Good heavens! that it should have come to such a playing at soldiers as this! But what can we do but temporise? We are entirely at the mercy of a powerful body of armed men. No place of refuge or rendezvous to fly to in case of revolt; each must seek safety as best he may. The only arrangement we can come to is, that all have agreed to take the same road. Some ladies never take off their clothes at night, and all are prepared for immediate flight. Our carriage is drawn up at the door every night, and the horses kept harnessed; but for all that, we go to bed as in the most peaceful times, and sleep soundly. It is no blind confidence that enables us to do so. I think it is quite bad enough to be killed without fretting oneself to death beforehand. I keep ten or twelve of our servants sleeping near the carriage, and make one of them act as sentry while the others sleep in peace. I get up occasionally to see that my sentry is on the alert. This is the more necessary now, as Dr. W.'s house had a narrow escape of being set on fire four nights ago by some villains from the bazaar. We have now a chain of chowkedars all round the cantonment."

A second letter from this station, of the same date (19th of June), says—"One of the men, a few days ago, tried to stab Miller, the adjutant; fortunately, the first attempt was unsuccessful, and before he could make another the adjutant knocked him down, and the native officers rushed up and secured the would-be murderer, who has been tried, and acquitted on the ground of insanity. The truth is, the authorities were in too great fright to hang the scoundrel; for the sepoys had sworn they would not eat until they had released their comrade. The men say they will not mutiny unless a European regiment comes here to disarm them. The regiment is not under control. All the ladies have now left the station for Seonee and Nursingpore, and a great many of the male residents have also left; but, to all appearances, *all is serene*."

NAGPORE.—The important town of Nagpore (the Town of Serpents), capital of the province of Berar, in the Deccan, is situated about 265 miles north-east of Aurungabad, and, since its cession to the East India Company, has been the seat of civil government for the district of Nagpore. The military force at this place generally consisted of the irregulars of the contingent of the Berar rajah, and a small detachment of European artillery; and, in the month of June, 1857, the garrison consisted of the 1st regiment of irregular horse, a regiment of irregular infantry, and a troop of horse artillery. The adjacent hill fortress of Seetahbuldee was at the same time occupied by the European gunners. With disaffection raging around in all directions, it was not to be expected that Nagpore would escape the taint of the moral pestilence; but, with the exception of some mutinous conduct on the part of three native officers, which was fortunately discovered on the 12th of the month, there was nothing apparent in the conduct of the

troops to excite suspicion that they were otherwise than loyal. The arrest of these officers led, however, to the discovery that a plot was in agitation for a general rising of the native troops on the following day; and instant measures were taken to guard against the probable event. The fort and hill of Seetahbuldee were immediately placed in a state of defence, the outworks strengthened, and provisions for a month quietly stored, for the consumption of the garrison and the Europeans that might seek protection within it. The police of the town, and of the adjacent station at Kamptee, was also augmented; and all preliminary arrangements for ensuring safety being complete, it was deemed prudent to lose no further time in disarming the regiment to which the officers under arrest belonged, and which had been kept under vigilant surveillance from the time of their detection. Accordingly, on the morning of Tuesday, the 23rd of June, the decisive step was taken, under the circumstances detailed in the following telegraphic communication from the commissioner of Nagpore to the secretary to the government:—

"Nagpore, June 23rd, 1857, 12 P.M.

"The irregular cavalry were disarmed this morning. It was decided at 11 P.M. last night that this should be done; and at 2 A.M. all the arrangements were made. They were paraded with their arms, and mounted, to show that we did not fear them; the officer commanding (Colonel Cumberlage, 4th Madras cavalry) was authorised by me, if they made the slightest demur, to attack and exterminate them. I addressed the regiment. They first laid down their arms, then took their khogeers off their horses; then all the private arms in their lines, more numerous than their regimental arms, were collected. All the above were at once conveyed to the arsenal in carts ready for the purpose. They then ed their horses to the lines, and having picketed them, they brought their bridles, which were also sent to the arsenal. They were left with nothing but their horses and leading-ropes; some 650 mutinous cavalry have thus been rendered safe. Roll is to be called every four hours. Any man absent is to be treated as a deserter. The 1st irregular infantry took part in the proceedings. The trials of the native officers commence at ten to-morrow morning. Our great anxiety has, of course, been concerning all other native troops, regular and irregular; for although none but the cavalry have shown the slightest symptoms of disloyalty, it is impossible not to feel that the native troops may turn against us at any moment. For this reason we have been unceasingly occupied in strengthening and providing for the defence of the hill at Seetahbuldee, as a last refuge for the handful of Europeans; for, isolated as we are, and in the monsoon season, possibly no succour from abroad could reach us for weeks."

On the following day the commissioner reported to government, that several suspicious strangers had been apprehended in the town, who were probably the scouts of parties collected in the neighbourhood, in readiness to take part in any disturbance. After mentioning some rumours as to the state of the surrounding districts, the commissioner proceeds to say—"I had written thus far when the alarm bugle was sounded on the Seetahbuldee hill; and shots followed from the picket at the residency gate. The residency has, since the night of the 13th, been a barrack for all the civil and military officers in Seetahbuldee. It proved to be a false alarm; but we are living at present in a terrible state of excitement."

The trials of the accused native officers for mutiny and rebellion commenced on the 22nd, and continued until the 29th, when they were found guilty of all the charges alleged against them; and, at nine o'clock on the morning of the following day, the three culprits were hanged upon a gibbet, erected on the hill of Seetahbuldee, in the presence of the troops, including the disarmed regiment to which they had belonged. Completely cowed by the promptitude and energy thus displayed, the men beheld the spectacle in silence, and not a murmur was heard, or an angry gesture seen, throughout the ranks assembled. The execution of these men had evidently a sedative effect upon the spirits of their surviving comrades, who quietly settled down to their duty, and Nagpore was for a time relieved from the incubus that had oppressed its European society.

By the middle of June the revolt had become universal in the Bengal army, which had ceased to exist, except as it appeared in disconnected bands of armed and desperate rebels, or in prodigious masses of disarmed malcontents, who were prowling about the country without any resource but plunder, or any object but wanton mischief and insatiable vengeance.

From Calcutta to Peshawur, and from Delhi to Hyderabad, India had become a theatre of savage strife, of anarchy, and of pitiless carnage; and already there was ample confirmation of the fact, that the premature outbreak at Meerut was simply a portion of an organised and well-concealed plan, by which it was intended to subvert the British government, and to restore an independent native sovereignty.

There can now be no doubt, that the disarming and imprisoning of the mutinous sowars of the 3rd Bengal light cavalry at Meerut, on the 10th of May, precipitated the blow that, in its concentrated and sudden might, would have crushed the power of England upon the soil of India. The consequence of that precipitancy was to disorganise the whole insurrectionary plan; and instead of the widely-dispersed European troops having to contend with and resist one simultaneous movement of the entire native army, the disaffected mass was broken into details and fragments, that were no longer difficult to grapple with and subdue as they successively presented themselves.

Had the efforts of the Mohammedan and Hindoo sepoys and sowars, to re-establish the dynasty of their ancient native sovereigns, been guided by the feelings that distinguish human nature from that of the most ferocious among animals, the world, while amazed at their hopeless folly, might have given them credit for patriotism and valour; but from the first step toward this coveted independence, their track has been marked by wanton devastation, and stained with innocent blood. The soldiers of the late Bengal army have put themselves beyond the pale of humanity, and the usages of civilised warfare; for their arms have been savagely employed against helpless women and unoffending children! They have slaughtered the defenceless without provocation and without mercy; submission has failed to propitiate; and the tears of woman in her soul's agony have had no influence to stay the uplifted arm of the unprovoked murderer, or to rescue her shrieking child from his ferocious grasp. The craven hordes that have dishonoured manly weapons by coward blows, have not, in this death-struggle, sought to make war on men, but on women and on children; and yet it is for such as these that morbid sensibility would urge a plea for moderate punishment, and has profaned the spirit of Christianity by appeals for mercy in its name.

ARRAH.—Continuing the narrative of occurrences connected with the revolt in June, 1857, we find that at Arrah (a populous town in the district of Patna, situated about twenty-five miles west of Dinapore, and thirty-six south-west of Patna), great alarm was occasioned, in the early part of June, by a report that the 65th regiment had mutinied and attacked Ghazeepore, from whence they intended to march upon Buxar and Arrah. On the receipt of this intelligence, a meeting of the European inhabitants was held at the residence of the magistrate, and prompt arrangements were made for the defence of the place and the safety of individuals. At this meeting, a determination to abide at their posts was unanimously expressed by all the gentlemen present, and they separated for the avowed purpose of carrying out the defensive measures decided upon. In the course of the same night, however, news arrived that an indigo factory at Buxar had been burnt down, and that a portion of a Sikh regiment, in a state of revolt, was in the neighbourhood. The consternation now became uncontrollable; and instead of remaining to defend themselves at Arrah, immediate flight was determined upon. The magistrate, Mr. H. C. Wake, endeavoured to prevail upon the men in government employ to remain at their posts; but his arguments and remonstrances were powerless to keep them to their duty, although he declared that nothing should induce him to abandon the charge entrusted to him as a public servant. In this exigency, five individuals only of the whole European community at Arrah, announced their determination to abide with, and share the fate of the magistrate. These were the judge, — Littledale, Esq.; Mr. Combe, collector; Mr. Colvin, assistant-magistrate; Dr. Hall; and Mr. Cock, head-clerk to the collector. Uninfluenced by the generous and very proper example thus afforded, the rest of the Europeans, amounting to about twenty-five males, with their families, procured conveyances in the afternoon of the 10th, and fled towards Dinapore. The people employed upon some railway-works at the adjacent station of Shahabad, also deserted their work, and joined the panic-stricken fugitives. The effect of this hasty and most unseemly exhibition of terror and desertion, was naturally to damage very

seriously the *prestige* which it was especially the duty of every *employé* in the public service to endeavour, at such a crisis, to maintain; and immediately upon their departure becoming known, the native inhabitants became excited, and a popular outbreak was hourly expected. The magistrate had, however, fortified his house, and was prepared, with his five gallant companions, to hold his post to the last extremity. Fortunately, the rumoured danger at hand, as well as that said to be approaching from Buxar, had no foundation but in the excited imagination of those who speculated upon the fears of the timid; the 65th regiment being still in a perfect state of discipline at its quarters in Ghazeepore.

Mr. Wake, as officiating magistrate of Shahabad, on the same day, reported to the secretary to the government as follows:—

"Arrah, June 10th, 1857.

"Sir,—I have the honour to submit the following report, demi-official for obvious reasons:—Until the last few days there was no evidence of any particular feeling in the district; but a false report of a mutiny at Ghazeepore, and of the march of insurgents on Buxar, produced a panic which my utmost exertions failed to allay. Every European employed on the railway, contractors and engineers, with a very few honourable exceptions, who are now with us, have fled the district: the effect of such a proceeding on the native mind I need not describe. Myself, and the rest of the officials, show ourselves everywhere at every hour of the day and night, and the excitement I hope will soon subside.—I have, &c.

"H. C. WAKE."

The sudden arrival of the runaways at Dinapore, on the morning of the 10th of June, occasioned much surprise and consternation among the residents there; and, for a short time, produced a feeling of doubt for the safety of that place also. The evil was, however, but transient, and confidence was restored. On the next day, the pusillanimity of the Arrah fugitives was deservedly reproved by the following public order, conveyed through General Lloyd, then in command of the troops at Dinapore:—

"The commissioner of Patna has heard with extreme surprise and dissatisfaction, that several Englishmen in the district of Shahabad have left their houses and the station in which they live, and fled to Dinapore, although the magistrate of Arrah had, in consultation with many of them, made admirable arrangements for rendezvous and defence. In such a critical time as the present, the commissioner thinks it his duty to waive all ceremony, and to exhort all those who have thus left their district, to return to Arrah as quickly as possible, and give their support, like men, to the magistrate of the district.

"This is a crisis when every Englishman should feel that his individual example is of importance. All men of honour and spirit should refrain from exhibiting alarm or encouraging unnecessary panic; and wherever it is practicable, should band together for mutual defence and protection. Where this is done, the commissioner confidently anticipates, upon all occasions, the most complete success at every such post, the moral effects of which will be most advantageous. The treasure is now on its way from Arrah, and the only immediate danger to be apprehended is danger which will pass over in a few hours, and will be repelled by common firmness and precaution.—(June 11th.)

"W. TAYLOR, Commissioner."*

This mild, but sufficiently expressive reproof from the civil commissioner of Patna, had the effect desired, and the gentlemen returned to their various duties at Arrah, leaving their families at Dinapore, for better protection than they considered it possible themselves to afford. The conduct of Mr. H. C. Wake was reported to the government by the commissioner, as exhibiting great zeal, ability, and spirit; and it was also stated, that through the confidence inspired by his bold and active measures, and the support he received from the public officers who remained with him, order was preserved among the native inhabitants at the station, throughout the interval during which it was abandoned by the other Europeans.

On the 18th of June, Mr. Wake wrote to the secretary to the government of Bengal as follows:—

"I have the honour to report, for the information of the lieutenant-governor, that, with the assistance of the commissioner and the general in command at Dinapore, I have succeeded in recalling a number of the Europeans who had fled the district; and some of the railway-works being resumed, confidence is in a great measure restored. At the same time, this district, swarming as it is with sepoys and their

* Parl. Papers, Appendix A., p. 11.

relations, and also in some parts with budmashes of every description, I feel confident that a mutiny of the sepoys at Dinapore would be followed by the most disastrous consequences. Of course, no amount of extra police would be of any avail under such circumstances; and considering that the high road up country lies straight through the district, it would, if possible, be highly advisable that a European detachment should be stationed here, both to keep the district in check, in the event of a rising, and to intercept and prevent combined movement on the part of the insurgent sepoys.

"For the protection of the town from plunderers, and for watching the ghauts leading from Ghazeepore, I have entertained an additional force of one hundred burkandazes.—I am, &c.—H. C. WAKE."

This communication was acknowledged by the assistant-secretary to the government, on the 24th, who says—"I am instructed to state, in reply to your letter of the 18th, that the lieutenant-governor highly approves of all your proceedings, and, though he trusts there is no longer cause for apprehending a mutiny at Dinapore, he fully recognises the importance of the continuance of those judicious and energetic measures you have hitherto adopted, as they cannot fail to promote that feeling of confidence which you mention as only partially restored, while they will act at the same time as a powerful check on budmashes, and other evil-disposed persons, who at seasons like the present are on the watch to commit robberies or other heinous crimes.—I have, &c.,

"E. H. LUSHINGTON."

No notice whatever was taken of Mr. Wake's application for a military detachment to be stationed at Arrah; and the consequences arising from the neglect, were not very long before they became apparent, as we shall hereafter show.

On the 18th of June, the commissioner of Patna wrote to the lieutenant-governor of Bengal, for precise and definite instructions to guide him in the extraordinary circumstances that were gathering around him; and says—"The people of all the districts to the west of Chupra are in open revolt. All the English of Moozufferpore have written to demand protection, as they distrust the Najeebs who are in charge of the gaol and treasury. All Buxar and Shahabad rushed into Dinapore, some, they say, disguised as women, and have been only driven back by proclamation from me, copy of which I send you.* These are no light matters; and if you could but see the daily letters that pour in, asking me for instructions, and repeating horrid tales—asking for guards, and yet praying me not to send the only guards I have, because they are mistrusted—you would see what a difficult game I have to play."

On the 22nd, this application was curtly acknowledged. The zeal and activity of the commissioner had given umbrage at the seat of government; and a line of conduct that, by its energetic action, strongly contrasted with the sluggish movements of the officials in high places, could not be tolerated in a commissioner or a magistrate. It was therefore deemed expedient to put a check upon both. Mr. Wake, to whom the preservation of order at Arrah was mainly attributable, received, in reply to a letter addressed, in his magisterial character, to the secretary to the government of India, an official notification that his letter should have been addressed to the government to which he was immediately subordinate, and a request, that "in all communications he might desire to make, he would bear that in mind in future." With the commissioner of Patna a more elaborate system of repression was resorted to, as shown in the following correspondence:—

"Fort William, June 25th, 1857.

"Sir,—Intelligence has reached the lieutenant-governor, from a private source, that, on the 21st instant, you arrested certain influential Mohammedan gentlemen at Patna, and caused the town to be searched in order to disarm the population. Whether these measures were right or wrong, the lieutenant-governor has no means of judging. They are certainly extraordinary, and, at first sight, open to much question. But the lieutenant-governor has to complain seriously, that he hears, on such occasions, nothing from you of your intentions, and nothing of your acts till after they have been completed; and that your method of reporting to government, at the present important crisis, is loose, desultory, and incomplete; your letters being generally written in a hurried, and often unintelligible manner, as if you could possibly have any more pressing or important duty than that of keeping the government

* See preceding page.

fully, accurately, and clearly informed of all your purposes and acts at so eventful a period.

"For instance, the latest news from you is a letter, which is a good specimen of the style of your correspondence during this period, and is in the following words:—'All is still well; and I am in great hopes we may weather the storm. I will write to-morrow, and detail all I have been doing.'

"As to weathering the storm—an expression you have used more than once—there has, in reality, been no storm at all at Patna. But passing this over, the lieutenant-governor finds it difficult to believe, that when this was written, you had actually taken, or were just about to take, the extraordinary and possibly dangerous step alluded to in the commencement of this letter, and yet not only never alluded to it in that or any previous letter, but have not even sent the promised details on the following day; for the dâk of the 22nd has been received here, and has brought no report from you.

"I am desired to intimate the lieutenant-governor's dissatisfaction at this kind of conduct, and to request that you will change it.—I am, &c.—A. R. Young."*

To this extraordinary official communication, Mr. Taylor replied thus:—

"Patna, June 28th, 1857.

"Sir,—I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 25th instant. I regret that the lieutenant-governor should disapprove of my writing to him privately, or demi-officially, as I have hitherto done on other subjects; and I shall be careful to confine myself, in future, to official communications. The time appeared to me to be the time for action, and not for unnecessary writing.

"I have now the honour to forward a memorandum, showing the measures I have adopted, and the grounds which led to their adoption. Had I thought that words written in hurried, demi-official notes, would have been quoted in a public letter to my disparagement, I should never have addressed the lieutenant-governor in that form.

"His honour says that there has been no storm at Patna. I am thankful to say there has not been; and this being the case, perhaps the expression quoted may not be strictly or philosophically accurate; but my meaning was obvious, namely, that we should escape the storm which was raging round us; and this is scarcely the time for metaphorical expressions to be closely analysed.

"I trust that, if it be found I have provided for the safety, convenience, and comfort of all around, at much personal inconvenience and expense—if I have taken measures which have given assurance to all, and taken away all power of mischief from the disaffected—if, amidst much terror and some pusillanimity, I have taken throughout a high tone, and reduced the people of this dreaded city to a state of submissiveness not known before—if it is found that I have done all this, and done it quickly and successfully, though at some personal risk and responsibility—I trust the lieutenant-governor will kindly pardon the brevity of my bulletins, and overlook the inaccuracy of a nautical metaphor.

"I shall not fail to send up, henceforth, an official memorandum of all important proceedings.—I have, &c.,

"W. Taylor."

It was obvious that this style of epistolatory skirmishing was likely to bring matters to a crisis with the correspondents. Accordingly, on June 27th, the secretary to the government addresses the commissioner thus:—

"Sir,—The lieutenant-governor has received a scarcely intelligible demi-official note from you, dated 23rd instant, written, as usual, in a hurry, and affording no tangible information. It is very probable you may be doing all that is right, and the lieutenant-governor is willing to place all reasonable confidence in your zeal and discretion; but that you should keep the government wholly in the dark for days and days together, while you darkly intimate that you are adopting measures of great responsibility and importance, is, I am directed to say, quite intolerable. It is impossible that you should have anything to do of greater importance than of keeping the government informed of your proceedings.

"Should this most unsatisfactory state of things not be speedily amended, the lieutenant-governor, I am directed to say, will be constrained to supersede you (however unwillingly), in order that he may have, at Patna, an officer who will keep up the proper and necessary communication

* Parl. Papers, Appendix A., p. 18.

with his superiors. He trusts you will not force him to this extremity.—I have, &c.,

"A. R. YOUNG."

GYA.—In the old city of Gya, or Gayah (situate on a branch of the Ganges, about forty-three miles south-west of Bahar), a strong manifestation of disquietude was early apparent. The population of the town, owing to its being a favourite resort of pilgrims, fluctuates at different periods of the year, but generally ranges from 80,000 to 100,000 persons; and the spirits of the people seemed to rise or fall as intelligence reached the place of the success or failure of the insurrectionary movement in other parts of the country. The Mohammedan portion of the inhabitants took no pains to conceal their disaffection. On the 11th of June, the officiating magistrate of Bahar informed the government, by telegraph, that the unprotected state of the station called for serious attention, as, in the event of an outbreak at Dinapore, it would assuredly be followed by disturbances at Gya; and no assistance could possibly be obtained from the nearest military station (Shergotty) under a delay of eighteen hours. At that time the treasury at Gya contained about eight lacs of rupees; and in the gaol were confined some 850 prisoners of the worst characters, with merely a native police gaol guard for the protection of the whole. Under such circumstances, a detachment of 100 or 150 European troops was asked for, it being well known that the neighbouring station of Dinapore was in a state of great ferment, and that a rising among the native troops in cantonments there was daily looked for. To this application no immediate reply was vouchsafed, while the state of affairs continued to progress from bad to worse. Reports were hourly spread that budmashes and others of the Mohammedan population were strolling about in parties, poisoning the minds of their neighbours with wild stories about the destruction of the English *raj*. The massacre of Europeans in the North-West Provinces and other places was dwelt upon with exultation; and it became evident that the slightest impulse would suffice to raise the whole population in arms against European authority. On the 13th and 14th, information was given to the magistrate that some decisive act was upon the eve of execution; and at length it was asserted that, on the 15th, a general revolt would take place. While in this state of suspense and apprehension, a reply to the representation of the 11th instant was received; and on the morning of the 15th, eighty men of her majesty's 64th regiment arrived at the place, and were lodged in the circuit bungalow, in the very midst of the town. The effect produced by their unexpected arrival is thus described by the officiating magistrate, in a letter of the 20th of June:—"The move was so perfectly sudden and unexpected, that its effect upon the inhabitants is really extraordinary, both awe and respect having been created thereby. We shall have now chiefly to guard against the approach of men of disbanded regiments, the bad characters, and the machinations of disaffected Mohammedans. It is reported from several places in my jurisdiction, that men are wandering about in the guise of fakirs, and tampering with the villagers. I am doing my best to have all such apprehended and brought to trial."—The meditated revolt at Gya was therefore nipped in the bud; and the safety of the Europeans in the neighbourhood was, for a time, effectually provided for.

Unfortunately, about this period, the rapidly increasing difficulties that were presented to the provincial magistrates and officers in charge of small stations, began to render their incessant but necessary appeals to the attention of government somewhat irksome to the authorities at head-quarters; and the impatience thereby created was too frequently exhibited in petty objections to the style and manner of the correspondence, rather than to the matter communicated. In all directions the most active magistrates were officially snubbed, and their proceedings objected to, although necessarily acquiesced in. We have seen the manner in which the commissioner of Patnà and the magistrate at Arrah were treated; and the following correspondence will show that the tone adopted in their case was not an exclusive one.

MIDNAPORE.—The prejudices of *caste* that were allowed to flourish in mischievous luxuriance among the ranks of the Bengal native army, were also recognised among the convicts that peopled the prisons of the country, whose fastidiousness respecting food was religiously indulged. It appears that in the gaol at Midnapore there were, in the beginning of June, about 800 prisoners, of whom 100 were at the time under trial before the assistant Dacoity commissioner, still unfettered but with a perfect

knowledge that transportation for life would be their inevitable fate. Upon occasion of a visit of the officiating magistrate, Mr. S. Lushington, to the gaol at meal-time, he observed, to his surprise, that all the prisoners, sentenced or unsentenced, of every class—those in charge for the gravest offences, and those for trifling misdemeanors—congregated together, and had free and unchecked communication with each other. This extraordinary laxity in prison management appeared to the magistrate incompatible with the discipline of a gaol, or the safe custody of the prisoners; the whole gaol guard numbering but ninety-seven men, armed with swords, of whom not more than ten were on duty at one time. Mr. Lushington, therefore, at once ordered that the prisoners should eat in their respective wards (as had formerly been the custom), to which the food was to be brought to them by the Brahmins who cooked it. The arrangement gave offence; and on the following day, the European gaoler reported that fifty-one of the prisoners had refused to eat. About ten o'clock the same evening, the magistrate, accompanied by a military officer and his assistant, visited the gaol, and found it requisite, on account of the determined conduct of some of the malcontents, to order three or four of them to be flogged. This had the desired effect; the rest of the prisoners consented to take their food, and the affair appeared to be settled.

On the 4th of the month, Lieutenant-colonel Forster, commanding the Shekawattee battalion at Midnapore, wrote to the secretary to the government of India as follows:—

"I have the honour to report, for the information of the governor-general of India in council, that a *thannah burkandaze* (gaol guard) belonging to the civil authorities at Midnapore (a Brahmin), came into the military lines this morning shortly after the regiment had been dismissed from exercise, and told the men that several of the gentlemen of this station, and the magistrate, had visited the gaol last night, and compelled the prisoners to eat beef and pork; and he left it to the men of this regiment to decide whether they would submit to such degradation.

"The burkandaze was armed with a sword, and is a known bad character. The sepoys took little notice of the story; and two of them followed him as he was retiring from the lines, and, at a favourable opportunity, seized and disarmed the intruder, and forthwith handed him over to the civil authorities, where immediate investigation took place. I trust the energetic measures adopted by Mr. Lushington will be viewed by his lordship in council as they merit, and that speedy permission will be granted for executing the culprit, whose nefarious endeavours to raise the flames of discontent amongst the sepoys at so critical a period, deserve immediate punishment. Had the culprit been caught within the lines of cantonments, I would not have hesitated one moment in hanging him, after a drum-head court-martial.—I am, &c.,

"H. FORSTER, Lieutenant-colonel."

In the magistrate's report of the occurrence, it was further stated, that the man had told the sepoys, that he (the magistrate) and other officers had fed the Hindoo and Mussulman prisoners with pork and beef, and that the kotwal had sent him to tell them, that "as the power was in their hands, so they should act." The prisoner had also, the same morning, addressed the guard at the treasury to the same effect, with the addition, that "after flogging some sepoy prisoners, the magistrate and his attendants had forcibly filled their mouths with forbidden food." The requisite authority having been received, the man, Brindabun Tewarre, was tried for an attempt to raise sedition and mutiny among the sepoys of the Shekawattee battalion, by working upon their religious prejudices; and, being duly convicted, was hung at noon on the 8th of June. The result of this affair, so far as the civil magistrate was concerned, was a notification from the government at Bengal, that as far as prisoners under trial were concerned, his proceedings were "irregular," and that prisoners were not to be brought under prison discipline, as regards their food, until after they were tried and convicted. He was also informed, that he should, in future, address all further communications he might have occasion to make to the government of Bengal, not to the government of India. The error of Mr. Lushington in this case, was not, however, the last, or the reproof the most severe with which he was visited by his superiors. On the 17th of June, the same magistrate informed the government of Bengal, that a few weeks previous, two sepoys of the Shekawattee battalion had made an aggravated

assault upon a comrade, who for a long time was unable, from his injuries, to make the necessary depositions; and before he could do so, the revolt had broken out. Evidence was at length obtained against the two men; but the evening after the trial, the magistrate received a note from Colonel Forster, stating that some forty men of his regiment had been with him, interceding for their pardon; that he had told them the affair was in the hands of the civil magistrate, but that he thought it desirable they should be liberated. The following day, Colonel Forster again interposed, begging the magistrate to liberate the men at once, and remove them from the neighbourhood of his regiment. He was very urgent, and repeatedly said, "Do it at once; do it to-morrow." The magistrate, thus pressed, gave way, and the two men were sent off, under a guard, to Burdwan, thence to be forwarded under police surveillance on their way home, which, it appeared, was somewhere near Delhi. This communication produced, on the 20th, a reply from the secretary to the government of Bengal, in which he says—"I am desired to inform you, that the lieutenant-governor considers your proceedings in this matter to have been weak and injudicious. His honour wholly disapproves of what you have done, and instructions have this day been issued to the magistrate of Burdwan, for the detention of the men in the gaol of that district till further orders."—Further information was also required from Mr. Lushington.

Upon the receipt of this unqualified censure, the magistrate, whose functions were thereby virtually suspended, addressed the following letter to the secretary to the government of Bengal:—

"Midnapore, June 24th, 1857.

"Sir,—I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, dated the 20th of June, in which his honour is pleased to characterise my conduct, in the matter of releasing the two sepoys of the Shekawattee battalion, as weak and injudicious, and wholly to disapprove of my proceedings; at the same time to call for a further report. I cannot say whether I was more surprised or disappointed at receiving such condemnation; but I am fain to believe that, from his honour calling for a further report, I must have entered too little into the details to make myself well understood. I accordingly annex three papers: first, an abstract of the case against the two sepoys;* secondly, a copy of a letter from Colonel Forster, C.B., to whom I showed your communication under reply; and lastly, a copy of my letter to the magistrate of Burdwan. From the second, it will be seen that I had little choice of action, if I were to accept the interpretation of the temper of his sepoys as worthy of attention and belief. The amount of choice lay, I contend, simply between acting as I did, and previously obtaining the sanction of government to move from the usual course. I shall venture to repeat the circumstances that occurred.

"Previous to the commencement of the trial, Colonel Forster wrote to me to beg me to let them off, as many of his regiment (some forty or fifty) had keenly interceded for them; and that, in his opinion, it would be a wise proceeding, looking at the temper of the times, to concede the boon to them in consideration of their late good conduct in the matter of Brindabun Tewarree; that, at the same time, the regiment wished them to be removed from their neighbourhood, as they were turbulent characters and might corrupt others; that there were many of their caste (Goojurs) in the regiment, and many more out of it, living in the vicinity of the town. I would not accede to his request, but held the trial; nor had I the slightest intention of yielding the point until three or four days had elapsed, when I again received a letter from Colonel Forster, urging me to release them. I went to call upon him; and hearing that the solicitations had become more earnest each day; that the colonel conceived his men so resolute that they would take the law into their own hands; that he repeatedly entreated me to release them (as I wrote before) 'at once—the very next morning;' I took upon myself the responsibility of acting against the law—to my mind, as our service is constituted, requiring just as much courage as relaxing the just authority of the civil power has appeared to indicate weakness.

"If my real sin consists in not having applied to government for instructions, as indicated in paragraph 3, I can only reply, that I would gladly have done so had I had the opportunity. Until I received Colonel Forster's second letter, I had not any occa-

* This abstract is unimportant, as merely stating the incidents of a personal quarrel between the three sepoys.

sion to apply to government: I was, as you say, 'going to do my duty as a magistrate under the law.' When that second letter came, I tried to do my duty as a servant to my masters; and as the colonel plainly told me that delay was dangerous, I acted without hesitation or fear. It may have been injudicious; but there was a tolerable array of argument in my favour: first, I had the opinion of the colonel (who raised the regiment, and has commanded it for three-and-twenty years, and therefore might be well supposed to understand the temper of his men), that if I did not yield, the men would rise and take the law into their own hands; secondly, the same officer recommended immediate action on my part; thirdly, although I am very conscious of the moral force of the law, I knew that we had ample evidence how it may be ignored and trampled upon by the turbulent in times of excitement, and in that case I remembered how poor a show I could make with my material force; and chose, as his honour is pleased to call it, 'the weak side.' But I respectfully submit this question: What would have been said of me if I had not yielded, and the regiment had risen to release their comrades? Could anybody dare to say that that would be the limit of their insubordination, after the examples they had seen of successful rebellion; and on whose head would have fallen the responsibility in that case? Colonel Forster is good enough now to desire to bear the responsibility of what has occurred on his own shoulders. It is for him, certainly, to bear the responsibility of the interpretation of the temper of his own men; but he cannot bear mine for acting on his opinion; and if he might, I would not allow it.

"With regard to the first part of paragraph 3, I can only say, that I perfectly agree that it would be an impossibility to escort the men to Delhi. No man in his senses would think of giving such an order. I used the word 'homewards.' Nothing can be clearer, from my letter to Mr. Lawford, than that I allowed that they were free men. To see them removed from the neighbourhood of this regiment was absolutely necessary; how long they were to be watched, was left to the judgment of each officer as they passed through his district. If they were dangerous men, and still not to be in confinement, it was better that they should stand alone in the world than be left here to corrupt their comrades. Colonel Forster only wrote to me this morning, in a private letter—'Supposing they mingled amongst my sepoys, and told them what Brindabun Tewarree had said was true, not one of us would be alive six hours after, though we might exert ourselves to our utmost to show the folly of the assertion.' Fortunately for Colonel Forster, his character is known to the public: mine has to be known yet; and I think that when his honour knew how much it was in his power to tarnish it, he might have asked me for a further explanation before he branded me as a weak and injudicious officer. I have at least the satisfaction of knowing, that my presence in the station has not been so understood by its residents; though I do not conceal that I regret much having incurred his honour's displeasure.

"With reference to his honour's declared intention of detaining the men at Burdwan, I shall do no more than draw the attention of his honour to the corresponding paragraph of Colonel Forster's letter. If they be brought back, I shall then indeed believe that I must have been wrong in listening to Colonel Forster's warnings; if not, I shall draw consolation that government have only believed him whom I believed.—I have, &c.,

"S. LUSHINGTON."

The enclosed letter from Lieutenant-colonel Forster to the officiating magistrate, ran thus:—

"Midnapore, June 24th, 1857.

"Sir,—In compliance with your desire, I beg to submit my opinion as regards the removal of the two men, Gopal Sing and Dataram (late sepoys of the Shekawattee battalion), who were placed in confinement in the civil gaol of Midnapore for an assault on another sepoy (Bhoora Sing), believed to be a connection of the two above-named offenders. The fact that these men committed the assault laid to their charge there can be no doubt of: they were always turbulent, bad characters; still, they were of one clan (Goojurs); and it is well known that, at the time, a very general irritable feeling existed, not only in the city, but in the district around, and it was greatly enhanced by the open seditious conduct of the Brahmin burkandaze, Brindabun, belonging to the police, who, for openly tampering with the regiment and inducing them to rise and mutiny, was taken by the sepoys, and was subsequently hung. This

miscreant had, as associates, some 250 or 300 desperate adherents, spoken of as at hand, congregated around the neighbouring country; and, could they have succeeded in their base and deep-laid plans to secure the sympathy of my regiment, they proposed to let the prisoners out of the gaol (some 700 or 800); and among them were these two very turbulent characters.

"It was, I believe, ascertained that a greater portion of the gaol guard were of the same clan (Goojurs), so that they could not be entirely trusted; and a military guard was sent, when, of course, it became my duty to act with discretion in selecting men for that work, and to keep back all Goojurs; for although this regiment has ever done its duty with credit and distinction whenever called upon (and I trust it ever will), yet a commanding officer would deserve little credit if he wholly overlooked the temper of the times, and omitted to make use of his past experience to regulate and guide his course at such eventful periods, instead of evincing apparent ignorance of the springs and motives which move human actions even in the most peaceable times. It remains for me to state, that the several brethren of the two prisoners (and, foremost among them, Bhoora Sing—the man who had received the injury) came to me and threw themselves at my feet, and, touching the ground with their foreheads, implored me to pardon the two offenders from further punishment, as they had been already punished by confinement in the gaol for some time, and were no longer in the service; they added, that 'they deemed them as unworthy of further favour, and rather than let them loose here to do possible mischief, or to join bad characters in the district, to solicit as a favour of the magistrate, to cause them to be sent away, under police surveillance, to the limits of the ellaqua.' I also hold a petition from several of the brethren, praying for my good offices with the magistrate, humbly begging compliance, and giving me reasons, which I shall explain, as their respectful appeal seemed to me to demand attention.

"The reasons afforded by the party who prayed for my endeavours to induce the magistrate to listen to their present solicitations, had deep interest as connected with the future peace of their respective families, and that there would be no safety for them hereafter, when they returned to their homes, 'if the offenders had suffered further disgrace for only fighting among themselves,' and at their instigation; family feuds would be the result among the whole clan, which would lead to deplorable results and to bloodshed, as both the men belonged to an influential party, and they had homes beyond the limits of British jurisdiction.

"When I reflected over all these circumstances, as well as the desire I felt at a crisis like the present, to keep all calm and steady for any unexpected call we might be required to assist in, I consented to their entreaty, and at once begged you to meet my views on this point, and to send the two offenders away from Midnapore district, although it might not be the common course in ordinary times.

"You were pleased to comply (after much entreaty) with my request, though the acquiescence was with difficulty obtained. I cannot allow you to bear blame for the act which was urged on you by me on no common grounds; and I am sure when the lieutenant-governor of Bengal is made fully acquainted with the case, he will not view it as an affair to be dealt with as a common police daily transaction. I now deem it my duty to state that, as these two men, Gopal Sing and Dataram, had been given to understand that they were to go free when out of the Midnapore ellaqua, it will undoubtedly cause a serious distrust on the part of their brethren now in the corps, if that is not carried into effect. I am satisfied that the lieutenant-governor of Bengal will see how unadvisable it will be to have them detained in custody elsewhere, after leaving Midnapore under assurance of release. I must earnestly entreat that you will represent this matter to the serious attention of his honour, so that he may be pleased to permit them to depart to their homes, as was told them here.

"Undoubtedly, strict rules of law are not only commendable, but necessary to be upheld on most occasions; but there are times when we may be reminded that 'summum jus, summa injuria;' and there is no time when our active energies and zeal require more earnest support and encouragement than the present, when every officer, both civil and military, placed in prominent positions and authority, can feel but one deep and solemn responsibility, and who are to the utmost of their ability doing their duty, and upholding and supporting the government whom they have the honour to serve.

"This explanation, I earnestly hope, will prove amply satisfactory to the lieutenant-governor of Bengal, and exculpate you from all blame, especially as there was not time for any reference in a case of emergency.—I have, &c.—HENRY FORSTER,
"Commanding the Shekawattee battalion at Midnapore."

The following is the letter referred to in Mr. Lushington's report of the 24th June, as addressed to the magistrate of Burdwan:—

"Midnapore, June 14th, 1857.

"Sir,—This letter will be brought you by one of four burkandazes who are employed in escorting two discharged sepoys of the Shekawattee battalion. These two men are great scoundrels, and were handed over to me by the colonel of their regiment on a charge of assaulting, with intent to murder, one of their own fellow-sepoys. The case was tried by me, and I should have committed them without fail; but their colonel, finding that great sympathy was experienced for them by many blackguards in his regiment, promised that he would obtain their release; and therefore at his request, in these times amounting to an order, I have consented to simply transferring them homewards. It will be for you to consider whether you will continue the escort, or not; but I beg to warn you that they are considered dangerous characters. A hue-and-cry roll will be carried by the burkandazes to enable you to recapture them in the event of escape. I have also furnished each with a kind of pass, in the event of your not thinking fit to send them on in charge of the police. Bancoorah, of course, would have been the direct route, but I thought it advisable to avoid that place, as they have comrades there.

"I have, &c.—S. LUSHINGTON."

The reply to Mr. Lushington's explanatory letter and enclosures ran thus:—

"Fort William, June 26th, 1857.

"Sir,—I am directed by the lieutenant-governor of Bengal to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 24th instant, in reply to mine of the 20th, on the subject of the illegal release of two prisoners charged with assault and attempt to murder. The lieutenant-governor regrets that you should have been so ill-advised as to defend your hasty, illegal, and injudicious act regarding these men: when you have greater experience you will be less ready to defend what has been unqualifiedly condemned by your superiors.

"The plain fact is, that 'many blackguards in Colonel Forster's regiment' (these are your own words) have, in this instance, been allowed to dictate the law; and two men clearly guilty of assault with attempt to murder, and men of notoriously bad character otherwise, have been illegally set at liberty by you, merely because it would have offended other bad men in the regiment to have punished them. And such haste was evinced to succumb to the dictates of these men, 'blackguards' as you describe them, that although you have no power to liberate them, and a reference to the government which had the power would only have occupied two days, it was thought proper to avoid even that delay, and liberate them (practically) at once: thus clearly showing that it was done to prevent offence to the bad characters of the regiment, and allowing such men, with arms in their hands, to dictate to the civil power. If the reasons assigned were of the smallest force, it is obvious that you cannot in future proceed to punish any men of the Shekawattee battalion regarding whom a sufficient number of bad soldiers can be found to express, or to hint, a decided opinion against their punishment.

"Such an abandonment of his functions at the dictation of others can never be permitted to a magistrate, and you must be most careful to avoid it in future. Regarding the men themselves, since Colonel Forster has now treated it as a military question, the lieutenant-governor will solicit the orders of the governor-general in council, and these will hereafter be communicated to you.—I have, &c.—A. R. YOUNG."

By order of the lieutenant-governor of Bengal, the foregoing correspondence and enclosures were accordingly transmitted, on the 26th of June, for the consideration of the governor-general in council; at the same time expressing his own opinion, that "the men should be, at any risk, tried and punished." On the same day, the papers were returned by the secretary to the government of India; who says—"I am directed to acquaint you, for the information of the lieutenant-governor of Bengal, that it appears to the governor-general in council, that the word of government is pledged, practically, to the release of these men; and that to act contrary to that pledge, might lead to serious results. The course, therefore, to be pursued is, that the magistrate of Burdwan should be instructed

immediately, by telegraph, to release the men from gaol, and to pass them on, under surveillance of the police, towards their homes in the North-Western Provinces, as originally intended."

With such repressive influences at work over the proceedings of the civil and military authorities, exercising functions at a distance from the seat of government, much of the indecision and inactivity that was so lamentably conspicuous in both branches of the public service at the first outburst of the revolt, may perhaps be accounted for. Fortunately for the European community at and near Midnapore, their exemption from the horrors of a massacre that would in all probability have been the result of the lieutenant-governor of Bengal's intermeddling policy, was secured by the sound discretion of the governor-general and his council. The wonder is, that men of honour and spirit should have been found willing to undertake responsible duties requiring instant decision and prompt action, while subject to a distant control that, in many instances during the course of this extraordinary struggle, could only be exercised too late, or in perfect ignorance of the grounds upon which it was enforced.

TIRHOOT.—The alarm that agitated the greater part of the vast area of the Bengal presidency, did not pass over this district without leaving upon the European residents a painful impression of the dangers that were encircling them. Being one of the principal districts in India for the production of indigo, fertile and richly wooded, it was thickly studded with valuable factories and plantations, and the native inhabitants generally were of an affluent class, compared with those of many other parts of the presidency: its principal town is Moozufferpore, situate about thirty-five miles N.N.E. of Patna; and, during the occurrences of June, it became a city of refuge for the European residents of the district. From certain indications of approaching danger that had attracted the attention of the authorities, in the early part of the month circulars were addressed to the indigo planters, and others in the vicinity, suggesting the necessity for their resorting to the station. At first the parties summoned were not disposed to leave their homes and property to the guardianship of native servants; and no immediate necessity for removal being apparent, they hesitated to comply with the requisition of the magistrate. A second notice, explanatory of the urgent reasons that existed for combination without further delay, brought the affair to a crisis; and the rush to the appointed rendezvous was now as impetuous, as obedience in the first instance had been tardy and reluctant. A letter from Tirhoot, of the 26th of June, says, in reference to this gathering:—"The regiments above Dinapore, at every station but Ghazeepore, have mutinied or been disarmed, and a row at the former place has been expected every day, so that our station authorities got frightened; and on the 14th of this month we were all summoned into the station for mutual protection. Every planter was in, and we mustered eighty strong, besides the ladies. The latter were all put up in Mrs. Simpson's house, and we slept in tents in the compound. Mr. MacDonnell, of Poosa, and a few others, stayed at the assistant-judge's. What alarmed the station folk was, that they had seven lacs of treasure there, and the Nujeebs had been heard to declare treason openly, and only waited for an outbreak at Dinapore. Davies, disguised as a native, went at night to their quarters, and overheard them say they would make a clean sweep of the Europeans, loot the treasure, and let loose the gaol prisoners in a very few days. This put the station people in great terror. The Dinapore regiments are kept in awe by the Europeans, there being some 1,200 there, including artillerymen: but for this force we should certainly have had a row, and then Tirhoot would have been in a blaze, and our factories burnt, as the Benares factories were. We returned from Moozufferpore this morning for good, as it is now supposed all danger is over. I took a run down during the ten days we were at the station, much against the wish and advice of the people there, and found everything quiet. Our leaving the factories had a bad effect; but what could we do when everybody was so peremptorily summoned in, and everybody went? Martial law has been declared throughout the district; and Holmes, at Segowlee, is hanging right and left—mostly sepoys, returned from the scene of action laden with booty. A few arrests have been made in Moozufferpore among the Mussulmans; and one fat Thanadar, with a lot of mutinous correspondence, has been seized and sent into Segowlee; he is probably hanged by this time. Arrests

have also been made in the Dehaut, principally about Lollgunge Singhia, of return sepoys. Those that belong to the insurgent regiments will be hanged, unless they are away on leave. This has had a very salutary effect, and the niggers are in great consternation about it."

Another account of the proceedings at this place, consequent upon the rumoured intention of the Nujeebs to massacre the whole European population, says—"We seized a Thanadar brute a few days ago, who was in league with the conspirators; he was finishing a letter to a Patna chief, and would have decamped in another hour; he was sent to Holmes at Segowlee, who has proclaimed martial law, and is stringing the fellows up like a 'brick.'"

In consequence of the before-mentioned requisition, most, if not all the Europeans in the lower part of the district were assembled together at the station. "We went up," writes one gentleman, "in a body, all armed to the teeth (sixteen of us, and two ladies), having been written to that the Nujeebs, of whom there are 120, were ready to plunder the treasury and murder all hands. We found all quiet, went to the judge, and requested that he would empower us to disarm the Nujeebs; but he would not take the responsibility: —— then told him how wrong he was in alarming the district if he did not intend to act. I believe it is lucky we did go to the station, for by all accounts the treasury would have been looted but for the presence of so many Europeans; and in such case the effect upon the Dehaut might have led to serious consequences. There were some eighty-five men and thirty ladies, with thirty or forty children, assembled, all of whom, with the exception of six or eight, quartered in Dr. Simpson's and Weston's houses; the ladies being all shut up in the former at night, and the gentlemen living in the verandahs, one or two tents, and patrolling all night. You may imagine how they must have suffered, the heat being something frightful the whole time. All the planters have gone home, but the ladies are at the station or its vicinity; though I think and hope that the danger has passed. The plot was a deep one, and must have been going on for years; all the Mohammedans had a hand in it, the men in government employ taking the lead. The China troops have reached the Sandheads, and others are not far off, so that quiet must soon be restored over the country; but we have had a *butch* (escape) of it; and I am of opinion that the cartridges hurried the outbreak before all was matured, and have saved us all; for had things been so concerted as for all the native regiments to have risen at once, there were no means at hand to check them. All were in the plot, and not one regiment would have remained faithful; as it is, one-half of the army is gone—all communication from above Allahabad is closed; and even this far has only been reopened the last few days. It is extraordinary how they have been kept down at Dinapore, where they have been disaffected for some time; but the old general is a good man, and was prepared to make good account of them had they mutinied. I don't believe any of the Meerut mutineers would have reached Delhi had there been an active man in command, for the European troops outnumbered the natives. Venables (a planter), at Azimgurh, is at the head of 150 soldiers (natives), and doing good service in the disturbed villages. He has hung a lot of rebels, and had sent an indent for twenty new ropes a few days ago."

By these accounts, the immediate danger at this station (Tirhoot) had passed over, and for a short time the district resumed its accustomed quiet.

SARUN.—As an example of the independent course of action men of energy and talent occasionally felt themselves constrained by circumstances to adopt at this juncture, the following incident may be appropriately referred to in closing this chapter. Major Holmes, of the 13th irregular cavalry, was in command of some troops at Segowlee, a station some few miles distant from the cantonments at Tirhoot and Dinapore; and about the middle of June, he deemed it requisite, for the preservation of the district around his station, to adopt, upon his own responsibility, one of the most important and hazardous steps pertaining to the functions of the provincial government, by declaring a wide extent of thickly populated country under martial law. The announcement of his assumption of authority to take this step, was made to the magistrate of Sarun by the following highly characteristic specimen of military dictatorship:—

"Segowlee, June 19th, 1857.

"My dear MacDonnell,—As a single clear head is better than a dozen confused

ones in these times, and as military law is better than civil in a turbulent country, I have assumed absolute military control from Goruckpore to Patna, and have placed under absolute military rule all that country, including the districts of Sarun, Chumparun, and Tirhoot.* The governor-general having requested me to write to him direct, I do so daily, and have informed his lordship on this head. I now look to all the magistrates of these districts to aid me effectually in preserving order, and to carry out with strictness the following instructions:—1. Let all the chief ghats on the rivers be strictly guarded, removing, for the present, the small zemindaree ghats. Let any suspicious characters be seized, and let all such be placed in detention for the present. 2. Proclaim a reward of fifty rupees for the seizure of each rebel sepoy; and should you catch any such, send them in irons to the military authority nearest the spot of their capture, either Segowlee or Dinapore (not Ghazeepore); also send witnesses. 3. Proclaim a similar reward for information which may lead to the conviction of those speaking seditious words against the government. Seize all such, and send them to me. 4. Send an order to all the petty rajahs in your district to keep their followers on the alert to aid the police. Warn them, that for concealing any sedition or any rebels, they will be punished as principals. I shall send a copy of these instructions to the governor-general; and if you can make your police carry them out sharp, you will deserve well of the country. Similar instructions have gone to Tirhoot, Allygunge, and Goruckpore.—Yours, &c.,

"E. S. HOLMES."

On the same day, Major Holmes wrote to the deputy magistrate of Sarun thus:—

"My dear Lynch,—I am delighted to hear that your police have been so vigilant, and have done such good service. Be so good to give the captors a reward of fifty rupees for each rebel sepoy seized and convicted; and this note shall be your authority for so doing.

"I have taken absolute military command, and placed the whole country, from Goruckpore to Patna, under military law. You will therefore express from me to your police my high sense of their exertions, and that I shall take good care that their services are well rewarded. You will issue very stringent instructions for the close watching the ghats on the Gogra, and every suspicious character must be seized and sent to you for examination. In case any one cannot give a clear and satisfactory account of himself, he is to be placed under restraint in your gaol, until I give an order for his release.—E. S. HOLMES."

This assumption of arbitrary power, by which the functions and authority of the civil magistrate were to be entirely superseded, was not patiently acquiesced in by the officials to whom the notifications and instructions had been addressed by Major Holmes; and the magistrate of Sarun lost no time in representing the circumstances to the government of Bengal, through the proper channel; at the same time stating, that the major, not having obtained the sanction of the governor-general for his conduct, he (the magistrate) did not think it incumbent upon himself to acknowledge his authority. This view of the affair was at once sanctioned by the lieutenant-governor of Bengal, and his decision was communicated to Mr. MacDonnell in the following letter from the secretary to the government:—

"Fort William, June 27th, 1857.

"Sir,—I am directed by the lieutenant-governor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 21st inst., with inclosure, announcing that Major Holmes has placed your district and the districts of Chumparun and Tirhoot under martial law. You have judged rightly that this proceeding is wholly illegal and unauthorised; and you will not obey it, or act upon it. You will communicate a copy of these orders to Mr. Lynch, and to any other public officer whom it may concern. To Major Holmes himself a communication will be made from the government of India.

"It is not desired that you should so repudiate Major Holmes' unlawful act, as to place him in any kind of slight or contempt,

* Sarun, with Chumparun, forms a district in the presidency of Bengal; bounded on the north side by Nepaul, on the west by the district of Goruckpore, on the east by Tirhoot, and on the south by the Gogra, which separates it from Ghazeepore, Shahabad, and Patna: the river Gunduck traverses the centre of the district, which has an area of 5,116 square miles and a population of about one million. The northern portion is chiefly occupied by marshy jungles, and not more than a third of the area of Chumparun is under any kind of cultivation; but Sarun, south of the Gunduck, is one of the most fertile and prosperous districts in India. The principal towns of the united district are Chupra, Bettiah, and Maissy. The former place has a population estimated at 50,000 souls.

but merely take no notice of what he has done, further than stating that you have been apprised, that his order is of no force, and you are unable to act upon it; sending him, at the same time, a copy of this letter. Major Holmes' intentions are doubtless good; but he would seem to have allowed his zeal to carry him too far in this resistance.—I have, &c.—A. R. YOUNG."

Of the view taken of Major Holmes' energetic conduct at the seat of the supreme government, the parliamentary returns afford no information; but it is certain that officer remained at Segowlee, in command of his irregular corps, until the time of his murder, in August, by a body of mutineers, who attacked the station, and massacred such of the Europeans as were not able to escape before they had taken possession of the place.

It is extraordinary, that at the juncture to which several of the preceding pages refer, the government of Bengal was daily in collision, upon some point or other, with almost all the principal officers subordinate to its authority: commissioners of districts, magistrates, postmasters, &c., alike fell under the ban of official displeasure and reproof. In some instances the offenders were not sufficiently active and attentive to their duties; in others, they were too energetic and assuming. Irregularities had crept into the postal department; and the secret despatches of the provincial government were sometimes known to the native inhabitants of a disaffected town before the authority to whom they were addressed was aware of their existence. This over-zealous officiousness in some quarters, and culpable supineness, or treachery, in others, tended of course to add to the perplexity of the local government, and to embarrass the arrangements of the governor-general and his council; but the inconvenience thereby occasioned was looked upon as a natural consequence of the system that had long prevailed in every department, from the *bureau* of the governor-general in council to that of the lowest official in the employ of the state. The system had worked well for years, because its abuses gave no trouble; and a state of internal repose did not appear to call for exertions that were necessary to reform them. But when the outbreak of a stupendous plot which in its details was intended to sap, and, by a sudden explosion, overthrow the foundations of government, became an established fact, the inefficiency of some whose services were unexpectedly called for, and the hot-headed impetuosity and reckless zeal of others, who could not be restrained within the bounds of moderation, were of course additions to the embarrassments of government, that a just sense of its own position, and its responsibilities to the people under its rule, would have taken care to effectually prevent the possibility of. It may have been, that the distant channels through which the ordinances of the supreme ruling power had to percolate, before they reached the individuals whose delegated authority they were intended to guide and influence, were too complex and remote from the seat of government to be benefited by its direct supervision and control; and thus, when its interference could only be evoked, or its instructions obtained, after tedious and hazardous delay, and much intermediate interference by graduated authorities, it was not surprising that men of vivacious temperament and energetic action, like the civil commissioner at Patna and the military commandant at Sarun, should, to arrest the progress of the difficulties spreading around them, overstep the exact limits of their authority, and in some degree grasp at powers that became dangerous in their hands. At any rate, the entire machinery of the Anglo-Indian government, in its distant spheres of operation, had become out of order; and while the higher authorities were engaged in calling the superior agents to a proper sense of their duties, the *employés* of inferior grade were occupied, in all directions, in shifting the blame of their inefficiency or wilfulness upon their superiors or upon each other. Meanwhile, the personal interests of the people of India were treated with indifference, if not with contempt; and it is more than probable that the popularisation of the revolt was based upon the mere military outbreak of the 10th of May, by the awakened indignation of a people that felt themselves undervalued and neglected by their alien rulers, and oppressed and insulted by those who, in the name of the government, exercised and abused its delegated authority.

CHAPTER XXIII.

SPREAD OF THE REVOLT; THE TITULAR KINGS OF DELHI; DEFENCES OF THE CITY OF DELHI; INTERIOR OF THE PALACE AND CITY; RESOURCES OF THE INHABITANTS IN CASE OF SIEGE; THE CUTTUB MINAR; MAHOMED SURAJ-OO-DEEN SHAH GHAZEE PROCLAIMED KING OF DELHI; ROYAL PROCESSION THROUGH THE CITY; ADDRESS OF THE REBEL OFFICERS; POSITION OF THE BRITISH ARMY BEFORE DELHI; FIRST ATTACK BY THE REBELS; ADVENTURE OF LIEUTENANT HILLS; THE GUIDES; ATTACK OF THE 11TH OF JUNE; GENERAL BARNARD'S DESPATCH; INCIDENTS OF THE FIGHT; ATTACK OF THE 15TH; DESULTORY OPERATIONS OF THE ENEMY; DESTRUCTION OF THE EED GHAT BATTERY; HINDOO RAO'S HOUSE; DARING ATTACK ON THE ENGLISH LINES; DEATH OF COLONEL YULE; DESPATCHES OF GENERAL BARNARD AND BRIGADIER GRANT; INCIDENTS OF THE 19TH OF JUNE; A PANIC; THE CENTENARY OF PLASSY; DEATH OF GENERAL BARNARD; MAJOR-GENERAL WILSON TAKES THE COMMAND; CONTINUOUS SORTIES AND REPULSES; THE BATTLE OF NUJUFGHUR; COMMENCEMENT OF THE SIEGE; THE ASSAULT; CAPTURE OF THE CITY AND PALACE; FLIGHT OF THE KING; HIS SURRENDER; DEATH OF HIS SONS; CAPTIVITY OF THE KING, AND RE-ESTABLISHMENT OF BRITISH RULE IN INDIA.

THE bi-monthly mail, which left Bombay for Europe on the 1st of July, brought with it the unsatisfactory intelligence that a mutinous spirit still continued to influence and destroy the *morale* of the Bengal army; and although every day brought some accession to the numerical strength of the European force at the disposal of the British commander-in-chief, the melancholy fact still remained, that upon some as yet undiscovered ground of impulse the army of a whole presidency had revolted, and that the capital city of Hindostan was still in the possession of armed rebels, who had been instructed by English officers in the strategies of military science, and were burning with desire to exhibit their acquired skill for the discomfiture of their teachers. It was not concealed either that, from the spirit which appeared generally to prevail at that time, it was more than possible the next despatches for England might announce that its imperial rule had been subverted by the native powers, and that its whole possessions on the soil of India were limited to the spots covered by its European forces, and to a few isolated forts or towns on the sea-board of the peninsula. Not only throughout Bengal (where it had been demonstrated that every native soldier was a mutineer at heart), but in the Bombay and Madras presidencies also, symptoms of wavering fidelity had become apparent, and the resuscitation of the empire of the Moguls was thought of by the millions of India as merely a question of time, not of fact. A century of rule, fastidiously delicate in regard to the habits, prejudices, and even abuses of the native races, had not yet impressed them with a just conception of the indomitable spirit and tenacious grasp of their European rulers.

The arrival before Delhi of the British troops under Major-general Sir Henry Barnard, on the 8th of June, 1857, has already been noticed;* and the geographical position of the city and suburbs, with their principal architectural features, have also been briefly described:† but it will be necessary, on resuming the narrative of events connected with the operations before the Mogul capital, that we should refer to the position of its nominal sovereign, and the general state of its defences, at the period of its investment by the avenging army of England.

The battle of Delhi, fought on the 11th of September, 1803, by the Anglo-Indian army, under Lord Lake, against the confederated troops of the Mahratta and Rohilla chiefs, opened the gates of the city to the British protectors of the blind and feeble shadow of royalty, who, as the descendant of a once mighty dynasty, still possessed some remnant of the attributes of sovereignty, and was looked up to, even in his weakness and decay, as the representative of the imperial house of Timour; the centre of power, as his residence was also considered the centre of nationality. A second battle, under the walls of the city, on the 16th of the following month (in which Colonels Burns and Ochterlony, with 800 men and 11 guns, successfully repelled the repeated attacks of a force of 20,000 infantry and 100 guns, under the command of Holkar, the Mahratta chief, and ultimately compelled the latter to retire from the neighbourhood of the city), completed the victory of September, and left British power and influence in undisturbed possession of the capital and of its ruler. From the 16th of October, 1803, until the 11th of

* See *ante*, p. 196 † *Ante*, pp. 69—71.

May, 1857 (a space of half a century), a day had not passed, during which the city had been other than the capital of a territory governed nominally by a Mogul king, but in reality by a British resident appointed by the governor-general in council. Shah Alum, the potentate thus received under British protection, dying in 1806, was succeeded by his son Shah Akbar, who became at once a pensioner of the East India Company, retaining the kingly title, and some remains of its state: but he was, in fact, merely the ruler of the inmates of his palace, consisting of relations and retainers, to the number of 12,000 persons, whom he maintained, or appeared to do so, from a pension of £100,000 per annum, granted to him by the Company, in exchange for his independence. Notwithstanding his degraded position, both Hindoo and Mussulman, throughout the vast empire that had owned the uncontrolled sway of his predecessors, still looked up to him as the only representative of the ancient glories of India. Princes still received from his hands solemn and legal investiture of their states; he bestowed dresses of honour on the native princes, at their accession to the musnud, as a token of his suzerainty; and occasionally attempted the same assumption of superior power upon the appointment of the governor-general. Until 1827, it is alleged that the Company acquired no new province, without formally applying to the king of Delhi for his nominal sanction and official firman.* At length, during the rule of Lord Amherst in 1827, this false position was corrected, by taking from the nominal potentate the last vestige he possessed of independent sovereignty, in exchange for an increased pension of £150,000. The implied vassalage of the East India Company to the mighty padishah, or Mohammedan ruler of India, was thrown aside as a troublesome fiction, and Shah Akbar became from that date powerless beyond the walls of his palace, except in regard to the traditional and historic influences of a race of which he was still the symbol and living representative, and, as such, continued to be venerated by the descendants of the millions that had owned their sway.

Shah Akbar reigned within his circumscribed territory until the year 1837; and for some time previous to his death, had expressed a desire that he should be succeeded on his titular throne by a younger son, to the exclusion of the eldest: this, however, was not permitted by the Company's government; and, consequently, on the death of the shah, his eldest son, Meerza Aboo Zuffur, became emperor, assuming the title of Mahomed Suraj-oo-deen Shah Ghazee. This individual must have been between sixty and seventy years of age upon his accession to the throne, which he occupied until it was shattered in fragments by his complicity with the revolt of 1857.

Of the defences of the city, it will be necessary to observe, that it was enclosed on the land sides by a moat and embattled wall, with bastions and strongly fortified gates. On the water side a small portion of the city abutted upon a branch of the Jumna, over which a short bridge connected it with an old fort called Selimgurh, forming the ancient river defence of the royal residence. The city has eleven gates, seven of which are on the land side, and named the Cashmere, Moree, Cabul, Lahore, Feruk Khan, Ajmeer, Turcoman, and Delhi gates. The four opening towards the Jumna are designated, the Raj Ghat, Negumbod, Lall, and Kaila gates. The Cashmere gate was always held as a military post, and occupied by the city guard. The wall was also strengthened by bastions, named on the plan of Colonel Baird Smith, chief engineer of the army of Delhi, as follows: viz., the Water bastion, nearest the Cashmere gate; and the Shah, Buron, Garstin, Wellesley, and Nawab bastions, all of which of course became available for the defence of the rebel troops within the walls. The bridge of boats, mentioned in a preceding chapter,† crosses the Jumna in the immediate vicinity of the Selimgurh fort, connecting Delhi with the road from Meerut. The palace of the king, between the Raj Ghat and the Negumbod gates, opening upon the causeway leading to the bridge, was surrounded by a broad moat connected with the river, and enclosed by a wall of red granite, sixty feet in height, forming an irregular oblong, nearly three-quarters of a mile in circumference, flanked with towers, and entered by two magnificent gates with barbicans.‡ Such was

* Chambers' *India*, p. 67.

† See *ante*, p. 75.

‡ The interior of the palace was approached through a series of richly decorated gateways of red granite, elaborately sculptured with foliage, and illuminated passages from the Koran. Of its numberless apartments, the chief was the Dewani-aum, or Chamber of Audience, magnificently adorned with coloured marbles, enriched with sculpture and with

the external appearance of Delhi in the early summer of 1857.

As regards the former condition of its defences, we learn that when, in 1803, General Lake obtained possession of the city by defeating the troops of Scindia, under the command of the French general, M. Bourquin, the outer wall was in a most dilapidated state, and without any flanking protection beyond some small ill-constructed bastions, placed at irregular distances on one side of the city only. The ditch was shallow and imperfect; there was no glacis; and the ground up to the very walls was covered with the ruins of houses, tombs, and mosques; it was also intersected and cut in ravines in all directions. It is true, that even with this miserable show of defence, a valiant resistance was made by a few English soldiers under Colonels Ochterlony and Burns, who, within a few days of their possession of the city, were attacked, as before stated,* by the Mahratta chief Holkar, at the head of 20,000 troops and 100 guns, and who were compelled to retire from before the scarcely tenable walls of the place; but the latter were certainly not in a condition that could be tolerated by those who had bravely won the city, and who intended to keep possession of their conquest. A scheme for the improvement of the fortifications of Delhi was consequently entrusted to Captain Hutchinson, of the Bengal engineers, assisted by Captain Smith, of the same corps; and under the scientific labours of those experienced officers, the defensive works of the capital of the Moguls were placed in the condition they were preserved in up to the time of the revolt. Among other necessary improvements, Captain Hutchinson constructed a series of bastions along the whole of the *enceinte*, capable of being mounted with heavy artillery. The walls were effectually repaired and strengthened; and for the purpose of preventing an escalade by surprise, he protected them on the river face by heavy, pointed beams, the sharp ends of which were ranged at an acute angle downwards, towards the moat, which was widened, and made considerably deeper than it had originally been cut; a glacis was formed, to cover in some degree the scarp of the wall; the ground outside was cleared of houses and ruins, and all the ravines were filled in; so that the works were rendered proof against the attacks of

inscriptions in letters of gold and mosaic work. In this hall, at the time of, or immediately previous to, the revolt of 1857, was yet the *dais* on which stood the celebrated peacock throne of Shah Jehan; and in this chamber, also, the victorious Nadir Shah, by artfully exchanging turbans as a pledge of friendship with his captive, Mahomed Shah, whom he had just defeated, obtained possession of the world-renowned treasure that, known as the Koh-i-noor, or "Mountain of Light," now graces the diadem of the queen of England. The Dawani Khas, or private council-chamber, was an exquisite pavilion of white marble, supporting four cupolas of the same material, with pillars and arches elaborately inlaid with gilt arabesques, flowers, and inscriptions. The garden by which it was surrounded contained numerous marble fountains, and a small octagonal pavilion with bath-rooms; and the Moti Musjeed, or private mosque, for the devotions of the king, was, like the rest of the chief features of the royal residence, ornate in marble, in sculpture, and in golden decorations; but, like the rest also, it was disfigured with the filth of birds, and had become dirty, dilapidated, and uncared-for. Of Delhi *as it was*, we have the following picture in an article of the *New Monthly Magazine* for October:—"Whoever has seen Grand Cairo, may gain some idea of Delhi, if he will but add to the picture, gardens full of shading trees, brilliant flowers, lovely fountains of white marble, which cast up their bright waters amongst shining palaces, 'with sculptured mosques and minarets,' like obelisks of pearl, shooting into a sky whose colour would shame the brightest turquoise that ever graced a sultan's finger. Again, instead of camels, and horses, and mules, alone blocking up the narrow shady ways of the native city, as at El Misr, the reader must imagine strings of elephants, their large ears painted, their trunks decorated with gold rings, anklets of silver round their legs, and bearing large, square, curtained howdahs, in which recline possibly the favourites of the harem. Luxury, even now, can go no further in the East than it is to be found in Delhi. Even now all the best dancing-women, the bird-tamers, the snake-charmers, the Persian musicians, the jugglers, congregate from every part, not only of India, but of Asia, at Delhi. Hundreds of romances might be written of the lives of men and women who, from this degraded class, became court favourites, and by ready wit, personal beauty, and dark intrigue, ruled where they were wont to serve; and even now, under absolute English rule, dissipation ever holds wildest revelry at Delhi. Young men, both in the civil and military services, were too soon influenced by the contagious and enervating influences of Delhi and its Oriental pleasures. Many a noble fortune, a fine intellect, and the material for high moral character, have yielded before the Circe-like temptations of this great Moslem capital; and the song and the dance have followed too quickly the decisions of courts and the cries of those demanding justice at our hands." It must be remembered, that the writer of the above passages had in his memory the Delhi that *was*: the city that *is*, may present far less attractive features; and the fascinating influences which once pervaded society within its walls, have probably lost their enervating power before the desolating realities of its recent severe and richly-deserved punishment.

* See *ante*, p. 453.

any force unassisted by heavy artillery. At the same time that these precautions were taken against danger from without, the possibility of an attack by the inhabitants within the walls was not overlooked; and to meet this contingency, he erected along the whole line of wall a series of detached martello towers, only accessible from the former by drawbridges. Each tower was mounted with a pivot gun; so that, in the event of a popular insurrection, the European artillerymen, having possession of the towers, could raise the bridges and bombard the city from the whole circle of the *enceinte*. The *Medressa*, or Mohammedan college, near the Ajmeer gate, was also protected by an outwork, and the whole of the gateways of the city were strengthened and fortified. The Cashmere gate, on the north-eastern side, from which proceeded the direct road to the British cantonments, was then formed into a place of arms, and became the quarters for the main-guard of the city. It will be remembered, that it was near the enclosure of this gate, that the officers of the 54th native regiment were treacherously murdered in the outbreak of the 11th of May.* In 1838, Lord Auckland, then governor-general, visited Delhi, and having remarked the hostile feeling of the people toward European society, recommended additional works of defence and repairs, and improvements were consequently effected, rendering the city impregnable to a force unprovided with a siege-train. The eastern, or river face, then the most open to assault, was much strengthened; the Wellesley bastion, near the Delhi gate, being entirely rebuilt; the glacis raised; the ditch, twenty feet wide, thoroughly cleared; more martello towers erected; and each of the bastions, now increased in number to eleven, was mounted with nine guns. The defences of Delhi were therefore no longer contemptible; and the reluctance of General Anson to advance without heavy artillery is accounted for.

According to a writer in the *Lahore Gazette*, the defensive capabilities of the city, at the period of its investment in June, 1857, were as follows. He says—"The city is surrounded by a high crenelated wall, in a deep ditch and glacis. At the Cashmere gate only is there anything of modern fortification; here there is a simple bastion with properly cut embrasures. It is enclosed, and forms the main-guard. The city measures about two miles across, and is some seven or eight miles in circumference; on the east side the walls are washed by the Jumna. The palace is in a commanding position, and though the walls are not calculated to resist heavy artillery, yet the place could scarcely be taken without a breach being made in them, that is, if the garrison showed any skill in its defence.

"The capture of such a place is a simple matter of time, and its fall might be calculated to an hour; but everything of course depends upon the plan of defence adopted by the garrison. If our force was large we might afford to make a dash at the place; and it is just possible that events may even justify such a measure; but writing as I am at a distance, and only reckoning upon what might occur if the garrison were ably commanded, and were themselves resolved to fight to the last, I look upon it that a regular siege, which cannot well fail, would be preferable.

"The whole of the western side of the city is one mass of native houses. To scale the walls would be easy, but no object would be gained by pouring our handful of troops into a sea of houses, with streets barricaded; heavy loss would unquestionably follow. This mode of attack would be absurd, and would certainly end in discomfiture. There are two modes of attack, however, which could not well fail, and I fancy that one or the other must be adopted. The first is to attack the palace at once from the river side; for the water, until the end of the month, is so very low, and is little more than a stream which is fordable, that it would create no obstacle worth mentioning. The batteries could be erected on the sand, and the camp being across the river would be safe. By shelling the palace and breaking its new wall, an assault could be made, and the fire of our guns would continue till our troops had fairly got in. The shelling would have destroyed all cover, and probably would have driven out the defendants, so that there is little doubt but that the assault would be successful. Having got possession of the palace, the city falls at once. There is, however, a chance of the river rising suddenly, when the batteries would be destroyed; so that this attack entirely depends upon the river and the probability of its rise. The next and safest mode of attack, and that which

* See *ante*, p. 73.

in all likelihood will be the one adopted, is to attack near the Cashmere gate. Our advance will then be made in the open, and with little risk of loss from the fire of musketry from houses. As the garrison have so few artillerymen, it does not seem likely that their defence is to rest in their guns."

So much for anticipations in June, that were partially realised in September. The Cashmere gate *was* the point selected for attack, as we shall presently see.

Looking to the contingency of a protracted siege, the resources of the inhabitants, as regarded supplies of provisions and water, became of course a subject of serious consideration. Shortly previous to the mutinous outbreak of May, 1857, the population of Delhi was estimated at about 200,000 persons,* and the continual influx of mutinous regiments and of people driven in from the adjacent villages, most probably would balance any diminution in numbers that might arise from the flight of such portion of the inhabitants as availed themselves of opportunities to withdraw from the city. The supply of grain for ordinary consumption had always been largely kept up by the grain merchants; and the stores at this juncture, and, indeed, at all times, were adequate to meet an extraordinary demand, although not equal to the requirements of a lengthened siege: but for some time the sources of supply from the villages on the opposite side of the river, and on its right bank by the Eastern Jumna and Delhi canals, were kept open to the inhabitants. The Eastern Jumna canal opens into the river, nearly opposite the city; and passing through a well-cultivated tract, which it fertilises through its entire course of 155 miles, the supply of corn and grain furnished by its means was considerable, until further transport was arrested by the Meerut division of the Delhi army, under Brigadier-general Wilson; while General Barnard, on his side, cut off all possibility of supply by the Delhi canal, which had previously been the means of transmission of large quantities of provisions into the city, from the districts in its course of 425 miles. Still, after these obstructions, facilities remained open for obtaining food, and the rebel garrison was at no time without a sufficient supply of it; nor does it appear that the inhabitants were seriously inconvenienced by any actual scarcity. Of water, the supply was at no time abundant; the wells within the city walls being comparatively few, although generally yielding a fair supply of the necessary element. The paucity of their number is accounted for by the preference given by the inhabitants to the water brought by the Delhi canal, which, however, is apt to fail them in dry seasons, when every drop of it being required for the purpose of irrigation, the city is frequently left without any supply from the canal for three weeks or a month at a time. In these emergencies the people are compelled to seek the aid of their wells, and the branch of the Jumna that flows past a portion of the walls, access to which is rendered secure by the position of the fort of Selimgurh, and of the bridge connecting it with the palace, both of which afford effectual cover for parties seeking the water.

Such, then, was the condition of Delhi at the period to which this portion of its history belongs. The king, whom it has been endeavoured to represent as a mere passive instrument in the hands of a rebellious army, resided in Oriental seclusion and barbaric pomp, within the walls of his palace: the heir-apparent, his grandson, occupying the palace of Cuttub Minar, about nine miles from the city;† and the traditions of empire, and a desire to resus-

* In 1846, the imperial city contained 25,618 houses, 9,945 shops, 261 mosques, 181 temples, and one protestant church, situated a short distance from the Cashmere gate. The population then amounted to 137,977 souls, of which 66,120 were Mohammedans, 71,530 Hindoos, and 327 were Europeans and native Christians. Of the mixed races altogether, the suburbs also contained about 22,302 persons, among whom were few, if any, resident Europeans. These numbers are exclusive of those of the English cantonments.

† This country residence of the king is situated in the immediate vicinity of an extraordinary pillar, called Cuttub Minar, from which the palace derives its name. The latter is a large but mean-looking building, in an inferior style of Indian architecture, with the public road running through the very courtyard of the palace. The place was fixed upon as the permanent residence of the grandson of the late king, and heir-apparent to the titular sovereignty of Delhi, upon his recognition in 1849, when his father, the eldest son of the king and the last of the race born in independent sovereignty, died. At this time the court of directors was urged to refuse any further recognition of successors to the musnud, and to permit the kingly title to fall into desuetude on the death of the present titular sovereign, then nearly eighty years of age. The proposition was favourably received, and authority was given to the Indian government, to terminate the dynasty of Timour whenever the reigning king should die. For some sufficient reason, however, the Marquis of Dalhousie,

citate the ancient glories of the mighty race from which he had descended, doubtless, in some degree, assisted the rebel sepoys and sowars of the native army in their purpose of coercing the aged prince into acquiescence with their designs. Be that as it may, it is manifest that he eventually threw himself into their hands, and sanctioned by his own acts the wildest excesses of their ferocious vengeance; while his sons and grandson yet more distinctly marked their sympathy with the rebel cause, by an active participation in the atrocities perpetrated by its cowardly and brutal supporters. The more lenient view of the conduct of Mahomed Suraj-oo-deen Shah Ghazee, is in some degree countenanced by a telegram forwarded to the governor-general by Mr. Colvin, on the 14th of May, three days after the arrival of the Meerut rebels at Delhi; in which the lieutenant-governor says—"We have authentic intelligence, in *a letter from the king*, that the town and fort of Delhi, *and his own person*, are in the hands of the insurgent regiments of the place, which joined about a hundred of the troops from Meerut, and opened the gates." Here he is clearly represented as in the hands of the rebels; and such, until his formal adhesion to their cause, may have been the fact. But the necessity for personal restraint must have been of exceedingly short duration; since, on Monday, the 11th of May, the very day of the outbreak, and while the swords of the mutinous troopers were yet wet with the blood of Europeans murdered in the courts and apartments of his palace, the infatuated representative of a worn-out dynasty suffered himself to be proclaimed ruler of India; and a throne of silver, which had lain-by since the year 1843, having been placed in the "Hall of Special Audience," on the following day, Mahomed Suraj-oo-deen Shah Ghazee took his seat upon it as king of Delhi, to receive the homage of his court and people. This ceremony over, the pretender, surrounded by the paraphernalia of Oriental pomp, amidst the salutes of artillery, the clangour of martial music, and the frantic exultations of a tumultuous multitude, issued from the gates of his palace in royal procession through the streets of Delhi, to proclaim by his presence the assumption of kingly power, and the restoration of the Monghol empire. The cavalcade upon this important occasion was headed by the Prince Mirza Moghul, one of his sons, whom he had appointed to the chief command of the royal army. Another of his sons, the Prince Abu-Beker, rode at the head of the body-guard of the aged simulator of imperial dignity, who presented himself to the gaze of the excited populace in an open chariot, his advanced years incapacitating him from any other mode of exhibiting himself. Thus attended, the king slowly proceeded through the principal streets to the Jumma Musjeed, where the standard of the prophet was unfurled, and the empire of Hindostan was proclaimed amidst the acclamations of the soldiers and the people. His majesty's commands were thereupon promulgated, that the shopkeepers and inhabitants should resume their business and ordinary avocations; and the phantom king returned in state to his palace, which he never again was to enter but as a prisoner, or to leave but as a detected traitor and felon, whose life depended upon the mercy of his insulted and outraged protectors.

Upon the assumption of actual sovereignty by Mahomed Suraj-oo-deen Shah Ghazee, he immediately began to exercise the functions of his royal position. His first act was to appoint the necessary authorities for the government of the city: military guards were posted within the latter, and at the palace gates a number of additional guns were brought from the arsenal, and placed upon the ramparts; and native golundauzes were appointed to the park of artillery kept in the fort of Selimgurh. At the same time a camp force, consisting of 7,000 men, with a host of followers, was formed immediately without the Ajmeer gate, for the protection of the royal residence. The pay of the troops was augmented from eight to fourteen annas per diem (*i.e.*, from 1*s.* to 1*s.* 9*d.*), and rewards were offered for all Europeans and natives connected with them, that they might be put to death. The treasury belonging to the Company, which was considered at the time as the largest in India, was re-

then governor-general, declined to exercise the authority so delegated, and the grandson of the king was recognised as heir-apparent; but, as stated by the marquis, "only on condition that he should quit the palace in Delhi, and reside in the palace at the Cuttub Minar, where, as king, he should, when the title descended to him, receive the governor-general of India at all times on terms of perfect equality." This concession, however, neither ensured his gratitude or restrained his ambition.

moved to the palace by the rebel troops, who, contrary to general practice, did not appropriate it among themselves as spoil, but rigidly guarded it from loss to supply the necessary expenses of their king.

Among other public acts for reassuring the people at this critical juncture, the subjoined proclamation was issued at Delhi by the royal permission.

"*To all Hindoos and Mussulmans, Citizens and Servants of Hindostan, the Officers of the Army now at Delhi and Meerut send greeting:—*

'It is well known that in these days all the English have entertained these evil designs—first, to destroy the religion of the whole Hindostani army, and then to make the people by compulsion Christians. Therefore we, solely on account of our religion, have combined with the people, and have not spared alive one infidel, and have re-established the Delhi dynasty on these terms. Hundreds of guns and a large amount of treasure have fallen into our hands; therefore it is fitting that whoever of the soldiers and people dislike turning Christians should unite with one heart, and, acting courageously, not leave the seed of these infidels remaining. For any quantity of supplies delivered to the army the owners are to take the receipt of the officers; and they will receive double payment from the imperial government. Whoever shall, in these times, exhibit cowardice, or credulously believe the promises of those impostors the English, shall very shortly be put to shame for such a deed; and, rubbing the hands of sorrow, shall receive for their fidelity the reward the ruler of Lucknow got. It is further necessary that all Hindoos and Mussulmans unite in this struggle, and, following the instructions of some respectable people, keep themselves secure, so that good order may be maintained, the poorer classes kept contented, and they themselves be exalted to rank and dignity; also, that all, so far as it is possible, copy this proclamation, and dispatch it everywhere, and fix it in some conspicuous place (but prudently to avoid detection), that all true Hindoos and Mussulmans may be alive and watchful, and strike a blow with a sword before giving circulation to it. The first pay of the soldiers at Delhi will be thirty rupees per month for a trooper, and ten rupees for a foot man. Nearly 100,000 men are ready, and there are thirteen flags of the English regiments, and about fourteen standards from different parts now raised aloft for our religion, for God, and the conqueror, and it is the intention of Cawnpore to root out this seed of the devil. This is what the army here wish."

The allusion to an "*intended* rooting out" of the Europeans at Cawnpore, certainly is suggestive of an idea of some preconcerted scheme of massacre, of which the troops were cognizant, whatever may have been the king's ignorance of their purpose in the first instance. It will be remembered that, on Monday, the 8th of June, 1857, the English force, under the command of Major-general Sir Henry W. Barnard, numbering altogether about 3,000 men, had, after a sharp conflict with the mutinous army, taken a position before Delhi on an elevated ridge commanding the city, and separating the latter from the former cantonments, on the parade-ground of which the camp was formed, having its face to the lines on the ridge, and its rear being protected by the canal cut from Nujufghur Jheel, which could only be crossed by bridges at distant points. A mound on the right of the camp offered an advantageous post for a picket on that flank, which was much exposed to attacks from the Subzee Mundee* suburb. Cavalry pickets, on the left flank, patrolled to the river; while the ridge on the front of the camp was held by the Sirmoor battalion and two companies of the 60th rifles at Hindoo Rao's house,† on the right; a picket of infantry at the Flagstaff tower, in front of the left of the camp, and an infantry picket at a mosque midway between Hindoo Rao's house and the Flagstaff. The heavy guns were brought up to Hindoo Rao's, preparatory to being placed in battery; and light guns were stationed with the pickets at the Flagstaff, the mosque, and Hindoo Rao's. From the latter position, the ground stretching to the right was rocky and broken, but covered at intervals with thick wood, and having at the base of the elevated ridge a great number of enclosures and gardens, amongst which, for the greater portion of the time between the beginning of June and the assault on the city in September, the chief struggles of the contending forces are to be traced.

The troops, almost exhausted by their previous fatigues, and by the conflict which had lasted from daybreak until 9 A.M., had been withdrawn to the camping-ground; but the tents were not yet up, and the heat was excessive; when, about two in the afternoon, the insurgents opened a heavy and well-directed fire from the city walls, their shot flying far over the ridge towards the proposed camp. A body of troops also came out of the city, and menaced Hindoo Rao's, or the main picket. Upon this demonstration being observed, the whole of our wearied troops had again to move up to the ridge, and, after a short time, the attack was repulsed; but the cannonade did not cease; and it became evident that, as long as the ridge continued to be occupied by the English troops, all the pickets on it would be exposed to the fire of the heavy guns and mortars from the north and north-western batteries on the city walls.

* Vegetable market. † See *ante*, p. 196.

Of the insurgent force within the city, and encamped by the Ajmeer gate, it is not possible to give a positive estimate as to numbers at this time; but it was known that the following corps of detachments were at Delhi; and although some of them had probably arrived there without arms, there could have been no difficulty in supplying their wants in that respect from the armoury in the Delhi magazine:—3rd company, 7th native battalion artillery, with No. 5 horse field-battery; 38th light infantry; 54th and 74th regiments of native infantry (of Delhi); 3rd light cavalry; 11th and 20th regiments of native infantry from Meerut; head-quarters 9th native infantry, from Allygurh, and detachment from Bolundshuhur; Hurreana light infantry battalion, and a large portion of the 4th irregular cavalry from Hansi, Hissar, and Sirsa; head-quarters corps of sappers and miners from Meerut and Roorkee; detachments of 44th and 67th regiments of native infantry from Muttra; a large portion of 45th native infantry from Ferozepore; and many deserters from the 5th native infantry from Umballah. In addition to the above, there were known to be many native soldiers on furlough, particularly of irregular cavalry; also a miscellaneous collection of customs' chuprassies who had deserted their posts, police, sowars, and gaol guards.

The arrival of Major-general Reed, the provincial commander-in-chief, at Allipore, on the morning of the 8th of June, has already been mentioned.* It may be sufficient here to state, that being in ill health, and greatly fatigued by a rapid journey during intense heat, the major-general took no part in the action of the day, and did not assume personal command of the troops until after the death of Sir H. Barnard on the 5th of July. Early in the morning of the 9th of June, the guides corps, consisting of three troops of cavalry and six companies of infantry (rifles), marched into camp under command of Captain Daly. This distinguished body of men had marched, at the hottest season of the year, from Murdan, on the Peshawur frontier, to Delhi—a distance of 580 miles in twenty-two days; and though the infantry portion were occasionally assisted with camels or ponies on the line of road, the march, averaging rather more than twenty-six miles a day, for such a continuance was a surprising feat even for cavalry in India.

The same afternoon the mutineers, who had kept up a brisk cannonade from daybreak, moved out of the city and threatened the position on the ridge, making a sharp attack on its right at Hindoo Rao's house. The guides moved up in support, and after a sharp conflict, the enemy was driven back with considerable loss; the principal mishap on our side being the death of Lieutenant Quentin Battye, of the guides,† who fell in a brilliant charge upon the enemy's cavalry; and the loss of several of his gallant followers, who fell in the *mêlée*.

During the 8th and 9th, exertions were made to put the heavy guns in position on the ridge near Rao's house, to reply to the enemy's fire; but, from the distance (from 1,200 to 1,500 yards), they could do little more than check that fire, and sometimes silence the guns at the Moree bastion; and it soon became evident that the artillery and engineering capabilities of the army were insufficient to make any serious impression upon, much less to take, Delhi, the guns of the rebels being infinitely superior,

* See *ante*, p. 197.

† "Lieutenant Battye," says one of his brother-officers, "was a joyish, boyish, but noble fellow, whose every thought was honour: he was hit in the stomach by a round shot, and only lived a few hours. He smiled at a comrade who came to see him, and quoted the old tag which, when so quoted, ceases to be trite—'Well, old fellow, *dulce et decorum est pro patria mori*, you see its my case.'" The guides corps, to which this young officer belonged, rendered eminent service during the war of the mutiny, and is thus noticed in an Indian journal of acknowledged authority upon military subjects. "This distinguished corps, of whose exploits before Delhi we hear by every mail, was originally raised on the conclusion of the Sutlej campaign, to act either as regular troops or as guides and spies. The men are selected for their sagacity and intelligence as much as for their courage and hardihood. They are taught to rely upon themselves individually, and thus acquire perfect confidence in their mutual co-operation. Though for the most part inhabitants of the Punjab, they belong to no particular race or creed. It is said there is scarcely a wild or warlike tribe in Upper India which has not contributed recruits to this corps. From this diversity of origin, there is no district of Upper India to which they can be sent that is not familiar to some of them, nor is there a dialect anywhere spoken for which they could not furnish an interpreter. The corps was originally raised by order of Lord Hardinge, in 1846, at the suggestion of the late Sir Henry Lawrence; and its numbers were augmented, by Lord Dalhousie, to three troops of horse and six companies of infantry, consisting altogether of 840 men, under the command of four European officers. The colour of their uniform is drab; and on the frontier, it so nearly resembles the aspect of the country, that the men can scarcely be distinguished at 150 yards' distance.



in number and calibre, to those possessed by General Barnard; and they, also, were well served.

An officer of the guides, describing the affair of the 9th, writes thus:—"On the afternoon of the day we arrived, a very large body of the villains came out, and we had some sharp fighting to drive them back. Poor young Battye was, I am sorry to say, mortally wounded through the stomach, the ball coming out at his back. He lived twenty-four hours only, and we buried him yesterday morning. A more gallant soldier never lived. Daly, our commandant, was cut through the boot, and a slight scratch made on his instep. I was slightly wounded in two places—one a sword cut across my chin and lower part of my cheek, and the other across my left hip, a little below the bone. Both cuts are doing famously, and healing up quickly. The way I got them was this:—I was skirmishing along with a number of men, and had helped to pepper the mutineers out of the rocky ground, very nearly down to the city walls, when suddenly a very sharp fire indeed was directed on us from some place in front. I rushed on, calling on the men to follow. After running about fifty yards, I suddenly came up with our commandant and a few men halted in front of a steep ridge of rocks (which formed a splendid breastwork), and over which Daly was unable to scramble, having too few men to force the position; so that my reinforcement was just what was wanted. Even then we had such a sharp fire on us, that it appeared doubtful whether we could scramble up the breastwork in face of it, as the ridge of rocks sloped down towards the enemy, and was a little perpendicular on our side. Up the slope the enemy came running, delivered their fire, and then back again to load. Our poor fellows were not able to deliver a shot, and were getting knocked over most cruelly. To stay five minutes in that position was certain death to us all, so Daly and I drew our swords and rushed up the rocks with a hurrah! A yell from behind told us our men were following us as quickly as they could; the brave fellows are no stay-behinds when their officers are in front of them. A few seconds brought a score of them on the field of action. In the meantime our commanding officer (Daly) and myself were over, and rather astonished to find we were quite outnumbered; however, there was no help for it now, except to fight it out. Immediately on jumping over, I had the satisfaction of seeing three fellows coming with a rush at me: the first, a great tall fellow, evidently excited to delirium almost by bhang, opium, and churries, raised his sword and made a slashing back-handed cut, which, had it taken full effect, must have rolled my head off. However, my usual good luck came to my help; and instead of cutting at my friend, I had just time to change the cut into a guard. My good cavalry sword stood well, though a deep cut was made in the steel; however, my guard having been hurriedly made, and my opponent a stronger man than myself, my sword was beaten down and my cheek laid open. After the blow I had my turn, and gave my friend one across the head, which did not cut him down to the shoulder, as I had imagined (the skull being a very tough article); at the same moment one of our men bayoneted this fellow, and Daly cut him down too. As I got my cheek cut, I felt a cut just below my hip. The man who did it was instantly bayoneted, and a moment afterwards a third fellow rushed at me—a rather short little scoundrel; he made a vicious cut at my head too, but, being much taller, I easily guarded it; and as I stepped a little forward after this blow, I had full time to raise myself, arm, and sword to their full stretch. My sword caught him a fearful gash at the back of the neck and down across the shoulder, and he fell on his face to rise no more, for a dozen bayonets were stuck into him in a moment: at this instant a number of her majesty's 60th rifles came up, and after a little more fighting the enemy were all shot down or bayoneted. After this I fainted, from the profuse bleeding of an artery which was cut in my face, and remember no more till I was picked up and carried back to camp. I was at once patched up by the doctors, and was so well next day, that I managed, with a little difficulty, to go out scrimmaging again. On both these days a good number of the enemy were killed; and our loss was somewhat severe too."

On the 10th and 11th of June, attempts similar to that of the 9th were made by the enemy, and were similarly repulsed; but on the morning of the 12th, a serious attack was made upon the left of the English position, which gradually extended along the whole line. A large body of the mutineer infantry having contrived to con-

ceal themselves in the ravines in Sir T. Metcalfe's compound, between the Flagstaff tower and the river, made a sudden and vigorous attack, soon after daylight, on the picket at the tower, consisting of a detachment of the 75th foot and two guns. They gained the summit of the ridge on the left of the tower, and the picket was hard pressed, losing Captain Knox, of the 75th, who, with several of his men, were killed in defending the position. The musketry fire was sharp and heavy, and the bullets fell into the camp. Some of the rebels, in their ardour, even descended to the camp side of the ridge, and three of them were killed in the sepoy lines, within a short distance of the tents. Reinforcements were rapidly moved up in support of the picket, and the insurgents were driven off, and pursued for some distance. To avoid a repetition of this kind of annoyance, a detachment was sent to occupy Sir Theophilus Metcalfe's ruined house, close to the river; thus protecting the left flank of the position, and rendering it almost impossible for the enemy to pass round on that side. The attack at the Flagstaff had scarcely been repulsed, when other bodies of insurgents advanced upon the Hindoo Rao's picket, and through the Subzee Mundee, into the gardens on the right flank of the camp. The first of these attacks was not very serious; but the latter threatened the mound picket, and supports of all arms had to be moved up to encounter the difficulty. The 1st fusiliers, under Major Jacob, then advanced and drove the mutineers out of the gardens, killing a considerable number of them in a hand-to-hand fight. The English loss on this day fell chiefly on the 1st European fusiliers and the 75th regiment.

The subjoined despatch, from Major-general Barnard to the adjutant-general of the army, describes the affair of the 12th with official brevity, as follows:—

"Delhi Cantonment, June 12th.

"Sir,—I have the honour to report, for the information of General Reed, commanding the forces, that the enemy attacked the position occupied by the troops under my command this morning in force. The troops acted throughout with gallantry and coolness, and the affair ended in the total repulse of the enemy, who have retreated to the city. At about a quarter to 5 A.M. the attack first began. On my ascertaining that both flanks were being attacked, the usual supports were not only sent up to the position on the heights, but the whole of the troops under my command were speedily under arms, and marched up to reinforce the pickets and to drive back the enemy. This was first accomplished on the left, the enemy falling back under the fire of the troops; and, after being beaten back from the right, they came on again for a second attack, under cover of the thickly-wooded gardens near the Subzee Mundee. The 1st Bengal European fusiliers were sent against them, under the command of Major Jacob, and succeeded most gallantly in not only driving the enemy back, but pursued them, skirmishing all through the thickly-wooded gardens of the Subzee Mundee. It was about half-past 7 A.M. when the troops began to be recalled, and the assembly first sounded for the skirmishers.

"In comparison with the strength of the attack, our loss was small; and I trust to be able to send in without delay the official returns of the killed and wounded. I have heard as yet of only one casualty among the officers—Captain Knox, 75th regiment, who was killed when reinforcing the picket at the Flagstaff tower, and while driving back the enemy. The loss on the part of the enemy must have been considerable, and, although difficult to estimate, could not have been less than 250."

Some interesting details of this continuous engagement, are supplied by the following extracts from letters of an officer engaged in the struggle, which commenced about six in the morning, and lasted during two hours and a-half. The writer says—"I was in camp when I heard very heavy firing at the Flagstaff tower, our battery there firing round after round, mixed with a very heavy fire of musketry. Strange to say, not the smallest attention appeared to be paid to the fact in camp. I passed down the lines, and with the exception of a few men in groups, I did not see any symptom of alarm or preparation. Arriving at the road opposite the Flagstaff, and leading up to it, I saw very heavy firing of musketry round the tower. A good number of our men were hurrying down the hill; they appeared to be of all regiments, some without arms. On arriving at the bottom of the hill they re-formed; they stated that the enemy had surrounded the Flagstaff, and had driven away the gunners from the battery, and that they were then in force within a few yards of the guns. The Flagstaff itself was still held by a few men of

the 75th, headed by some officers who chanced to be on the spot. On proceeding nearer, I saw the enemy in great force to my left; some had crossed the road, and were entering the sepoy lines in rear of the Flagstaff. The firing from our men in the Flagstaff still continued, and men were dispatched to my rear to give information; and a short time after I heard a cheer behind me, and saw a few Europeans of the Company's troops coming up at the double, headed by a very young-looking officer; and, some hundred yards behind, I also saw the dark uniform of the 60th rifles advancing rapidly. At this moment the 9-pounder battery, posted several hundred yards on the right of the battery at the Flagstaff (which had ceased to play), opened in capital style, and evidently checked the enemy, who were advancing rapidly across the open space (distant about 200 yards) to our front, and trying to form at the ridge close to the Flagstaff guns, preparatory to a rush across the open space of some thirty yards which still intervened between the ridge and the tower itself. I may here state, that the guns were posted about five or six yards in front of the tower in question. I at this moment heard a very heavy fire of musketry to the right. It was immediately taken up by our light and heavy guns at the extreme right of our position, and, a few minutes after, the fire became general; it was evident the enemy were in force, and attempting to turn both our flanks, and seize the batteries on the heights. Our fire on the left, which had slackened, and, with the exception of a spirited fire from a few men in the Flagstaff, almost ceased, was at this moment renewed. As our supports arrived, some of the 75th, headed by Lieutenant Le Pelley of that corps, went forward at the rush to the assistance of Captain Dunbar, who had resolutely tried to hold his ground against the repeated attempts of the enemy to outflank him and turn his left. I was told, however, that at one time the enemy had actually got into the rear of his position (the extreme left of the line), and had even entered the sepoys' lines in front of our camp, where, I understand, a few were afterwards killed. At this moment the enemy, after a hard fight of upwards of an hour and a-half, gave way, and were pursued down the hill by the rifles and the 2nd Europeans. The flight on the right of our position (Hindoo Rao's house) lasted a short time longer; the enemy had, however, no chance of success in that quarter, and suffered severely. Fifty, I hear, were killed in a garden by the Ghoorkas, 60th rifles, and guides. Their chief attack was undoubtedly made on the left, the Flagstaff battery bearing the brunt; and the attempt to turn our flank and seize the Flagstaff guns would, I am told, have certainly succeeded, but for the determined resistance they met with from the pickets, especially at the tower (Flagstaff) itself, where our guns, though silenced temporarily from the fire, were protected by the steady resistance of about ten or fifteen men of the 75th, headed by an officer (Captain Moller, I believe) of the 11th regiment, who the officers and men of the 75th mentioned to me as having killed five of the enemy with his own hand. I found the Flagstaff full of our wounded men, and numbers lying round the open face in front. I am told, that out of the few who held the position, no less than forty-five men and two officers were killed and wounded—nearly all of the 75th and 2nd Europeans; Captain Knox, of the former corps, having been shot through the head whilst leading his men. The general questions asked are, first, why were no videttes posted? and, secondly, why was the most important position on the heights allowed to stand an attack of nearly two hours without assistance, and with no means of resistance beyond a few weak pickets? I leave others to judge of the effect on the enemy of even a temporary success. The battle on the right was much less fiercely contested, our position there being very strong; and the attack proved far more fatal to the enemy, who, I hear, lost some 300 men, fifty being killed in a garden."

It had by this time become clearly understood at head-quarters, that the means in possession of Sir Henry Barnard were utterly insufficient for a regular siege; and a proposal made to the general, to take the city by a *coup-de-main*, was assented to by him. It was not denied that the risk in the attempt would be very great, as not more than 1,700 or 1,800 infantry were available for the assault; and there was every reason to anticipate a prolonged and desperate struggle in the streets of the city, and in the capture of the palace; during which time the camp, with all its sick and wounded, its stores, followers, &c., would necessarily be very weakly guarded. More-

over, it was admitted, that to fail would not only be disastrous to the troops employed, but, in all probability, to the whole British population in Upper India and the Punjab. Notwithstanding all this, the urgency with which General Barnard was required to "take Delhi," by those who neither sufficiently comprehended his weakness or *its* strength, induced him reluctantly to acquiesce in the hazardous experiment.

So early as the 31st of May, the governor-general had sent the following message to the commander-in-chief of the army of Delhi, who was then on his way from Kurnaul towards the capital:—

"I have heard to-day that you do not expect to be before Delhi until the 9th; in the meantime, Cawnpore and Lucknow are severely pressed; and the country between Delhi and Cawnpore is passing into the hands of rebels. It is of the utmost importance to prevent this. Your force of artillery will enable you to dispose of Delhi with certainty."

Again, on the 1st of June, the governor-general says—"I am sure that you will not delay unnecessarily; but the urgency of disposing of Delhi increases with every hour. You cannot exaggerate to yourself the importance of this. I expect two more regiments this week; but the capture of Delhi is of more value than these at present."

The lieutenant-governor of Bombay (Lord Elphinstone) also added to the impatience of government at the delay in recovering the city, by messages to the governor-general, in one of which (of the 10th of June) he says—"We must, through some channel or other, have very early and decisive news from Delhi." And again, on the same day, his lordship telegraphs—"We expect decisive news from Delhi every hour. Perhaps we may have to wait till to-morrow."

Importuned on all sides to make an attempt upon the city, it was at length determined that two of the gates should be blown in by powder-bags, by which columns of attack were to effect an entrance, and make themselves masters of the Mogul capital. Accordingly, early in the morning of the 13th of June, corps were actually formed to move down to the assault, when the mistake of a superior officer in delaying the withdrawal of the pickets (without which the infantry regiments were mere skeletons), forced the plan to be abandoned, as daylight was coming on; and it was certain that ultimate success would be impossible, if the gates were not forced by a surprise. Upon reflection, it was considered by all, that the accident which prevented the attempt was a most fortunate interposition. Defeat, or even partial success, would have been ruin; and complete success would not, at the time, have produced the results subsequently obtained.

From this period almost daily attacks took place for some time; and though the losses to the army were not heavy, the troops were much harassed: the cannonading on both sides was kept up at intervals by day and night; and the batteries mounted with the guns of the enemy taken at Badulee Ke-Serai on the 8th instant, having no ammunition for the captured 24-pounders, the shot of that calibre fired by the rebels were picked up and politely returned.

On the 15th of June, a very sharp attack was made on the Metcalfe picket; and the enemy, taking advantage of the lowness of the river, tried to turn the position by the sands below the river-bank. They were, however, repulsed and driven back by the 75th; but the attack was so well sustained, that for a time our outnumbered and wearied men were sorely tried. And thus, day by day, "at early dawn or evening's close," bands of the rebel troops would cautiously advance from their sheltered position, and skirmish with our outposts from behind the ruins of old buildings and tombs, that are scattered in all directions around Delhi; but they, as yet, seldom ventured to try close quarters with the Europeans. Occasionally their mode of offensive operation was peculiar, and occasioned a great deal of annoyance to the troops, who found it difficult to get a fair aim at their opponents. After firing a shot, the mutineers would drop down behind a piece of rock or ruin, where they would sit, and leisurely reload their pieces, smoking all the while; and then, when the humour seized them, they would rouse themselves and fire another shot, with very little aim, and seldom with any effect. Still, their desultory method of warfare rendered it necessary to exercise unremitting vigilance on the part of our troops, and the duty of the pickets became unusually heavy and tiresome.

On the 17th of June, the proceedings

were somewhat diversified by the English troops becoming the assailants. It had been observed that, during the previous day and night, the enemy were busily engaged in constructing a battery for heavy guns, near a building named on the map Eed-Ghah (having a large walled enclosure), nearly opposite the Garstin bastion, and in the vicinity of a large serai, outside the Lahore gate. The elevated position of this battery, if allowed to be completed, would have enabled it to enfilade the English camp, and to render Hindoo Rao's house utterly untenable. It became necessary, therefore, to interfere with the further progress of the rebel engineers, and to destroy the post. Accordingly, at five o'clock in the evening of the 17th, a force, consisting of Major Tombs' troop of horse artillery, some cavalry, with a party of the 60th rifles, and a detachment of Ghoorkas, proceeded by different routes in two columns, to attack and dislodge the enemy; and they performed their task admirably. The subjoined details of this spirited affair are so characteristic and descriptive, that it would be improper to pass them by in a record of the service to which they refer. The first communication is from an officer; and as it describes very clearly the relative positions of the intended battery at the Eed-Ghah, and the Hindoo Rao's house, it is entitled to precedence. The writer says—"Since my last, we have had various scrimmages with the mutineers. In fact, from the 9th to the 13th we were out every day once or twice, the enemy coming out about 3,000 strong, each time with infantry, cavalry, and two or three light field guns. They joined themselves into two parties, and came up on both sides of Hindoo Rao's house. Our movements were to send infantry, composed of the guides, Sirmoor battalion, and a few of the 80th rifles, down the hill towards the city, over the rocky ground, and our cavalry and artillery down the two roads on the right and left of the broken ground. We always drove the enemy back. I don't believe many of them were killed till the 13th. On that day an immense number met with the fate they so richly deserve. We were on the right of Hindoo Rao's that day, and, after skirmishing down the rocky ground, got into the Subramundi and a serai and village on the right. In the serai (caravansary) we came across about a hundred of the mutineers, who had got themselves into a nice scrape; for, having got into the halls of the serai, they found they could not scale the walls and run for it, so were shot down and bayoneted, every one of them. The rifles got into the village and garden, and did their work too. We learnt from our city spies next day, that of 4,000 who came out, 500 were left dead, and 500 were carried back so badly wounded, that they died by twenties and thirties, having no doctors. This day's work so disgusted them, that I don't think they could have bothered us again; but that evening they were joined by our 60th native infantry, a native troop of horse artillery, and one more native corps; the two native corps arrived unarmed, and encamped outside the city walls. The gentlemen from inside, therefore, promised to feed and arm them, on condition that they would come out and fight us next day; this they accordingly did, and got such a lesson that they retired in disgust, and have since left us alone. On the 16th and 17th they determined to bother us with their big guns, and so commenced building a battery on the right of the city, about three-quarters of a mile beyond the walls (when I say the right and left of the city, I mean our right and left looking from Hindoo Rao's house.) As this battery would have sent shot and shell flying into every part of our camp, and would have made this house perfectly untenable for us, we quietly waited until the afternoon of the 17th, when, the battery being just finished, and one gun already brought down to it, we sallied out, knocked the whole thing about their ears, bayoneted and shot down a number of those who positively tried to hold their ground, captured their gun, and burnt two or three villages in the vicinity. The loss on our side was miraculously small; for had they fired their gun, and had the large force they had with them concealed in the villages fired well on us, we should have suffered fearfully. This bold sally of ours has so astonished them, that they have not come out of their walls since. At present they confine themselves to their guns. They have a large battery on the left of the Cashmere gate, one at the gate itself, one at the Moree gate, one at the Ajmeer gate, and one at a place name unknown, but in the city walls, and in a direct line between Hindo Rao's house and the Jumma Musjeed. Three of these play on the house, one on the high observatory close to us, and one on the Musjeed to the

left of the observatory. On our side we have three batteries—one at the house, one at the observatory, and one at the Musjeed; so that whichever battery of ours they fire at, they get an answer in return. This house is fearfully shattered; our engineer and artillery officers say they work their guns beautifully, and fully equal us in good shots. We who are on outpost duty here (some twenty of us, officers and men), all live in the gateway of this house. The day before yesterday (the 17th), while quietly sitting and chatting together, a round shot came humming and whisking right into the mouth of the gateway, struck the wall when it had gone about three yards, and burst into a thousand pieces. Poor young Wheatley, of the late 54th (one of the few who had escaped the massacre), was taken from the middle of us, a large piece of the shell striking him in the shoulder, and nearly cutting him in two. He dropped down dead, poor young fellow! Five of us who were sitting within a circle of ten yards of him were more or less struck, but none seriously. I got an admonitory thump on the shoulder from a large piece of a stone that was sent whizzing by my ear; thank God, a stiff shoulder is the only damage done. Two more were cut about the face. The splinters then left us alone in a most curious way, and went about six yards, I expect with a large piece of the round shot, which must have struck the wall at the other end of the gateway, and burst again, for it killed two men of the 6th carabiniers who were sitting at the mouth of the gateway, smashing their massive brass helmets and thick turban covers as if they had been made of thin glass; and, at the same time, five or six Ghoorkas of the Simoor battalion were killed dead on the spot; also a poor syce. It was a most wonderful thing we were not all killed; but a merciful Providence was watching over us. We have now some sand-bags as a wall in front of the gateway, and are pretty safe from shot and shell."

One of the men belonging to the rifles, engaged in this affair, says—"Our companies arrived first at the place, and knocking down the first gate, rushed in, in front of a heavy fire from behind walls; then, having forced two other barricaded gates, ten of our men were ordered in, the rest being posted outside the inner walls, to shoot all that attempted to escape. We drove the rebels into a corner, and shot forty-one out of hand; unfortunately, those were all we could get at. The Ghoorkas polished off a few more, and the rest made their escape through a gate we were not at the time aware of."

The last communication to which we shall refer, in connection with the attack of the 17th, is as follows:—

"June 18th (Waterloo Day), 1857.

"Rather a brisk affair occurred here yesterday. During the day, and particularly in the afternoon, the enemy were observed outside the Lahore gate in large numbers, evidently planning and carrying out some special project. At half-past 4 o'clock P.M., our troops were turned out to ascertain, if possible, what it might be, and in a very short time were busily engaged in most laudable musketry practice. Tombs (Major), with his troop of horse artillery, was, as usual, on the ground. The rifles (her majesty's 60th) and the Ghoorkas being the other principal *dramatis personæ*. After a time, it was observed that a large serai, called 'Eed-Ghah,' opposite the Ajmeer gate, was being occupied by the enemy, and that it had been strengthened from without by the defences which had been constructed during the day.

"It was resolved that the said serai should be ours; though I must tell you that it was an exceedingly strong position, which a few hundred stout-hearted men might hold in the face of thousands. It was attacked accordingly, and taken in glorious style. The enemy stood for a time; but their show of resistance was, on the whole, brief. The gates of the place were smashed, the enemy's ammunition (two hackery-loads) blown up, and the only gun (a 9-pounder) which they had time to bring to the scene of action, spiked, taken, and walked off with *tout de suite*. Their loss was probably considerable—I should think at least a hundred killed; whilst, I rejoice to say, we only lost three or four men in all, exclusive of a small number on the list of wounded.

"In the evening, whilst we were sitting at mess in the open air, General Barnard rode up and asked if Major Tombs was present. On being informed that he was not, the general, without dismounting from his horse, said that he had come to the artillery mess publicly to express his opinion of Major Tombs' gallantry in the affair which had just terminated. He said, considering the strong nature of the enemy's

position, the resolute manner in which it was attacked, the masterly way in which our troops were handled, and the happy result of the whole engagement, he had never, in the course of his military experience, seen more remarkable bravery, or cooler, better judgment displayed by any officer in the field than by Major Tombs, of the artillery. The word by which the general characterised it was 'glorious.' Tombs was slightly wounded in the arm by a musket-bullet, and had two horses shot under him; having already, since we left Meerut, lost three chargers in the same way. With such facts, such results, and such praise as I have mentioned, surely the Victoria cross would be but a well-merited reward to such an officer, who has already his share of medals and ordinary honours. The rifles, Ghoorkas, and fusiliers, behaved splendidly yesterday. Jack Sepoy's courage was of Dutch character, probably springing from *bang cherus*, and like combustibles.

"Our camp keeps healthy, whilst rumour says, that in Delhi, hundreds of wounded are screaming all day long for the sons of Æsculapius. The order of the day here, as regards the siege, seems to be 'delay' till reinforcements arrive. Shortly (within a week I believe), 1,500 European bayonets, two troops of horse artillery, and two Sikh regiments, may be expected in this camp. Then for a tragedy, such as the Chandney Chowk has certainly not witnessed since the days of Nadir Shah. If anything escapes destruction, may it be the palace gardens, with the mango topes, cascades, and fountains, and the ice-pits. *Du reste*, let archæologists and antiquarians write and fight.—Ever yours, &c."

The result of this attack upon the works of the Eed-Ghah battery, was the total abandonment of the position by the rebel troops, who also left in the possession of the victors the only heavy gun they had got in the battery, and all their ammunition for serving it. The loss in men, on their part, amounted to upwards of a hundred.

Two days after this occurrence (namely, on the 19th of June), a strong body of revolted troops that had recently joined the mutinous forces in Delhi, from Nusseerabad and other places, supported by the 15th regiment of native infantry and a battery of artillery, made an audacious attempt upon the rear of the British lines, and were severely punished for their temerity. Information having reached the general that the enemy was manœuvring to get to the rear of the camp, a squadron of her majesty's 9th lancers, under Brigadier Grant, with six guns, was sent to arrest his approach. When this little force reached the right of the Ochterlony gardens, a heavy fire of artillery was opened upon it, to which a suitable reply was speedily made. Reinforcements then came up from camp, and the action became general. Towards dusk, the rebels very nearly succeeded in turning the British flank, and for some time two guns were seriously imperilled. A vigorous charge, however, drove them back, and the guns were saved, but an ammunition waggon blew up. On the left flank, two squadrons of lancers, a troop of carabiniers, and a strong detachment of the guide corps, rendered effectual support to the two batteries in charge of Major Tombs and Major Turner. Considerable confusion appears to have been caused by the skirmishing nature of the fight, and the frequent charges of small isolated detachments. In the *mêlée*, Colonel Yule was shot through the leg, and brought to the ground. His body was not found till next morning. The guides, under Captain Daly, also made two gallant charges, and drove the enemy before them. On the following morning the wounded were brought in, and likewise a gun and two waggons, abandoned by the rebels on the previous night. The loss to the enemy in this engagement amounted to about 200 killed: that sustained by the English troops was also comparatively severe, and, as regarded officers, was specially so.

The report of Brigadier Grant was as follows:—

"Camp before Delhi, June 22nd, 1857.

"Sir,—On the afternoon of the 19th instant, information was brought in that the camp was to be attacked in the rear. The safety of the camp being under my direction, I immediately proceeded, with a squadron of her majesty's 9th lancers, two guns of Major Scott's, two of Captain Money's, and two of Major Turner's, under command of Lieutenant Bishop, to prevent the near approach of the enemy to our camp. When this force got to the right of the Ochterlony gardens, a heavy fire of artillery was opened upon it, to which our guns replied. The troops from camp now began to arrive, and the action became

general. The enemy had taken up a position about half a mile in rear of the Ochterlony gardens, and from thence opened a very severe fire of round shot, grape, and canister. I advanced our guns right up to them, and our artillery replied to their fire with the greatest spirit. As long as it was light we succeeded in driving the rebels back; but, in the dusk of the evening, the enemy, who were in great numbers, very nearly succeeded in turning our flank, and, for some time, two guns were in great jeopardy. It now became very dark; but I succeeded, with Lieutenant Martin, of the 9th lancers, in getting a few men together, and we charged into the enemy. The guns, I am happy to say, were saved, but a waggon of Major Scott's battery was blown up. I must not fail to mention the excellent conduct of a sowar of the 4th irregular cavalry, and two men of the 9th lancers, privates Thomas Hancock and John Purcell, who, when my horse was shot down, remained by me throughout. One of these men, and the sowar, offered me their horses, and I was dragged out by the sowar's horse. Private Hancock was severely wounded, and private Purcell's horse was killed under him. The sowar's name is Roopur Khan.

"Our fire reopened, and the enemy were driven back to the town. On the left flank, two squadrons of the 9th lancers, under Colonel Yule, one troop of the carabiniers, under Lieutenant Ellis, and the guide corps, under Captain Daly, proceeded in support of Major Tombs' and Major Turner's guns. The former proceeded with the guide corps, the latter with the 9th lancers, in support, to the left of the Ochterlony gardens, and both opened fire. A squadron of the 9th lancers, under Captain Anson, then charged down the road; and the 3rd squadron, under Lieutenant Jones, with Colonel Yule, followed in support. Colonel Yule, I regret to say, fell at this time, having received a shot in his leg, and was killed by the enemy. He is a severe loss to the 9th lancers.* The guide corps, under Captain Daly, gallantly charged twice, and I regret to say this excellent officer was severely wounded in the shoulder; but the enemy was beaten, and retired to the town. The following morning I was ordered by the major-general commanding to take a force out on the same ground, and drive the enemy away, if any were still left. I proceeded, but found only a strong picket of the enemy, which was easily driven back, and we captured a gun and two waggons, which they had left the night previous.

"I beg to bring to the immediate notice of Major-general Sir H. Barnard, the names of officers who had command of guns and squadrons:—Major Scott, Captain Money, and Lieutenant Bishop, commanded the guns on the right; and nothing could be better than the way in which they brought their guns forward, and opened them on the enemy, fearless of danger. Also Captain Head, who was on the right, and Captain Anson and Lieutenant Jones, who commanded squadrons on the left. The conduct of all has been reported most favourably to me. Major Turner's and Major Tombs' names, I presume, will be mentioned by Brigadier Wilson, and it would be needless my saying anything in their favour. I beg also to bring the name of Captain Daly before Sir Henry—a most gallant and excellent officer. I regret to say the loss in the 9th lancers was severe—five men killed and eight wounded, and thirty-one horses killed, wounded, and missing."

The following is the despatch of Major-general Sir H. Barnard in reference to this affair:—

"Camp before Delhi, June 23rd, 1857.

"Sir,—I have the honour to submit, for the information of the commander-in-chief, the report of Brigadier Grant, C.B., of the affair of the 19th instant. These repeated attacks upon our position, with the small force we have to repel them, are rendered most harassing by the uncertainty of the point on which it is to be threatened, it

* A gentleman attached to the civil service acting with the force under Sir H. Barnard, has furnished the subjoined notice of the fate of this gallant officer. "Poor Yule's body was not found till next morning. He had both thighs broken by musket-balls, a ball through the head just over the eye, his throat cut, and his hands much gashed, besides other cuts on the head; so it is supposed, that when knocked off his horse, he had put up his hands to save himself. Four of his men were lying dead beside him. Poor fellow! I was in hopes he would have been very shortly a C.B.; he well deserved some mark of distinction, for no officer ever took more trouble, or was at more expense, to join his regiment than Yule, whenever there was a likelihood of anything to do. Even at this time he was on leave in Cashmere, but travelled dâk all the way to be in time to take the command of the 9th till Colonel Grant came up. His poor wife and young family are at home."

being always doubtful whether it is to be confined to one, and can only be successfully repulsed by the untiring and unflinching gallantry of the small bodies who alone can be directed against the enemy; and I can assure you that under no circumstances did officers and men merit greater praise.

"I have to deplore the loss of Lieutenant-colonel Yule, 9th lancers, an officer of great merit, and Lieutenant Alexander, of the 3rd native infantry, a young officer of much promise. Also that Colonel Becher, quartermaster-general, and Captain Daly, of the guides, were wounded; and that I shall be deprived for some time of the services of these officers—an irreparable loss at this moment. The native irregular cavalry man mentioned by Brigadier Grant, C.B., has been rewarded by the order of merit, which carries the highest pension; and I would venture to recommend privates Hancock and Purcell, 9th lancers, for the Victoria cross. My thanks are due to Brigadier Grant, C.B., who on this, as on all occasions, evinces the highest qualifications for a cavalry officer. Our loss, I regret to say, was severe; but taking the great superiority of the enemy in number into consideration, I am only thankful it should not have been greater.—I have, &c.—H. W. BARNARD."

An officer in the force before Delhi, from whose diary we have obtained much interesting information, says of this affair, under date of the 24th of June:—"Still before the walls of this horrible city. We have had no reinforcements yet, beyond a few Sikhs belonging to the 4th Sikh regiment; consequently we have been able to do nothing except hold our own. On the 19th they came out again, having received reinforcements, which they immediately sent out to fight us. At the same time a very large force went out a long way, and tried to get round into the rear of our camp. A large force of ours consequently went out to meet these gentlemen, and a tremendous fight was the consequence. Our arrangements were very bad in this fight—the cavalry, infantry, and artillery all mixed up together in sad confusion; many of our men, I fear, killed by our side. The mutineers held a capital position, and their big guns did terrible execution, loaded as they were with grapeshot; unfortunately, too, evening closed in on the fight, and, instead of quietly retiring, so as to protect our camp, we were ordered to fight on, and the confusion became terrible; at last, however, the order came to retire; many of our guns were left on the ground till morning, as also our killed and wounded, but were luckily all safely brought back into camp next day. I fear our loss was nearly equal to the enemy's that day: several officers were killed and wounded; among the latter our commandant, Daly, shot through the shoulder. He is doing well, however. Kennedy, of our cavalry, too, has since been shot through the leg and stomach; he is also doing well, but he had a narrow escape. On the morning after the last fight, the mutineers again came out to try the same plan as the evening before, but the lesson we had had made us wiser, and we marched out in capital order. The enemy, seeing this, immediately began to retire, and tried to draw us on into some broken ground. This, however, they did not succeed in; and, as they kept retiring from place to place, our horse artillery punished them a good deal. Finding they could do no good that day, they wisely retired, and we returned to camp. No loss on our side. Since then (the 20th), beyond a few skirmishes, nothing was attempted on either side, except our blowing up two bridges, which prevents the enemy's artillery from coming out, except by a long round of some three miles to the left and right."

An amusing incident, somewhat after the fashion of a panic, occurred in the evening of the 22nd, among a covering party of the guides and Sikhs, which had been dispatched for the protection of a body of sappers, while engaged in destroying a bridge over the West Jumna canal at Bhagput, a short distance from the Crows'-nest battery, at the right extremity of the British position. The narrator of this unusual affair has described it thus:—"On Monday last a party of sappers, under Lieutenant Maunsell and myself, went out to demolish a couple of bridges over the canal, about three miles from this, over which the enemy were in the habit of taking their artillery and forces when they wished to attack us in the rear: we were accompanied by a party of a hundred infantry and fifty cavalry of the guides (a fine set of fellows, most of them Sikhs from the Punjab, and capital fellows to fight.) We left camp about 6 P.M., and got to the bridges about dusk, without meeting any adventures except the capture of a few villagers. By half-past nine we had got the mines in the nearest bridge ready for firing, and were

hard at work on the further one, when the sentries came in to report, that a large body of men were advancing on us from Delhi, and distant about 200 yards. We had almost got the mines ready; and I was just lowering the last powder-barrel into its place, when a panic seemed to strike the whole of the sentries; and horse and foot, about twenty in number, came pouring across the bridge and almost knocking the working party over, at the same time firing hard at the supposed enemy. As soon as possible (after dragging Maunsell out of the canal into which he had been knocked by the rush of our men), we got our men together, and led them across the bridge, when we found that our foes were nothing more than a party of fifty villagers removing their goods from the village in front. Two of them were killed by our fire; the rest had bolted, leaving several ponies behind, which the guides brought in in triumph. After this gallant exploit, we blew up the two bridges, completely demolishing them, and got back to the camp at about 12 P.M. One of our men who had been left behind in the dark, reported that, after our departure, the enemy came down to the canal, and began blazing away from the opposite side with horse artillery; but fortunately the birds had flown. It was lucky that we demolished these bridges when we did, as next day the enemy attacked us in force, but were prevented from getting to our rear as usual."

On the morning of the 23rd of June, the rebels again made a desperate attack upon the right flank of the English position, and maintained it with great obstinacy throughout the day. Several circumstances were supposed to have led to the determination they exhibited upon this occasion: it happened to be the first day of the new moon, and was therefore auspicious for the Mohammedans; it was also the day of the Ruth Juttra, or festival of Juggernauth, and consequently favourable for the Hindoos. Moreover, it was the centenary of Clive's victory at Plassy—a time which had been predicted for the termination of the English rule; and the insurgent troops, stimulated by their favourite *bhang*, and by the assurances of the Moulvies, that no European would survive the attack made upon them on that important day, fought with untiring obstinacy, and were with great difficulty repulsed. It seems, that by a well-concerted plan, they contrived to attack, in considerable force, the rear of the British right flank from the Subzee Mundee to the ridge, by taking advantage of the garden-walls, enclosures, and houses which abounded there; and, at the same time, made a demonstration upon the left flank, near the Metcalfe-house battery; their object being to destroy that work, as it occasioned them continual annoyance. Many of the mutineers upon this day fought in their English uniforms; and one recreant corps among them had the audacity to trail the English colours they had carried off with them about the field. It very soon became evident to the assailants, that their efforts to get possession of the Metcalfe battery would result in failure, and they consequently abandoned this part of their plan, and concentrated their forces on the Subzee Mundee, where they resolutely fought hand-to-hand with the European troops for several hours. The 1st and 2nd European fusiliers, the 60th rifles, and the Ghoorkas, sustained the first shock of the engagement; and such was the vigour of the rebel troops, and the numerical weakness of the force opposed to them, that it became necessary to send to the aid of the Europeans a strong reinforcement of Sikhs which had only arrived in camp the same morning, after a night march of twenty-four miles. The rebels then changed their plan of operation, and clung to cover with the tenacity of bears; while our men were mad to get fairly at them, but were unable to do so. The walls and houses behind which they skulked had been loopholed; and Major Tombs, who commanded the artillery, and fought with the greatest daring, was materially impeded in his movements by the obstacles thus put in his way. In one instance, the anxiety of the sepoys to keep under shelter, proved the cause of their destruction. Some of the Europeans burst into an enclosure in which were 150 of the enemy. The men did not fire a shot, but rushed at them with the bayonet, and slaughtered every one. A desperately-wounded sepoy, who had received seven bayonet wounds, was dispatched, exclaiming as he fell, "*Feringhee soor*" (the infidels are pigs.) At length, shortly after sunset, the British troops overcame all resistance; and such of the enemy as could make their escape, retired with all speed into Delhi. Their retreat was, however, as disastrous to them as had been the struggle through the day; for, as they retired by the road to the

Lahore gate, a new battery of three 18-pounders, which had been erected to check sallies from that quarter, came into play, and were so effectually handled, that they committed great havoc amongst the flying ranks, which were completely ploughed through by well-directed shots. The operations of the day terminated by the European sappers blowing up a number of the houses which had afforded protection to the rebels, scores of whose carcasses were buried among the falling ruins. The loss, on the part of the European force upon this occasion, amounted to 160; the only officer killed being Lieutenant Jackson, of the 2nd fusiliers: that of the enemy was estimated at something above 1,000; their dead being counted, at the close of the day, in groups of hundreds. This terrible and unexpected defeat had the effect of cooling the ardour of the rebels for a time, and during the three following days they did not leave the city.

Major-general Barnard announced the affair in the following despatch to the adjutant-general:—

"Camp above Delhi, June 28th, 1857.

"Sir,—I have the honour to report, for the information of the commander-in-chief, that, on the 23rd instant, the insurgents renewed their attack upon us; and, owing to some religious feeling, kept it up during the whole day. Knowing they had come out of the town the day before, and had not been seen returning at night, I became anxious for the safety of a valuable convoy, which was to march into camp on the morning of the 23rd, and sent a strong escort out to meet it. This was successful; but the convoy had scarcely arrived in camp, ere my attention was called to the right or Hindoo Rao position, where, during the whole of the rest of the day, the combat was maintained. The enemy having lodged themselves in some loopholed houses, and a serai and mosque, occasioned some loss; and I regret to say, Colonel Welchman, of the 1st Bengal European fusiliers, was severely wounded. The loss on the part of the rebels was very serious.—I have, &c.,

"H. W. Barnard, Major-general."

The subjoined details, by an officer holding a command upon this occasion, afford ample proof that the valour of the British soldier was as enduring, and as conspicuous, under the heat of an Indian sun, as when shivering in the biting cold of the Crimean trenches. The action described was not an exceptional one, as scarcely a day was allowed to pass from June to September, in which the troops of the rebel garrison did not pour out in swarms to harass our overworked soldiers. The extract is as follows:—

"The day commenced with firing on the Ghoorka posts. Jackson, of the 2nd fusiliers, with No. 1 company, very weak, attacked and drove back the mutineers from Subzee Mundee; but, not being reinforced, he was obliged to retire, and in retiring the gallant fellow was killed. Skirmishing went on on the hill to the right of Hindoo Rao's house the whole day. The Ghoorkas and rifles were engaged, and drove back the mutineers four times. After each attack our men fell back into their positions. When the mutineers, relieved by their numbers, again came on, our men became exhausted by heat and exertion, and supports after each attack were necessary, until at last all the available force was engaged. Welchman, with the left wing of the 1st fusiliers, after Jackson's death, had advanced and taken possession of Subzee Mundee again, when he was severely wounded, and had to leave the field. The wing cleared the streets, but the enemy renewed their attack four times, and were successfully repulsed. Young Owen, of the 1st, highly distinguished himself, charging four times down the street with his company; his gallantry was very conspicuous. The right wing in the meantime continued their advance under Dennis, and, after driving away the mutineers and killing a large number in a serai, they retired exhausted to Hindoo Rao's house. The big guns on the right flank fired occasionally, but owing to the nature of the ground, the enemy could avoid them. All our troops had now been engaged, and the greater part had fallen back exhausted.

"The general then directed me to the Mosque battery, where applications were being constantly sent for reinforcements. I sent every available man. I was then directed to assume command at Hindoo Rao's. When I arrived there I found every one exhausted and anxious. There were the 1st fusiliers and some rifles all done up. I went on to the new advanced battery; it was crowded with worn-out men; the artillerymen, likewise wearied, had ceased firing; another party of rifles in a similar state in another position; 120 men of the 2nd fusiliers, who had marched twenty-three miles that morning, and had had no

breakfast, were lying down exhausted; three weak companies of Ghoorkas were out as skirmishers, but were faint; and the remainder were resting under a rock. The heat was terrific, and the thermometer must have been at least 140 degrees, with a hot wind blowing, and a frightful glare.

"Well, the mutineers, all this time, from behind walls and rocks, were keeping up a brisk fire all along our front—*i.e.*, to the right of Hindoo Rao's house, as far as Subzee Mundee; and a battery of two guns from Kissengunge was firing upon us without having it returned. I ordered up, when at Hindoo Rao's, a hundred of the 1st fusiliers: after serving out grog to them, I threw them forward to the left front of the new battery. I got a reinforcement of 200 of Rothney's Sikhs, who also had marched twenty-three miles, and had had nothing to eat; and shortly afterwards, a small party of thirty of the 2nd fusiliers, under Harris, a very gallant and determined fellow; and another under the sergeant-major. The latter were sent with the 1st fusiliers. They beat back the mutineers at once, and took possession of a temple on the left front of the battery, and which commanded it. I directed this to be held, as it moreover gave us the command of the skirmishing ground, hitherto infested by the mutineers. On the right, I threw forward Rothney's Sikhs, some guides, and a few of the 2nd fusiliers. They advanced, and again took possession of Subzee Mundee. Between this and the batteries our skirmishers now had command of the whole ground. I ordered the position I held to be kept till sunset, and then they were to retire to their camp.

"We were now masters of the field. The mutineers were completely beaten; and when they found I intended to hold my position, they fell back upon the town. Our loss was considerable; but that of the enemy was very severe. We suffered greatly from the sun; the 1st fusiliers alone had five officers out of ten struck down by *coups de soleil*. The work for the troops is very hard, never getting a whole night's rest; but the wing of the 61st and one of the 8th, besides some Sikhs, are expected, when they will be relieved somewhat; but it is very up-hill work against such fearful odds, and at this time of the year; but the men are game, and will never give in."

The serai before mentioned was a halting-place for travellers and merchants, whose cattle and merchandise were there secure from plunderers and marauders, in consequence of the high walls of the enclosure. In the attack upon the sepoys in one of these sheltered places, the rage of the European soldiers is represented to have been so great, that they actually bent and twisted their bayonets by the fury of their thrusts, when pinning the shrieking wretches against the walls.

The critical position of the guides corps, on this occasion, is described in the following passages from the diary to which reference has already been made in connection with the proceedings before Delhi:—

"Yesterday (the 23rd), we heard that every man in the city capable of bearing arms was coming out to make an end of us, or die in the attempt. Our information was correct; at sunrise yesterday morning, the whole city apparently turned out and attacked us on all sides. I was with the guides on the right; and from sunrise to past sunset, we fought altogether fifteen hours, without anything to eat, and only water to drink. We managed to hold our own well, nevertheless, till about one o'clock, and killed an immense number of the mutineers; but at one o'clock, an immense reinforcement came to the assistance of the opposite party, and we had enough to do to hold our own. I twice fired away every shot we had (nearly a hundred rounds per man), and had sent back for more ammunition. The men I sent came back with the fearful news that there was no more. To leave the position was contrary to all orders; so we had to do our best by pretending to fire, and keeping the post with the bayonet. All this time we were under a perfect hailstorm of bullets, round shot, and shell; for the enemy had brought some of their light field guns round, and were playing with great effect on our reduced numbers. I certainly thought we should all be done for, when, by the greatest good luck, a part of the regiment of Sikhs that had that very morning marched into the camp, came up with a yell to our assistance: they were fresh men, and had lots of ammunition; so we rushed on and drove the enemy back. At the same time, we were ordered to advance as far as we could: this we did, and drove the enemy back into the city; after which, as they did not seem inclined to come out

again, we retired, it being past sunset. Just at this time, my legs, stout as they are, fairly, and for the first time, refused to carry me: after a little coaxing and rest, however, they condescended to carry me on a little further, and I reached our picket dead beat. I certainly never was so fearfully and painfully tired in my life. A man named Shebbeare, who is doing the second in command's work in poor Battye's place, a great, big, and very powerfully-built giant, was also so fearfully knocked up, that he was obliged to be carried off; two of our poor men, also, were so fatigued, that they died from exhaustion. Luckily, on arrival at picket, we found something to eat and drink. After a few mouthfuls I fell back on my bed fast asleep. Luckily, too, there was no alarm or attack in the night; for I feel perfectly certain, that had my commission depended on it, I could not have got up. A good night's sleep has set me up wonderfully, and I feel quite jolly. The mutineers have been quiet to-day also; they lost fearfully yesterday."

Colonel Keith Young, in command of a regiment before Delhi, writes thus on the 24th of June:—

"We could now take the city in a few hours if we liked. Our batteries are all erected; but it is thought prudent to wait for reinforcements. Spies have been sent in, and have returned, stating that the besieged are beginning to suffer from hunger. and the respectable natives are longing for British rule again. There are believed to be about 23,000 men (mutineers and deserters) inside the walls, and sorties are made almost every day, although invariably repulsed with loss. Sickness is great amongst the population, and the cholera reduces them in frightful numbers. It is also stated, that the king of Delhi has sent off his son to Agra as a *ruse*; but this, I should think, would not save his neck or pension. The mutineers certainly do give us a great deal of trouble, and fight like demons."

On the 24th and 25th of June, everything remained quiet on the part of the rebels, and only one incident worth notice was observable on the 26th. A large number of soldiers were observed to leave the city in confusion, under a vigorous discharge of grape from the walls. The fugitives were pursued by some of the rebel troopers, but succeeded in getting sufficiently near to our outposts to ensure protection. Upon being challenged, they were discovered to be some men of the 9th regiment, which had mutinied at Allygurh and Etawah on the 21st of May, and who, from some cause of offence or jealousy on the part of their co-mutineers in the city, had been refused subsistence or pay amongst the rebel troops of the king of Delhi. Being thus destitute, and between two fires, the unfortunate wretches at last had determined upon giving themselves up to the English general, depending for their future destiny upon his favourable appreciation of their humane conduct towards their officers when the latter were in their power at Allygurh.*

Early in the day of June 27th, a strong party of mutineers again advanced on the Metcalfe picket; but being quickly repulsed in that direction, an attack was made on the bridge batteries and the pickets at the Subzee Mundee, which resulted in a similar failure. On the two following days, the offensive operations of the rebels were suspended; but on the 30th, the Subzee Mundee picket, and the position at Hindoo Rao's, were simultaneously attacked; and although, as usual, the attempt was futile, the loss on the European side was severe.

At this period reinforcements began to arrive;† and by the 3rd of July, the effective British force before Delhi amounted, in round numbers, to 6,600 men of all arms. Thus strengthened for an assault, it was again proposed that the place should be taken by a *coup-de-main*; and a project was drawn out, by which one column was to effect an entrance by blowing-in the iron grating of the canal near the Cabul gate; another column to enter the Cashmere gate after it had been blown-in; a third column to escalade the Cashmere bastion; and a detachment creeping round by the river side, was to endeavour to effect an entrance in that direction. It seemed pretty clear that success would be doubtful in these attacks, unless the surprise was complete; and as there was no reason to reckon upon any lack of vigilance on the part of the insurgents, after maturely con-

* See *ante*, p. 132.

† A letter from the camp, dated July 1st, says—"The 61st has just come in with band playing 'Britons, strike home!' It is, I believe, the only regiment in camp that has a band; but we have little ear now for music."

sidering the plan, with the limited force available for carrying it into effect, the hazardous project was again abandoned for the present.

On the part of the insurgents, the reinforcements were continuous; some arriving in brigades, some in single regiments, some in detachments; and it was not possible for the English commander to prevent their ingress into the city, since his force was insufficient to invest even a third of the land side of it; and access to the left bank of the Jumna was at all times perfectly secure by the bridge of boats, which was under the close fire of the guns in Selimgurh, and at least 2,500 yards distant from our nearest battery. It was therefore impossible to prevent a constant stream of reinforcements and supplies from pouring into Delhi, which, by the middle of August, contained within and under its walls a force of more than 30,000 men.

On the 3rd of July, the same offensive operations were continued by the rebel forces, whose policy seemed to be directed to the wearing-out of the European soldiers by incessant fatigue in repelling attacks, which, from their daily-increasing strength, the rebels were enabled to make without serious inconvenience. On the evening of the 3rd, the Bareilly mutineers, 3,000 strong, with eight guns, crossed the bridge of boats, and entered the city. Their arrival appeared to be the occasion of much revelry throughout the night, in the midst of which a large body of the enemy outside the city, moved rapidly upon Allipore, one march in rear of the English lines, and compelled the cavalry post there, under Lieutenant Younghusband, to fall back upon Rhye. The fire of their guns was heard in camp; and shortly after 2 A.M. of the 4th, a force of 1,100 men, and twelve guns, under Major Coke,* marched to overtake or intercept the mutineers. At first, it was uncertain whether the enemy, after plundering Allipore, had gone straight on towards Rhye and Sursowlie, or were returning to Delhi; and great apprehensions were entertained lest they should be pushing on for Kurnaul, or to intercept a treasure coming from that place to the camp, and which was known to be on its way, under a native escort. About sunrise, it became known that the enemy had recrossed the canal near Allipore, and were returning to Delhi along the high ground running nearly parallel with the canal. In this direction Major Coke immediately proceeded, intending to take them in flank; but his approach had been observed, and the rebels were prepared for the encounter, which, however, as usual, terminated disastrously for them—being driven from the position they had taken on learning our approach, with a loss of eighty men, a quantity of ammunition, and the whole of the treasure, &c., plundered from Allipore. The European loss amounted to twenty-six killed and wounded; and the men returned to camp thoroughly exhausted by the intense heat to which they had been exposed.

On the following morning (July 5th) Sir Henry Barnard was attacked with cholera, and expired early in the afternoon, greatly regretted by the whole force, and most so by those who knew him best. Brave, kindhearted, and hospitable, it is doubtful if he had a personal enemy. Cholera then, as ever, was present in the camp, and the death of any one excited no surprise; but, no doubt, Sir Henry Barnard's attack was due, in a great degree, to his unsparing exposure of himself to the sun at all hours of the day, and to intense mental anxiety. Major-general Sir Henry William Barnard, K.C.B., was a son of the late Rev. William Barnard, L.L.D., of Water Stratford, Bucks., by the daughter of Moon Disney, Esq., of Church Town, county of Waterford, Ireland. He was born at Wedbury, Oxon., in 1799, and received his early education at Westminster school, and subsequently at the Royal Military College at Sandhurst. He entered the army in 1814 as ensign, and served for many years in the grenadier guards. In 1815 he became attached to the staff of his uncle, the late Sir Andrew Barnard, while he held the command of the British forces in Paris; and in 1819-'20, we find him

* A letter from the camp, of July 3rd, says—"All quiet yesterday. There are in Coke's corps a great many 'Poorbeas' or Hindostanis: one of these brutes, a subahdar, tried hard to persuade the whole regiment to murder their officers and go over to Delhi, saying it was God's will the Feringhee 'Raj' should cease. The Pathan instantly reported the conspiracy to Coke. The subahdar and duffadar, and one other man, were hanged last evening. The Poorbeas in the regiment were disarmed, and are, I believe, to be paid up to-day, and kicked out of the camp. There was heavy rain last night. Everything arranged to storm Delhi, only we did not storm it! All countermanded again!"



acting as aide-de-camp to Sir John (afterwards Lord) Keane, during his command in the West Indies. From 1847 to 1852 he was employed as assistant adjutant-general in the northern district, and commanded in the South Wales district from 1852 to 1854. In the latter year he was sent out to the Crimea as major-general commanding one of the brigades. He subsequently became chief of the staff in the Crimea, under General Simpson, and held that post up to the date of the appointment of General Windham. He also commanded a brigade for a short time before the close of the late war. In 1856 he was made a Knight Commander of the Bath, and was appointed to the command successively of the troops at Corfu, and of a division at Shorncliffe and Dover: he was finally placed as major-general on the staff of the Bengal army in November, 1856, when he proceeded to India. He succeeded to the command of the troops before Delhi in June, 1857, on the sudden death of General Anson; and was himself carried to the grave after an interval of scarcely four weeks' duration. General Barnard married, in 1828, a daughter of the late Brigadier James C. Craufurd.

The following interesting memoir of the services and death of the general, was furnished for publication by a near connection of his family:—

"General Barnard arrived at Umballah to command at the station towards the end of April, 1857, when symptoms of disaffection were already frequent among the native troops there. Upon the 10th of May the first outbreak took place at that quarter, which was temporarily repressed by the exertions of the general and his staff; and upon the 11th, intelligence arrived there of the revolt and insurrection at Meerut and Delhi. General Barnard instantly dispatched his aide-de-camp to Simla, to inform General Anson, the commander-in-chief in India, of these events, and request his immediate presence.

"In the interim, Sir H. Barnard found himself with the arduous task on his hands of preparing a force which might be in forwardness to take the field so soon as General Anson should arrive at Umballah to assume the command. The magazines at the station were empty of stores and ammunition; even the reserve artillery waggons were in depôt at Phillour. There were no European regiments of infantry at hand, and the Bengal troops of that arm were utterly disaffected. Added to this, the medical and commissariat officers declared it impossible to move at that season of the year—the first, from the danger to the health of the troops, and the want of conveyance for wounded and sick; the second, from the total want of everything necessary to supply a movable column in the field.

"Notwithstanding these very heavy difficulties, by exertions which few men are capable of, Sir H. Barnard assembled troops, artillery, and the means of transport, making the necessary arrangements also for the force being followed by a siege-train. Upon the 14th of May, General Anson arrived at Umballah from Simla; and upon the 21st of May, the first division of a small but well-composed force marched from Umballah on the route to Delhi. General Anson left Umballah on the 25th of May; on the 26th he was seized by fatal illness at Kurnaul, and Sir H. Barnard, summoned from a sick bed by telegraph, arrived only in time to hear the last words and wishes of the commander-in-chief, and to receive from him the guidance of the Delhi force.

"On the 31st of May the force resumed its march towards Delhi, arriving at Allipore on the 5th of June. On the 6th the troops under General Wilson came up; and on the 8th, the troops advanced against the enemy, whom they found intrenched in a strong position at Badulee Ke-Serai.* On the same morning, upon his own judgment, and contrary to the opinion of General Wilson and of his own staff, he again advanced; and by a bold and skilful movement of one column, under his own guidance, he gained the heights of the cantonment above Delhi, defeating the rebels, capturing their guns, and driving them in disorder within the walls. From this first successful day up to the close of his life, General Barnard's energy and activity were most conspicuous. In seventeen days, the force under his command fought nine successful actions, and some of them of a very obstinate character. The general himself was, as described in a letter written by Colonel Chamberlaine about that time, 'always in the saddle,' exposed to the heat of the sun at all times, and never sparing, when the service of the country required him, that life and health so valuable to his family and his numerous friends. At length nature seems to have failed under such

* The result of the action has already been stated. See *ante*, p. 196.

unsparing calls upon her resources. The 4th of July had been an unusually trying day. From the very earliest hour Sir H. Barnard had been on horseback, present everywhere, and undergoing every hardship of fatigue and exposure. Still his unflinching courage and endurance, his high and enthusiastic sense of duty, sustained him; and on that very evening he dined at table with his staff, conversed with his usual cheerfulness, and no one perceived how fatally his existence was already undermined. At 7 A.M. on the 5th of July, Sir H. Barnard sent for Colonel Baird Smith, the commanding engineer, and in a private conference with him, explained and justified all that he thought might hereafter be called in question. When Colonel Baird Smith quitted him, at nine o'clock, he sent for medical advice; and when it arrived, his illness was soon pronounced to be mortal. He died about 3 P.M. the same day. Sir H. Barnard was a man of extraordinary activity, endurance, and hardihood; and his sudden death was the more melancholy, because it was entirely unexpected—his surprising activity and nerve having sustained him in excellent health, until an attack of the unsparing malady by which the little army under his command was daily thinned, prostrated his energies, and in a few hours consigned him to a soldier's grave."

Upon the death of Major-general Barnard, the active duties of his command were assumed for a brief period by Major-general Thomas Reed, C.B., acting as provincial commander-in-chief of the army in Bengal, until the arrival at Calcutta of Lieutenant-general Sir Patrick Grant, of the Hon. Company's service, as mentioned in a preceding page.* The health of General Reed had been much impaired by arduous duties in the field, and by the trying vicissitudes of Indian campaigning, after many years of severe and meritorious service in Europe. He had entered the army in 1813, and was present at, and shared in, the perils and the honours of the field of Waterloo; and had, since his appointment to the Indian army, participated in many important engagements. In December, 1845, he commanded a brigade of the army under Sir Hugh Gough at the Sutlej, and was wounded, and had a horse killed under him, at the battle of Ferozepore on the 18th of the same month; and for his conspicuous merit on this occasion, was honoured by the distinction of Commander of the Bath, and the decoration of a medal.

* See *ante*, p. 192.

From the time that he joined the army of Delhi at Allipore, on the 8th of June, the state of his health had been such as to incapacitate him from performing the functions pertaining to his high command, and he had in no way interfered in the arrangements of the army, beyond the assistance rendered by advice or suggestions. Now that by the unexpected and sudden death of his more active colleague, the positive labours of his position could no longer be avoided, the pressure speedily became too heavy for him to sustain; and on the 17th of the month, twelve days from the decease of General Barnard, the major-general, whose health had by that time entirely failed him, proceeded on sick leave to Simla, first making over the command of the force before Delhi to Brigadier A. Wilson, of the artillery, upon whom, in anticipation of the sanction of government, he conferred the rank of brigadier-general, to prevent any difficulty on the score of seniority; Colonel Wilson not being the senior of his rank with the army he was thus selected to command.

The following letter of a lieutenant of engineers, dated from the camp on the 7th of July, will suggest an idea of the feeling that prevailed at the time amongst the gallant band before the beleaguered city:—

"You will see that we are still before Delhi; that we are not in it, is not our fault. I will not say that we shall not be in Delhi before long; but as there is no saying into whose hands letters may fall, it is well to be silent on these points. Our present occupation seems to be driving the enemy back whenever he shows himself; which, to do him justice, is not seldom, though not so frequently as when we first came here. The Bareilly rascals had the impudence to come round to our rear a few days ago, and our only regret is, that one of them ever got back. I was out with the force sent against them, and cannot say that I felt much pity for the red-coated villains with '68,' '18,' and '28' on their buttons. Mercy seems to have fled from us; and if ever there was such a thing as war to the knife, we certainly have it here. The sepoys stand well to their guns, and work them fully as well as ourselves, which is little to be wondered at, when you think of the pains we have taken to teach them gunnery. The astonishing

thing is, to see how different the story becomes when Pandy (camp name for the enemy—after 'Mungul Pandy,' the first mutineer hanged) sees a bayonet pointed at him. We have all read and heard much of 'the British cheer,' but its effect must be seen to be appreciated. I never saw it better than at Badulee Ke-Serai.* Pandy's guns were all in position, and a beautiful position it was; every gun was in full play; and our advance column, under Brigadier Grant, with which I was, had got round Pandy's flank to his rear. Nothing was to be heard but heavy guns and the rattle of musketry, in the very teeth of which her majesty's 75th and 1st Europeans were marching up as if on parade, when that British cheer saluted our ears. It was like magic. Every gun except our own was silent immediately, though certainly not for very long. Even musketry seemed almost to have ceased, and we knew that the bayonet was doing its work on all who waited for it. It was some little time before the enemy's guns opened again; and when they did, I can assure you they did not forgive the advance column for outmanœuvring them. I had not, up to this time, paid much heed to the shot flying around me; for, galloping along at full speed, with horse artillery and cavalry thundering after you, is some small excitement to a 'griff;' and as I was the guide to the column, I felt somewhat interested in taking up our position quickly. But it is a very different story standing quietly under heavy fire for the first time, with nothing to do but to look on. I quite envied the gunners who were so hard at work, for it is no small satisfaction working to such good purpose; and I cannot say that I felt my heart breaking at the sight of these rascals getting their deserts. This is war in its very worst phase; for generosity towards an enemy seems to enter into no one's mind. If anyone owes these sepoys a grudge, I think I have some claim to one; but I must say that I cannot bring myself to put my sword through a wounded sepoy. I cannot say that I grieve much when I see it done, as it invariably is; but grieve or not, as you please, he is a clever man who can keep back a European from driving his bayonet through a sepoy, even if in the agonies of death. The hardest fighting goes on at the right of our position. Our batteries are at this point, and Pandy's whole efforts seem concentrated on it. He has good cover from the Lahore gate of Delhi up to the very foot of the hills on which our batteries are. This cover consists of houses, walled gardens, and large enclosures, with high walls loopholed at the top. They have made a good many attempts to erect counter-batteries in these enclosures, and generally pay the penalty. They were hard at work at one of these batteries the other day, and, like idiots, had blocked up every entrance but one. Twenty of our riflemen rushed in at this door, whereupon Pandy fled like a flock of sheep into a corner, and commenced firing indiscriminately at the riflemen, but being too much flurried, did little damage. On the approach of the bayonet, they had the barefacedness to beg for mercy. They might as well have begged for mercy of a Shylock, for in another moment forty of them were lying pierced with bayonets. We have sepoys hanged in our camp every evening, which I have no doubt will astonish some of the people at home I think I hear a faint wail from Exeter Hall, and the usual talk of European brutality and torture on the mild Hindoo sepoy. If you hear any such sentiments, by all means ship off their propounder to this country at once. Let him see one-half of what we have seen, and compare our brutality with theirs then send him home again, and I think you will find him pretty quiet on the subject for the rest of his life. Thank goodness they seldom get hold of any of our wounded, but woe betide the unfortunate when they do. I myself had a narrow escape a few mornings ago. I had received orders to prepare a survey of the ground as close up to the walls as possible; and for this purpose had crept up not very far from them to 'Ludlow Castle,' where poor Mr. Simon Fraser lived. I had finished my pacing and taken my angles, and was looking round me at the desolation, when I heard an explosion behind me, and instantly saw the ground ploughed up either with canister-shot or shrapnel. I took the hint, and walked off leisurely, little dreaming of the truth. I even repaced a distance I was not sure of. I was just outside the gate of Sir T. Metcalf's grounds, when I heard a horseman galloping about inside them. As I was a good deal in advance of our pickets, and not very sure of my friend on horseback, I crept behind a bush, and never felt more thankful for a revolver I had borrowed for

* See *ante*, p. 198.

the occasion. The horseman, after prancing backwards and forwards for some time out of my sight, moved off; and on my return to camp, to the astonishment of everybody, I learned what an escape I had had.

"Pandy had seen me from the walls, and had taken the trouble to send out fifty horsemen (rather hard, fifty to one!) to catch me. The horsemen had been seen from our right battery, who knew of my whereabouts, and immediately sent word to our centre battery, which opened fire on the cavalry and saved me, only one of the ruffians having had the pluck to continue the search."

Resuming the narrative of actual operations, it appears, that some time previous to the death of Major-general Barnard, arrangements were in progress for the destruction of all the canal bridges (except one, to be reserved for the use of the English forces), for a distance of several miles from the cantonment, and parallel with the Trunk-road, that, if possible, any further attempts upon the rear of the English position might be prevented. The Bussye bridge over the Nujufghur-Jheel, cut about eight miles from the camp, was also destroyed; and the Goolchudder aqueduct, a work of great solidity, which brought the canal water into the city across the above-mentioned cut, and by which horsemen could easily pass to the rear of the camp, was also blown up. By this latter operation no water could reach the city by the canal; an evil in some measure rendered endurable in consequence of the number of wells sunk within the city, as previously mentioned.

On the 9th of July, the enemy debouched from the Cabul and Lahore gates in great numbers. The main picket was reinforced, and the troops remained accoutred in their tents, ready to turn out; while an unceasing cannonade was kept up from the walls and from the field artillery outside. About 10 A.M., the insurgents appeared to be fast increasing in numbers in the suburbs on the right of the camp, when suddenly a body of cavalry emerged from cover on the extreme right of the right flank, and charged directly into the camp. It has been mentioned, in describing the English position before Delhi, that upon a mound on the right of it, and facing the Subzee Mundee suburb, a battery of three 18-pounders had been constructed, kept by an infantry picket. To the right of this mound, on the low ground, was a picket of two horse artillery guns and a troop of carabiniers; the guns at this time being furnished by Major Tombs' troop, and commanded by Lieutenant Hills; the cavalry from the carabiniers under the command of Lieutenant Stillman. Still further to the right, at a fakir's enclosure, was a native officer's picket of the 9th irregulars, from which two videttes were thrown forward some 200 yards on the Trunk-road. These videttes could see down the road towards Delhi as far as our picket at the serai, about seven or eight hundred yards, and down the road to the canal cut, about 200 yards. Across the road were a dense cluster of gardens. The places at which the videttes were posted were not visible from camp, and the advance of some horsemen in white attracted but little notice, their dress being the same as that of the 9th irregulars, from which corps the fakir's picket was taken. Some alarm, however, at length arose; and the men of the horse artillery began to prepare their guns for service, when the leading insurgents, beckoning to men in their rear, dashed on at speed towards the battery; and the troop of carabiniers, all very young, most of them untrained soldiers, and only thirty-two in number of all ranks, turned and broke, with the exception of the officer and two or three men, who nobly stood. Lieutenant Hills, commanding the guns, seeing the enemy's cavalry come on unopposed, charged singly at the head of their column, to give his gunners time to unlimber, and cut down two or three of the sowars; while the main body of the rebel horsemen, riding over and past the guns, followed closely the panic-stricken carabiniers, and a confused mass of horsemen came streaming on at the right of the camp. Major Tombs, whose tent was on the right, had heard the first alarm, and, calling for his horse to be brought after him, walked towards the picket as the cavalry came on. He was just in time to see his gallant subaltern down on the ground, with one of the enemy's sowars about to kill him. From a distance of thirty yards he fired with his revolver, and Hills' opponent fell. Lieutenant Hills got up, and engaged a man on foot, who was cut down by Tombs after Hills had received a severe cut on the head.

Meanwhile great confusion had been caused by the inroad of the sowars, most of whom made for the guns of the native troop

of horse artillery, which was on the right of the camp, calling on the gunners to join them. The latter, however, behaved well, and shouted for Major Olphert's European troop, which was unlimbered in their rear, to fire through them at the mutineers, who managed, nevertheless, to secure and carry off some horses, and to cut down several of the camp-followers. In the midst of the *mêlée*, Captain Fagan, of the artillery, rushed out of his tent, and, collecting a few men, followed the sowars, who were then in rapid retreat, and killed fifteen of them; more of the intruders were similarly disposed of by some men of the 1st brigade, and eventually all were driven out of camp. It was not supposed that more than 100 sowars were engaged on this occasion, and of them about thirty-five were killed, including a native officer.

All the time this affair was taking place, the cannonade from the city and from many field guns outside, raged fast and furious, and a heavy musketry fire was kept up from the enclosures and gardens of the suburbs upon the English batteries, and on the Subzee Mundee pickets. A column was therefore dispatched to put an end to the annoyance; and, as it swept through the Subzee Mundee, the insurgents fled before it. At some of the serais, however, very obstinate resistance was attempted; and the insurgents were not dislodged without considerable loss. By sunset the engagement was over, and the troops returned to camp drenched through with rain, which, for several hours, had fallen with great violence. The British loss, on this day, was one officer (Ensign Mountsteven,* her majesty's 8th regiment), and forty men killed; eight officers, and 163 men wounded, and eleven men missing, or, in other words, prisoners. The loss of the enemy was estimated at 500 men, most of whom were killed in the camp. The exact circumstances of this inroad of cavalry were never satisfactorily ascertained; but it was not doubted that there was treachery on the part of the picket of the 9th irregulars; and that the insurgents had reckoned upon being joined by the native troop of horse artillery, which, on the contrary, had behaved nobly.

Lieutenant Hills, whose chivalrous daring in the endeavour to arrest the advance of the enemy's cavalry, forms one of the most romantic incidents of the war, was, at the time, a mere youth, and had but recently joined the corps to which he belonged, from Addiscombe; and from his pen—which, like that of the Napiers, seems to be as powerfully descriptive as his sword is painfully sharp—gives, in a letter to his brother in England, the subjoined narrative of this brilliant affair. Writing home on the 19th of July, Lieutenant Hills says—"You must have seen accounts of their rush into our camp on the 9th; it was a very bold thing; so much so, that when they were in they were taken quite aback at their audacity.

* The gallant conduct and early death of this young officer, received honourable mention in the following regimental order and letter of his commanding officer:—

"Camp before Delhi, July 10th.

"The regiment will learn with the greatest regret that Ensign Mountsteven has died of the wounds received by him in the affair of the 9th of July, in this his first and last engagement. This admirable young officer, though only eighteen years of age, displayed a coolness and a brilliant bravery which, had he been spared, must have led to future distinction; and it is with the most heartfelt sorrow that Lieutenant-colonel Greathed announces the untimely close of his career. He is buried in the cemetery, and the officers and men will erect a monument to his memory."

To the father of the unfortunate youth, the following letter of condolence was addressed from the camp on the 13th of July, by Lieutenant-colonel Greathed, commanding the 8th regiment:—

"My dear Sir,—The very painful duty has fallen upon me of acquainting you with the loss you have sustained by the death of your most gallant son, from a mortal wound received in action before Delhi on the 9th instant. I cannot express to you the sorrow this has caused to me and to every one in the regiment. None have felt more than I, for I had formed great hopes of him; he had every quality to make a good soldier—bravery, coolness, ready will, and ready obedience; and never were those qualities more conspicuous than in the engagement which was his first and last. We went into action about 11 A.M., and the duty which we had to perform was to clear the mutineers out of an intricate labyrinth of gardens and houses. This was done with great rapidity, but not without considerable loss, as the mutineers took advantage of every wall and building, and we lost thirty men killed and wounded, out of 160 we had in action. I saw your brave boy head the men of his company in a dozen charges, and his light foot let no man head him, and throughout he was unhurt. We had driven the mutineers out of the garden across the road, which we crossed, and, going up the bank of a canal, we entered an enclosure, round which the mutineers had mustered in force, and a shot from the loophole struck him in the abdomen, passing out just above the groin. He is buried in the cemetery. When this business is over we shall erect a tomb to his memory. He was sensible to the last, and died like a true Christian, without repining. It is for us to regret him who are left, for a finer young officer never entered her majesty's service."

My guns were ridden over before I could get them into action, and I was very nearly polished off—Tombs saving my life by potting a Pandy (sepoy) who was in the act of splitting my skull. I was down on the ground, regularly done up, without a single thing to defend myself with. I have got great '*kudos*' (praise) for my conduct. This is it. The alarm went, and off I started with my two guns to a position laid down for them, when, to my astonishment, through an opening on my right, only fifty yards off, dashed a body of cavalry. Now I tried to get my guns into action; but only got one unlimbered when they were upon me. I thought that by charging them I might make a commotion, and give the gun time to load; so in I went at the front rank, cut down the first fellow, slashed the next across the face as hard as I could lick, when two sowars charged me. Both their horses crashed into mine at the same moment, and, of course, both horse and myself were sent flying. We went down at such a pace that I escaped the cuts made at me, one of them giving my jacket an awful slice just below the left arm; it only, however, cut the jacket. Well, I lay quite snug until all the beggars had passed over me, and then got up and looked about for my sword. I found it full ten yards off. I had hardly got hold of it when three fellows returned—two on horseback. The first I wounded, and dropped him from his horse; the second charged me with a lance; I put it aside, and caught him an awful gash on the head and face. I thought I had killed him; apparently he must have clung to his horse, for he disappeared. The wounded man then came up, but got his skull split. Then came on the third man—a young, active fellow. I found myself getting very weak from want of breath, the fall from my horse having pumped me considerably, and my cloak somehow or other had got tightly fixed round my throat, and was kindly choking me. I went, however, at the fellow, and cut him on the shoulder; but some '*krapra*' (cloth) on it apparently turned the blow. He managed to seize the hilt of my sword, and twisted it out of my hand; and then we had a hand-to-hand fight, I punching his head with my fists, and he trying to cut me; but I was too close to him. Somehow or other I fell, and then was the time, fortunately for me, that Tombs came up and shot the fellow. I was so choked by my cloak, that move I could not until I got it loosened. By-the-bye, I forgot to say I fired at this chap twice, but the pistol snapped, and I was so enraged I drove it at the fellow's head, missing him, however. Then, when I got up, Tombs was so eager to get up to a mound near us, that I only picked up my sword and followed him.

"After being there some time, we came down again to look after the unlimbered gun which was left behind. When we got down, I saw the very man Tombs had saved me from, moving off with my pistol (the brute had only been wounded, and shammed dead). I told Tombs, and we went at him. After a little slashing and guarding on both sides, I rushed in at him and thrust; he cleverly jumped aside and cut me on the head, knocking me down, not, however, stunning me, for I warded his next cut when down. Tombs, following him up, made him a pass, and up I jumped and had a slash at him, cutting him on the left wrist, nearly severing it. This made him turn round, and then Tombs ran him through. He very nearly knocked over Tombs, for he cut through his cap and pagrie, but fortunately did not even cut the skin. I fancy I am indebted again to Tombs for my life, for, although I might have got up again and fought, still I was bleeding like a pig, and, of course, would have had a bad chance. One thing, however, if Tombs had not been there the second time I should have fought more carefully. It was the wish to polish off the fellow before Tombs could get up to him that made me rush at him in the way I did. I wanted awfully to pick up the swords of the men I killed as trophies, but I was getting very faint, and had to come into my tent as fast as I could; but before I got the wound bound up, the swords had been looted off. I lost an awful lot of blood, as two veins were cut through; but I fancy it did me good, keeping off inflammation. The wound was a beautiful one, just as if it had been done with a razor. It was four inches long, and down to the skull, a line being left on it; so I had a narrow escape.

"However, if I live to see the end of these mutinies, I shall have good reason to thank the 'sowars' for their charge—Tombs' name and mine having been sent up to the governor-general by the commander-in-chief, the latter recommending us 'worthy of the highest honour for distinguished bravery and gallantry.' Isn't this nice, old boy?—worth a cut on the head, I think, especially as it is healed up, and now I only



require to recruit my strength to be fit for duty. This I hope to be in a week or two. Wounds on the head, they say, tell on one some time after they are healed, and, as the sun is not to be resisted at any time, I am afraid I shall not be allowed to try the effects of it for some time yet. If these horrid carabiniers had only charged, the 'sowars' would have caught it in style. Our cavalry, I am sorry to say, have not distinguished themselves, though they have had some good opportunities, but never one like that morning. They would have got these fellows in flank, and sent them to awful grief, instead of which they bolted (cowardly hounds), leaving not only me and my guns to look after ourselves, but their officers also, who shouted to them to charge. Your affectionate brother—J. HILLS."

The following correspondence refers to the principal incidents of the 9th of July, and may be deemed valuable as well as interesting, for the corroborative testimony thereby afforded to the preceding facts.

A letter from the camp on the 11th of July, says—"A court of inquiry is sitting on the 9th irregular cavalry business. It appears that the enemy deceived everybody, by advancing as friends, and pretending they were the 9th. In fact, on the road, close to my tent, a large force formed up quietly; and when Hodgson, of the guide corps, rode up and asked who they were, the men, finding our whole camp under arms, quietly said, 'We are the 9th irregulars; go and bring up the rest of your regiment; the enemy is in front;' and thus walked slowly to the bridge leading out of our camp, then made a rush, and bolted. It was a bold thing to do, but resulted in nothing. Young Hills, of the artillery, a sub in Harry Tombs' troop, had received a sabre wound, and was just being cut down when Harry shot the trooper with his revolver, and then ran another man through with his sword. The Subzee Mundee was then swept through by our troops, and some 200 of the enemy killed, and many wounded; and, though a day of most hard fighting, resulted, as usual, in our complete success. We have now beaten them in the morning, daytime, in the evening, in the heat of the sun, and the wet, which Blackey notes; and they have never yet gained anything by any of their encounters. They must begin to feel that our raj is not yet over."—Another, from an officer of the engineers, written on the 12th, speaks of the affair thus:—"Cholera, I am sorry to say, is in the camp; and I write this by the side of what I fear may be the deathbed of an excellent fellow of my regiment. I have been with him all night, and he appears better now, so he may survive it; but cholera just now is very deadly. * * * I must tell you of a noble action of Hills, of the artillery. He was in my term at Addiscombe, and one of my greatest friends. Three days ago he was on picket with his two horse artillery guns, when the alarm was sounded, and an order sent him to advance, given under the impression that the enemy were at some distance. He was supported by a body of carabiniers, eighty, I believe, in number. He advanced about a hundred yards, while his guns were being limbered up to follow, and suddenly came on about 120 of the enemy's cavalry close on him. Disgraceful to say, the carabiniers turned and bolted. His guns being limbered up, he could do nothing; but, rather than fly, he charged them by himself. He fired four barrels of his revolver, and killed two men, throwing the empty pistol into the face of another, and knocking him off his horse. Two horsemen then charged full tilt at him, and rolled him and his horse over. He got up with no weapons; and, seeing a man on foot coming at him to cut him down, rushed at him, got inside his sword, and hit him full in the face with his fist. At that moment he was cut down from behind, and a second blow would have done for him, had not Tombs, his captain, the finest fellow in the service (who had been in his tent when the row began), arrived at the critical moment and shot his assailant. Hills was able to walk home, though his wound was severe; and on the road, Tombs saved his life once more, by sticking another man who attacked him. If they don't both get the Victoria cross, it won't be worth having. * * * You will be glad to hear I have been thanked by the commander-in-chief in brigade orders, about a battery which is now named after me."

The following passages from an officer's letter, give an excellent idea of the ground at this time covered by the English forces before Delhi:—

"We lie about two miles from Delhi, separated by a long ridge of hill, that rises in broken ground on the banks of the Jumna to our left, and, smoothing down at its highest point, extends to our extreme

right, where our batteries are placed. It is crossed towards the left by the Grand Trunk-road from the north-west, marked here and there by the telegraph-posts, from which still hang broken pieces of wire. A little further to the right, on the ridge of the hill, stands the tower called the Flag-staff; and still further along, an old mosque —both occupied by pickets of our men. To the extreme right is the hill on which are placed our heavy batteries. Its top is crowned by a building called Hindoo Rao's house, from an old Mahratta chieftain, who lived there. All these points are connected by a road which runs along the summit of the hill. Its sides are covered by out-cropping strata of sandstone, which rise tier above tier. Part of the slope towards our camp is occupied by the ruined huts of the mutinous regiments, and the houses of their unfortunate officers. Behind the camp is a small river, which separates us from the plain, commanded by three of our heavy guns. It flows into the Jumna on the north side of Delhi, and is of great advantage to us, as its banks, which are faced with stone, are too steep to allow the enemy to bring their horse artillery over to attack our rear, as they did on the 19th of June. Profiting by the severe lesson of that night, we have blown up all the bridges, save the two in the rear of our camps. Our left flank is covered by the Jumna, which is now much swollen by the rains. To our right is a mound, on which are placed three heavy guns; and about three-quarters of a mile beyond this is the suburb called the Subzee Mundee, full of country houses, enclosures, and gardens, in which a number of desperate fights have taken place between our men and the enemy. We are encamped on the old parade-ground of the native regiments, and are perfectly safe from everything but their shells, which fall into our camp almost every evening without doing any great harm. We are lying on the defensive till we receive reinforcements, only firing from our batteries when the enemy provoke us by opening theirs, or coming out at the gates. They are continually getting in reinforcements."

On the 14th of July, the mutineers again came out in great force; and as it was calculated from nine to ten thousand men attacked the English position on the right flank, a smart skirmishing was kept up among the enclosures for about three hours; when, as the fire from the ridge failed to drive them off, a column, under Brigadier Showers, was dispatched to the Subzee Mundee about 3 P.M., and, after a sharp struggle, forced them to withdraw their field artillery and retire into the city, which they did in a hasty and disorganised flight. Up to this time, it is stated that our people had only about six men wounded; but in their eagerness to punish the fugitive rebels, they followed so closely and so far, as to get within range of grape from the city walls, and suffered accordingly, to the extent of fifteen killed, sixteen officers and 177 men wounded, and two missing. Among the officers hit by the rebels upon this occasion, was Brigadier Chamberlaine, the acting adjutant-general.

At the close of the day, the enemy were lying thick in many places over the area of the contest: their loss was estimated at 1,000 men, and carts were employed for several hours during the night, conveying the bodies into the city. A short way down the south-eastern slope of the ridge, and within 900 yards of the Moree bastion, an old temple, designated by the soldiers "the Sammy House," which had been for some time occupied as an outpost, was upon this occasion a scene of desperate conflict. A party of the guides corps, who held possession of it on that day, bravely repulsed every effort of the mutineers to take it from them; and on the following morning, eighty dead bodies of the attacking force were counted laying round it.

The subjoined despatch from Major-general Reed, contains his official report of the engagement of the 14th of July.

"Camp before Delhi, July 16th, 1857.

"Sir,—On the morning of the 14th, the mutineers moved out of the city, and attacked our batteries at Hindoo Rao's house, and picket in the Subzee Mundee suburb, all under the command of Major Reid, of the Sirmoor battalion. Our troops remained on the defensive until 3 P.M., maintaining their position against a force believed to consist of twenty regiments of infantry, a large body of cavalry, and several field-pieces, and supported by a fire of heavy artillery from the walls. At three o'clock a column was formed, as per margin,* under command of Brigadier Showers, to drive the enemy out of the suburbs; Major Reid,

* Six horse artillery guns of Major Turner's and Captain Money's troops, with both these officers; 1st fusiliers, under Major Jacob; 1st Punjab infantry, under Major Coke.

with the troops from Hindoo Rao's picket, co-operating on the left.

"This service was effectually and gallantly performed, and the enemy driven in confusion and with much loss, under the cover of a very heavy fire of grape and musketry from the walls of Delhi, and very nearly losing some of the field guns they had brought outside. Our own loss, I am sorry to say, was severe, as will be seen by the accompanying return; and I extremely regret to report that Brigadier-general Chamberlaine, the acting adjutant-general of the army, who accompanied Brigadier Showers' column, was severely wounded. The duties of the adjutant-general's department have, therefore, again devolved on Captain Norman. Yesterday and to-day the enemy have remained perfectly quiet, with the exception of a fire of artillery at intervals from the walls, to which our heavy batteries have replied.—I have, &c.—T. REED,

"Major-general, commanding Field Force, and Provincial Commander-in-chief."

A letter, in form of a diary, from the 14th to the 24th of July, from an officer stationed at the Hindoo Rao's house, gives the following interesting *resumé* of the action of the former date. The writer says— 'At eight o'clock, the Pandies came out in great force, and made the same attack as on the 9th—namely, all along our front. Until about two o'clock, the fight went all along the line, sometimes fiercely, and at other times very slackly: on the left, however, just below Hindoo Rao's, in a little fakir's temple, the firing was tremendous, as, the whole day, the mutineers came up in great numbers to this place and tried to force it, in order to get at one of our batteries close by; they brought up light field guns, too, which they placed within 150 yards of the temple, and fired round shot and grape into it incessantly. I firmly believe they knew perfectly well that an order had been given to our troops not to move a single inch from their posts, and this is why they brought their guns so close. At about ten o'clock I had to go down with two of our companies and reinforce the temple, there being in it then some of the Ghoorkas of the Sirmoor battalion, and some of her majesty's 61st. Shortly after I reached the place, the enemy came up in such force that we were completely surrounded, there being infantry on three sides, and cavalry and guns on the fourth. I was unable to send for more men, as not a soul could have gone ten yards from the temple without being killed; so to stay and fight was our only chance. Their cavalry I knew could not do much, and their infantry I did not care for; but their guns advanced to within a hundred yards of us, and fairly knocked the temple, outhouses, and the front wall, which had been strengthened with sand-bags, about our ears: every ball that struck the walls wounded three or four men, and we were in such a cloud of dust and splinters of stones that we could hardly see to fire. Had the enemy had one particle of pluck, and rushed in at us, not one of us would have lived to tell the tale; as it was, they came so close that they pelted us with stones. By keeping up a very sharp fire, and owing to the admirable coolness of the men, we at last drove the mutineers back to 200 yards. Had I been allowed to act, I would have charged and sent these gentlemen back. Knowing them so well now, I know they would have run at the first scream and charge; but I was fettered with a strict order, so I had to stay and see my poor fellows knocked over like so many rabbits. I could easily have taken the troublesome guns also, but that vile order was in the way. During the time I had two very narrow escapes; the first, whilst speaking to one of my men next to me, and telling him where to fire, a round shot came and took his head right off, covering me with the poor fellow's blood and brains; I never saw such a horrible sight. The next minute, whilst standing up to see what was going on, and giving directions as to where to fire, an 8-ounce grapeshot struck me on the shoulder, sent me round like a teetotum, and then knocked me flat down. I don't know how my shoulder escaped being smashed to pieces; perhaps the fact of my being at the time on tiptoe on a pointed stone, and the shot hitting me in a slanting direction, may account for it. My shoulder is a good deal cut, the muscles much bruised and very painful, and the whole of a beautiful rainbow appearance. My arm was perfectly numbed for half-an-hour, and lay useless by my side. I picked up my sword with my left hand, but, in the excitement, did not feel the pain. The doctor says, had the shot struck an inch nearer the neck, my collar-bone would have been smashed; so I think I may consider I have had a most providential escape. Till about half-past one o'clock the fighting

went on thus. Just then I got a small reinforcement; and whether it was this, or knowing that we were going to advance at two o'clock, I don't know, but the light guns that had been battering us to pieces quietly retired; and at two o'clock we had a general advance, and drove the enemy like so many sheep into the city. We all got up within 200 yards of the walls, and were much punished by the grapeshot again. Brigadier Chamberlaine, I believe, planned the advance—why or wherefore no one knows, as the enemy were only in front of us this time, so that we had not the satisfaction of catching them coming round the corner from our rear; the consequence was, as we advanced, they retired; and though we killed a number of them as they ran, still the loss was almost counterbalanced by ours, which was very great, owing to the heavy showers of grape and canister-shot. Our musketry (I don't know why) was most ineffectual during the advance. I suppose it was owing to the heavy fire on us during this time. Well, we drove the enemy into the city; then, instead of holding our position for a time, or retiring quietly—owing to some stupid fellow saying the *retire* had been ordered, and also owing to two of our light field guns galloping off as hard as they could—instead of retiring quietly, all our infantry and cavalry got panic-stricken, and a force of about 400 Europeans and 500 natives were to be seen in all the delights of a runaway. I do not know what possessed the men; but they would hear nothing and mind nothing; the officers did all they could to stop them. 'Too-too, too-too,' went the bugles for the halt; but halt they would not; the consequence was, the mutineers again rushed out and peppered us well for about 300 yards. Our guns were stopped, and then the infantry; and at last order was restored to a tolerable extent. The enemy still advanced, and we retired, but in order: when we were about half a mile from the city, we made a stand, and as the mutineers came up, our guns opened and we drove them back. This brought us to sunset; and as the city folk appeared to have had enough of it, we came back to our pickets, all of us having had quite enough of it too. It is madness taking our troops down to the very walls in this way: had we a fight like this daily, our whole camp would be cut up in three weeks; and the enemy are in such force that they can give ten for one. The officers of all the regiments out were much punished; the Sirmoor battalion had three wounded, not severely; we had three, including myself, not severely; the Europeans had two or three, and Major Cohen's regiment one, rather badly. Brigadier Chamberlaine's arm was smashed by a bullet: he is much condemned for his advance. An old officer, and one who has seen much service, said to me this morning, when I was telling him about the panic, 'You can't expect men, my young fellow, to walk up to the muzzles of guns every day, and get grape hailed into them; no mortal can stand that sort of thing.' Perhaps he is right; I hope so; for I feel very vexed, though I will say the guides and 60th rifles were last in the retreat. We have been attacked twenty-five times; twenty-three of which attacks have been directed against this picket, and in twenty-one of which the guides have been engaged. The attacks on the 18th and 23rd lasted from sunrise to sunset. My wound has healed wonderfully, and I am very well, though we all are on commissariat beef and rum; a blanket and ammunition boots form our dress in wet weather, and other clothes in fine.

"On the 18th the enemy came out again on our right—the old place, where they have splendid cover from thick gardens and old buildings. We drove them out, and only lost a few men, as we did not follow them like idiots to the very walls. We had another brush with the enemy on the 20th. I was out with my corps, and we swept the enemy from the Subzee Mundee in no time. We returned to camp, thank God! as I never was in such a hole in my life. The stench was really sickening; the sight, too, was disgusting;—dead horses, camels, &c., and heaps of dead sepoys lying about, some half eaten by the dogs, vultures, &c., who were gorging on the decayed flesh and entrails. On the 23rd, the enemy came out in great force on our left, when we were under arms again, and off we went with the 61st, 8th Company's rifles, 4th Sikhs, and some guns: down we went on them, and off they went for the right, and we kept up a sharp fire on them. We had gone as far as we were allowed, and had the order to retire. We did not lose many men; but the brutes picked out some officers. Captain L—— was killed; he had just time to say, 'Take my body off the field; don't let the Pandies get hold of



it.' The enemy have not been out since, so I fancy we gave them enough of it. I hear large reinforcements are coming here, and I shall be glad when they come, when we hope to get a little rest. Fancy, besides picket work, our force here have had twenty-four hard fights with the enemy, and already taken about twenty guns. Old officers here say there never was such hard fighting as this in the Crimea. I doubt if a British force ever had such hard work before. One-half of some of the regiments here have fallen one way or another. It was a fine sight on the 23rd. My regiment was the reserve. We went down the road in column till near the enemy, when the 61st and 8th spread out in one grand skirmishing line to the right, the Sikhs and Coke's to the left, our guns in the centre, and my regiment in a perfect line 300 yards behind. As we neared the enemy our guns opened on theirs and the infantry and cavalry: the latter bolted off well to the rear with the guns, and the infantry got under cover and commenced a sharp fire on our advancing line; the guns also halted and poured in grape, &c. On went the artillery, &c., sweeping the long grass like a broom, and knocking the niggers over like fun. It was for half a mile fine open country, and our men did their work splendidly, going along at a steady pace, loading, firing, and driving the niggers on. The balls were flying all round us; but most were too high, and went a long way over us; however, every now and then you would see a poor dear fellow drop over and carried to the rear on the back of the man on his right, and the expression of the face was a sad sight compared with the same just a moment before, while loading, and firing, and sweeping everything before him. At last we got our men with the long range rifles in good places, and sent the enemy away to Delhi sharp; after which we fell in, like in parade, under our brave major, and retired, having done our work, though fagged and awfully done-up by the heat and excitement. I had a good look at the walls, &c., of Delhi from the top of a house where we were. We were close to the walls, and I noticed the crest of the glacis protects about six feet of the base of the wall, as I could only see half-way down the gateway. I also noticed how well the enemy fight in this way. They get into holes, behind stones, &c., and fire away, and off they go to another place as you make the last hole too hot for them; they skirmish and can do bush-fighting splendidly. I saw some of them quite close, working their firelocks perfectly. Then they were the genuine sepoy brutes who a few months before were licking my feet, and, with the most exquisite acting, expressing all that could be wished in those under one. Before I went to Cashmere last April, my havildar came up and said my company wished to come and salaam to me and wish me a safe journey and return, when they intended to express the delight they would have in seeing me back, &c. I told him to give my salaam, and that I would not trouble them, as it is a bore to them putting on their uniform, &c., but that he was to thank them for me. These very beasts had plotted the mutiny, and intended the murder of all in Ferozepore long before my two months' leave could expire. I fancy you will all blame us fellows for not knowing what was going on with these men; but remember this—they have gone on all right for a hundred years. Head-quarters were informed of the great disaffection among the sepoys six months back, and no European can fathom the dark black villany of the natives. We can't go at Delhi, I regret to say, till reinforced; the place is a maze of narrow lanes—some dark from being so narrow; and thousands of them. We dare not let our brave boys loose on them; in such a place 5,000 men would be lost; and it is no use going in till we can scour it out properly; and at present it is not bad policy keeping the brutes cooped up there by thousands instead of letting them ravage over the whole country. I expect the king finds his palace rather uncomfortable. One of our large mortars is pitching 10-inch shells right into the place. The enemy also fight worse and worse every time they come out; and now that they can't do anything with us, and hear of our strong reinforcements coming north and south, they are losing heart, and think they have made a sad mistake in supposing the Company's reign is over. I expect, however, Delhi will not fall for a month yet: slow and sure; but down it comes for ever this time."

Another officer, a Crimean hero, who had joined the besieging force from Meerut, says, in one of his letters—"Our batteries are playing on the city and palace of Delhi. The sickness inside is awful; they have their dead and wounded all together, and

the stench is frightful, even outside. The other day, two European deserters were cut down at the guns. One had dyed his face; but he called for mercy in English, and was in a thousand pieces in a minute. Our blood is roused. We have seen friends, relations, mothers, wives, children, brutally murdered, and their bodies mutilated frightfully. This alone, without the pluck which made us victorious over the Russians, would enable us, with God's assistance, to be victorious over these enemies. As the riflemen charge (ten to a hundred), the word is passed, 'Remember the ladies—remember the babies!' and everything flies before them. Hundreds are shot down or bayoneted. The sepoys, it is true, fight like demons; but we are English, and they are natives."

Returning from the digression into which these interesting extracts have betrayed us, we find, that on the 17th of July, the assistant adjutant-general of the army announced to the government, that Major-general Reed had relinquished the command of the Delhi field force; and, at the same time, the following order was issued to the troops upon the occasion of his retirement:—

"*General Order by Major-general Reed, Provincial Commander-in-chief.*

"Head-quarters, Camp before Delhi, July 17.

"Lieutenant-general Sir P. Grant, K.C.B., having in a general order dated the 17th of June, at Calcutta, announced his having assumed command of the Bengal army from that date, Major-general Reed has ceased to exercise the duties of provincial commander-in-chief.

"Major-general Reed having been recommended by his medical advisers to avail himself of a sick-certificate to repair to the hills, as the only chance of recovering his shattered health, which has latterly prevented him from taking an active part in the field operations, has made over the command and the charge of this force to Brigadier-general A. Wilson. It is with the greatest reluctance the major-general has come to the determination to take this step; but his duty to his country must be paramount to any selfish consideration; and being incapacitated himself for the post by disease and weakness, he has no alternative than to devolve his arduous duties upon another.

"Of Brigadier-general Wilson's merits, it is unnecessary for Major-general Reed to speak; his judgment, gallantry, and conduct, have been conspicuous since he led his small but victorious band from Meerut, up to this day; and it only remains for the major-general to congratulate the forces before Delhi on being placed under so able a commander as Brigadier-general Wilson."

The order then enumerates the several officers of the staff, &c., to whom the thanks of the major-general are tendered for their able assistance to himself and his predecessor, the late Sir Henry Barnard. A state of the field force before Delhi on the 16th of July, showed the total number of men on duty, and fit for duty, then under the command of Major-general Reed, to be 8,194 of all ranks, with 1,933 cavalry horses. A return of sick and wounded, made up to the same date, gave also the following results:—Sick, 601; wounded, 514. The horses returned under similar heads, amounted to 226.

The enemy—whose force at this time, within and under the walls of the city, amounted to about 19,000 men of all arms, and whose strength was almost daily augmented by new arrivals of mutinous regiments or detached bands of deserters—scarcely allowed a day to pass without an attack or demonstration upon some part of the British position. Thus, from the 17th to the 31st, the troops were kept in a state of incessant activity; and although the advantage in every instance was decidedly on our side, the inconvenience to the harassed soldiers was not the less impatiently submitted to, and all ranks looked forward to the intended assault with desire. A letter of the 27th of July, says—"We have now a large force before Delhi; and although we are worried with harassing sorties day after day, still, on every occasion, the result is in our favour, and the Pandies are dispirited at finding so little advantage follows their efforts against our position. Our troops are as jolly as possible; and each man is mad to have his thrust at these devils—and such thrusts! One man, the other day, bayoneted two men at once against a wall. He sent a foot of the barrel into the first man, and bent it like a corkscrew. The bayonet is here. Various have been the feats of strength and bravery. One man shot four men out of five who were coming to attack him, and who loaded and fired at him as they advanced; but he was a rifleman, and had his Minié. The natives cannot under-

stand how their men drop at such an immense distance."

On the 30th of July, Brigadier-general Wilson, who appears to have fully appreciated the hazardous position of the troops under his command, wrote as follows to Mr. Colvin, lieutenant-governor of the North-Western Provinces:—

"Camp before Delhi, July 30th, 1857.

"My dear Sir,—It is my firm determination to hold my present position, and to resist any attack to the last. The enemy are very numerous, and may possibly break through our intrenchments and overwhelm us; but the force will die at their post. Luckily, the enemy have no head, and no method, and we hear dissensions are breaking out amongst them. Reinforcements are coming up under Nicholson. If we can hold on till they arrive, we shall be secure. I am making every possible arrangement to secure the safe defence of our position.

"A. WILSON, Brigadier-general."

The expected and much-desired reinforcement from the Punjab, under Brigadier-general Nicholson, consisting of her majesty's 52nd light infantry, a wing of the 61st, the 2nd Punjab infantry, and 200 Mooltanee horse, arrived at the camp on the 14th of August; but before attempting further active operations against the city, it was still necessary that the siege-train, with a large quantity of ammunition from Ferozepore, should also arrive. The intermediate time was, however, advantageously occupied by the successful movements of Lieutenant W. S. R. Hodson, with his newly-raised corps of horse, consisting of 233 sabres, accompanied by 103 guide cavalry and 25 Jhind horsemen, with six European officers, who attacked a body of the enemy on its way from Delhi to Hansi, or Jhind, and cut them up or dispersed them in every encounter, returning to camp on the 26th of August, with scarcely any casualties, although, in his several conflicts with the enemy, upwards of a hundred of the rebels were put *hors de combat*.

On the 25th, Brigadier-general Wilson informed the lieutenant-governor of the North-Western Provinces, that "having ascertained he had no chance of assistance from the Cawnpore force, he had determined, on the arrival of the siege-train, to attempt an assault on the city, in making which, the energies of every man in camp would be required; and that, for the present, his attention would be directed to that single object, to which all minor considerations must yield." It was about this time reported by spies, that great disorder existed in the city; the king was represented as without means to sustain and pay the troops, who taunted him with his poverty; while the bankers and respectable inhabitants complained in durbar of the excesses of the soldiers. It was also alleged, that the king had addressed an urgent request to the Indore and Gwalior mutineers, that they would proceed with all possible speed to Delhi with the treasure they had possessed themselves of. A native, who resided in the city from the beginning to the end of July, describes the condition of the government and people during that period, in the following terms:—

"There was no money left in the royal treasury; consequently, the bankers of the city were requested to furnish his majesty with it. They replied as follows:—'We are sorry we have no cash in hand, but government notes and hoondees; your majesty can have them if they are of any use.' His majesty, being angry, set guards at their doors. The Bareilly general advised his majesty to take money from the bankers and citizens by force; but his request was not taken into consideration: he said he could obtain forty lacs of rupees for his majesty from the city by plundering the Mahaguns. It will come to pass some day, as his majesty necessarily requires the money to pay his troops, who have not received their daily pay for twenty days. The Suazadas, and his majesty's private regiment, together with servants, have not been paid for the last two months; they are all bkah mart at present. The sepoys and sowars say—'If we are going on in arrears in this way, we will soon be compelled to pay ourselves by looting the city.' The officers consult very often about military affairs; but one contradicts the other on account of their private feelings, as each of them thinks himself wiser than the other. The rebels sadly complain of their newly-made powder; it is too weak, since it is made of unrefined saltpetre. As I was about to leave Delhi, I heard that the fresh powder was hardly so strong as to expel a ball out of a musket. They have not been able to make gun-caps yet, but are trying to produce them. The horses of the cavalry are getting thin day by day, as the sowars run them in the

streets, night and day, just to enjoy themselves; passengers are often hurt by them on their way; their hoofs are cracked, on account of running fast against the metalled roads. The Bareilly general is frequently insulted by the other troops, who say, they never had been aided by his brigade since their arrival at Delhi. There are no weapons remaining in the magazine. A well-known budmash of Meerut, named Akber Khan, is made the head darogha of the magazine. This man had many times been imprisoned on charges of theft by the English magistrates. I left the Delhi government ten times worse than I had seen it on my arrival there at first. The mutineers are quite tired of fighting; the city is full of wounded men, and there is no regular hospital there. I heard several wounded sepoys talking among themselves in a street, saying, 'We were very well treated by the English government. If we were only to have a slight headache, we were to be attended by a respectable European doctor twice a day, notwithstanding the services of the native doctors were available to us; besides, we used to get medicines at the government expense. Here we die for want of physic.' The loot is still going on; the bazaars are never opened, but a few poor shops: shopkeepers get blows and thumps for the price of their things. A fortnight ago, a poor buneah was killed by a sepoy, for not giving him credit. When the sepoys find out a rich house in the city, they accuse the owner after the following manner, in order to plunder his property. They take a loaf of bread and a bottle of grog with them, and make a noise at the door, and break it to pieces; get into the house, take possession of the furniture, jewels, and cash; lick the poor householder, saying, 'Where is the Englishman you have been keeping in your house?' When he denies having done so, they just show him the bread and the bottle, and say, 'How is it we happened to find this in your house. We are quite sure there was an Englishman accommodated here, whom you quietly sent elsewhere before our arrival.' Soon after the talk is over, the poor man is disgracefully put into custody, and no inquiry is made to prove whether he is innocent or guilty; he cannot get his release unless he bribes the general. The budmashes of Delhi—who were often punished by the English magistrates; and the gaol was filled with them—have at present got their release: they commit all sorts of rascalities in the city, and enjoy the days of their independence."

As time progressed, opportunities occasionally offered for obtaining intelligence from the city; but they were rare, on account of the penalty attending every unsuccessful attempt to desert. However, on the 19th of August, a *half-caste* woman managed to escape to the English camp, and stated that "she had been concealed in Delhi, by an Affghan, since the outbreak. Her two children were killed before her face; and the third, in her arms, was shot by some ruffian. The ball passed through its body into the woman, and she was found insensible, but still living. She said our shells had done great damage, some having gone beyond the palace, and many into it; that their powder was out, and the rebels were obliged to make their own. This she heard during her confinement, as she was of course kept shut up in a house; but as she came out she saw the roads and houses very much broken by the English fire. At one time there were 40,000 men in the city, but the number had been reduced to half. The city was in an awful state, the killed and wounded lying about in heaps, which, added to an epidemic, carried off numbers."

From a narrative of occurrences in Delhi, written by a native who remained in the city during the whole period of its investment by the English troops, we find the following incidents among many others already noticed:—

"July 18th.—About two or three days ago, a 'muhawut,' with an elephant from the British camp, came to the king, saying that he was so much annoyed by the Europeans, that he made his escape. The king ordered the elephant to be kept in the Feelkhana, and took the muhawut into his service. For two or three days the muhawut went about examining the different places in the fort, and then suddenly disappeared. It is supposed that he was a spy from the British camp, as, since the day he left the fort, shells are continually thrown on the palace, part of which is demolished. The shells from the British camp cause great destruction. God knows what will happen the day the English assault Delhi. Everyone is in a state of anxiety, and business is at a stand. God grant that matters may terminate well. There is no likelihood, however, of tran-

quillity being speedily restored. The elephant, which was brought from the British camp, the king has offered at the shrine of Jootub Sha.

"July 22nd.—The other day the king sent for the Subahdar Bahadour, who commands the troops in the fort, and desired him either to remove him out of the fort, or do something to stop the British shelling, which was very destructive. The subahdar begged the king to remain in the fort another day, and that, during that time, he would devise means to put a stop to the shelling. Early the next morning the subahdar, with a party of 1,000 Poorbeas (natives of the Eastern provinces), armed only with swords and muskets, attacked the British troops. They fought desperately, but the European and Sikh troops, who were about 10,000 strong, and were on the alert, opened a fire of grape on the subahdar. With the exception of a few men, the whole of his party was destroyed. After a day or two, the Poorbeas, in a body, waited on the king, and begged that, in consideration of their sacrificing their lives and those of their families in his service, he would prohibit the killing of bullocks and goats in the Eed. The king agreed to do so. A party of Mohammedans, who were in opposition to the Poorbeas, placed a guard at a well in the begum's garden, with orders not to let the Poorbeas draw water. When the Poorbeas heard this, they came to take water by force, which caused a disturbance, and people were killed on both sides. If anything takes place between the Mohammedans and Poorbeas on the Eed day, Delhi will soon fall into the hands of the English. It is reported that the Poorbeas sent a message to the rajah of Putteeala, inquiring why he was assisting the English, and telling him not to do so; otherwise, on the establishment of the king's authority and the extinction of the English, he should be the first person to suffer for it. The rajah sent an answer that it required an age to remove the English, and that it was folly on their part to wait for that event; that whenever they took the trouble to come to his place he would be ready to meet them."

The following letters and extracts, referring to the state of the troops, and the views generally entertained at the camp as to the impending assault and its consequences, are descriptive and interesting. One writer says, in a letter of the 5th of August—"You never saw such a complete wreck as the cantonment is; walls crumbling down, trees cut down, and roads cut up. The cantonment garden is now as clear of trees, shrubs, &c., as any of the parades. The inside of the city will, we imagine, present a more complete scene of devastation. Not a public building is said to be standing. The *Delhi Gazette* office is level with the ground, and, if all reports be true, the type has not been melted down, but fired whole against our brave troops. Pieces of telegraph wire are also said to do duty for bullets. The rebels now keep well out of range, and as our troops are acting entirely on the defensive, the enemy does not reap the punishment he deserves; for which, however, he will not be kept waiting much longer, we fancy. The rebels generally come out by the Subzee Mundee, and are driven back by the same route considerably quicker than they came, availing themselves of any cover they may find; but they are becoming more wary, and keep well out of shot. During one of the recent engagements before Delhi, a female, dressed in green, was seen leading on the rebels! She was at first taken for the Bazee Baie; and a rumour, of course, spread, that she headed the Gwalior troops; they, however, had not left Gwalior at the time, and may still be there. The female in green, or the very green female, was taken prisoner, and conveyed to secure quarters in our camp. She is described as an ugly old woman, short and fat, and is said to be a prophetess of some note in the degraded city. It was first intended to release this woman; but, by the last accounts, she was still kept a prisoner, in the hope, we presume, of eliciting some important information from her."

Another correspondent, in a letter to England of the 15th of the month, says—"As to public affairs, there is our little army before Delhi; its effective strength being 8,791 men, of which only 3,896 are Europeans, the rest being Ghoorkas, Sikhs, Punjabees, and Affghans. Hindostanis there are none; treacherous, faithless, bloodthirsty hounds—worse demons than the Malays, or the scum of Canton. I hope their day is nearly over now. Should I tell you some of their atrocities, this letter would not be fit for you to read. Every day discloses crimes of a more gross, more cruel, and more devilish nature, than the day before. Imagination cannot go further in picturing what the ingenuity of villany could do than these petted soldiers

and citizens of ours have done. But we are awake now. From Delhi to Peshawur the gallows have been made fixtures at every station, and they are constantly at work. Positively, to be a Hindostani is now to deserve hanging, and to be a Hindostani deserter is, when caught, to get that desert. Our time of mild suicidal forbearance with men like these is over now, and we have no formalities, no technical investigations, before the would-be murderer is made safe for ever. In my wreck of a regiment at U——, the other day, four men were overheard reading a letter from their former comrades, now with the rebels in Delhi. They destroyed and ate the letter when surprised, and the same evening they were all hanged together. At Peshawur a non-commissioned officer was found in possession of a letter from a mutineer, advising him when he killed a sahib always to end by killing his wife too. Little question was asked before the wretch was swinging. It is the same everywhere, and in it lies our sole hope of safety. These brutes are all banded together for our destruction, and yet what a miserable attempt they have made. We had ten regiments of Bengal cavalry, eighteen of irregular, several batteries of native artillery, and seventy-four regiments of native infantry; and the whole have mutinied, with a few exceptions. If Delhi had not been a walled town containing an immense arsenal, we might have ridden over the mutineers at a gallop, for, conscious of guilt and deprived of their officers, they have turned out as dastardly cowards as good troops could be degraded by fighting—never in the open air, though numbering five to one against us, often more; always skulking behind walls and rocks, ready for murder and not battle. A European private was the other day bearing a wounded ensign, a mere boy, from the field, or rather the suburb, before Delhi. A mutineer fired from the upper windows of a house. Deliberately the soldier placed his senseless officer under shelter, walked to the house, tramped upstairs, dashed in the door, and shot the man. Two other mutineers were with him, and before they came to their wits two rapid thrusts of the bayonet had finished their course. The soldier then walked coolly back and resumed his burden; 150 mutineers got into a serai (or walled inclosure for travellers) on our flank, and kept up a galling fire upon stragglers; twenty Europeans went at them, but they shut the door: it was blown open; our men rushed in, and shut it behind them. They then slew every traitor inside, actually rushing from one to another, and driving their bayonets through them as if they had been sheep. You'll think, with such difference of material, Delhi could easily be taken; and so it could, but our officers say that once in, the Europeans could not be held together; they'd be all over the city in a minute, and would be surprised at the barricades, or put *hors de combat* at the grog-shops, which are worse than bullets. More troops are wanted, when, out of the lot, enough may be held in hand to clear the streets and take the palace."

The following is from an officer in the engineers:—

"Camp before Delhi, August 18th.

"My dear Father,—I think you yet hardly know our position in the East; and, after all, it is only what might have been expected, considering how the sepoys were treated. Anything that they objected to was given up at once. The greatest care was always to be taken not to offend them. It was against their caste to do this, that, or the other; and unless they chose, they never did do it. They declared it was utterly impossible for them to use the Enfield cartridges, yet they have shot down many a poor fellow of ours with these very cartridges. It does not seem to be against their caste now. We are very anxious to see how people at home take all this. The article in the *Times* about disbanding the 19th regiment was very good. They say we ought to know more of our men, be more with them, &c. With European soldiers an officer always goes into their barracks, looks at their dinners, plays cricket with the men, and of course comes to know them. That is simply a consequence of their both being Europeans. To do the same with sepoys we must turn Hindoos, or something of the sort; for, under existing circumstances, you might be 'court-martialed' for going near a sepoy while he is feeding—as that takes away his caste. Going into his hut is perfect profanation, or perhaps sacrilege; neither may you touch any of his cooking materials or utensils, or even the wood he is going to cook with. They had become so pampered that they would hardly stand being spoken to. If, after all this, we are obliged to have sepoys again, I hope they will be a different lot, and treated in a very different manner.

They have proved themselves thorough curs. They can murder helpless women and children bravely, but a handful of armed Europeans frightens them outright, and they always have avoided places where perhaps thirty or forty armed Europeans have been collected. Look, for instance, at Roorkee. The hundred soldiers (college students) there have kept all that part of the country quiet, and Roorkee itself is untouched. At Delhi they are five or six to one against us, and see the miserable attempts they made to turn us out of our position. They have swarmed up the heights in front of our batteries by thousands. The ground is so broken, and full of ravines and rocks, that they can come up the whole way unseen, or you may depend upon it they would never venture. If they had the pluck of a goose their numbers might terrify us; but they never come near us, and only show themselves off at a distance, firing their muskets into the air, shouting most awfully, but doing nothing more. It is in the 'Subzee Mundee' that all the hard fighting goes on. They get into, and on the tops of houses, and fire into our pickets there. This goes on until we send a force from camp to turn them out, which we invariably do, but not without some loss. We have now cleared the ground all around of the trees, walls, and houses. The consequence is, there is a large clear space around our pickets, and 'Pandy' will not venture out of the cover; so we generally let him pop away from a distance until he is tired. If you hear people talking of our not being able to take Delhi, you must deny it, simply because we have not made any attempt to do so. I have no doubt, too, that it is the best policy; for, while there is a Delhi to slink to, all the rebels will flock there instead of running wild about the country, where they would do much more harm. Besides, we shall have them all in a lump, and be able to polish them off at once.

"The rains have regularly set in now; all the low ground about Metcalfe's house is flooded. A strong stream now runs in the Jumna, and we are going to take advantage of it, and try to destroy the bridge of boats. Several methods have been talked of. Yesterday we started three infernal machines, consisting of a tub containing 50lbs. of gunpowder: a piece of stick was stuck up outside, which, if it came in contact with anything, fired a pistol inside. We made a boat, also, and started them as near as possible in the middle of the stream. One went off on an island in the river, and did nobody any harm; another was stranded, and didn't go off at all; and nobody knows what became of the third. So our first attempt must be considered a failure. I hope we may do better next time.

"Lord Ellenborough was not very far out when he said in the house, that if we didn't mind what we were about, we should have one of the most bloody revolutions in India. We are all very happy here, only a little anxious to get into Delhi, and have a real slap at the 'Pandies.' You may be assured they will catch it when the assault does take place."

Some of the characteristic incidents of camp life are well pourtrayed in the subjoined extract:—

"Camp before Delhi, August 9th.

"Since writing to you last I have been on my back for eight days. I will tell you how it all happened. You must know that for some time past the enemy have been on the look-out to attack our rear; but to do this it was necessary to repair at least one of several bridges over the canal which divides us from them, which said bridges we had blown up. On receiving intelligence of their intention we sent out a cavalry picket to watch the canal, and to give speedy information of any attempt they might make to cross. This picket was given to us as a post of honour, and it required a little gilt to make it a pleasant duty, as the officer on picket had to visit the bridge three times every day, besides riding to certain villages in the vicinity to collect information; and, before night, the officer on duty had ridden his thirty-three miles. I was on this picket on the 31st of July, and had come back from my first patrol, when, on reaching one of my videttes, he told me that he had just passed a European woman with two children, escorted by some natives into my picket. I cantered on, and overtook a country cart, escorted by some villagers, one of whom carried a poor little boy about four years old on his shoulder. In the cart I found a nice-looking young woman, with a little infant. The poor creature seemed overjoyed to see a European face, and, in an answer to my inquiries, told me that she was the wife of a Mr. Nun, son of the riding-master of the 1st cavalry. Her husband was employed in the customs' department, at a place near

Guzgaon. When the outbreak at Delhi took place he was in the district with Ford, of the civil service. Guzgaon fell with other stations; and this unhappy woman was by herself, without a European near her. The instant the people of the village nearest her house heard that parties of sepoys were coming in their direction, they carried off Mrs. Nun, with her children, and concealed them in their village. Parties of horsemen arrived and inquired for her, and on being told that she had gone off, plundered and burnt her house. To make a long story short, these poor fellows, at the risk of their lives, kept this unhappy family for three months, feeding and clothing them, and hurrying them off to other villages whenever they heard of the approach of any parties of the mutineers. I must tell you that the insurgents offered 100 rupees reward for Mrs. Nun, dead or alive; but nothing would tempt these simple ryots to betray their trust; and, finally, having seized an opportunity, they brought her safely into camp. The poor woman spoke most gratefully of their kindness and devotion, and the little boy seemed to have the greatest affection for the grey-headed old man on whose shoulder he was perched. I took them into my picket and gave them a good breakfast, and then passed them into camp as quickly as I could, as I heard an alarm of cavalry in the neighbourhood. They had scarcely left when one of my videttes came galloping up to say that a large force was at both the bridges I had to patrol, and I had just turned out and mounted my picket, when I received a despatch from camp, informing me that a very large force of artillery, cavalry, and infantry had left the city in the direction of the canal, and directing me to watch their movements. A troop of the guides came up at the moment, under a young fellow named Craigie, and, taking them with me, I galloped off to see what was going on. On reaching my advanced picket I left him there with his troop, and went off with twenty-five men to reconnoitre. On nearing the first bridge I found a large body of infantry lining the banks of the canal on our side, and a considerable force established in a walled garden on the road, about 200 yards in front of the bridge. I left my men, and rode on to see if I could make out what the rascals were at, but they opened such a heavy fire of musketry that I gave it up. I remained to watch their movements for some time, and rode on towards the second bridge, about two miles further up the canal. The bank between the two bridges was crowded with infantry, and they had a party of about 100 cavalry in front of the second bridge. During the whole time that this occupied it was raining 'cats and dogs.' I returned to my advanced picket to write a report to the general, and found Hodson with a troop of his irregulars there to reinforce me. I told him all about it, and he rode into camp to give my report, as it was impossible to write one, for the rain came down in torrents. M'Donall, whom you all know, was with his troop; he was doing duty with Hodson's corps, and we looked like a couple of half-drowned rats. We tried to light our pipes under shelter of the peak of our helmets, but we could not manage it. I then started off for the bridge a second time, and at M'Donall's earnest request, allowed him to accompany me. We got up to the serai, and found that the enemy were crossing, and had evidently found the day too juicy. We saw them across, and then went towards bridge No. 2. I saw some infantry in a garden, and cantered on to have a nearer look at them, when, all of a sudden, down comes my horse up to his chest in a buffalo-hole. The whole of the country was a sheet of water, so the poor beast could not see what he was going at. He struggled, and got his fore feet in the sides of the hole; but in making an effort to scramble up, he reared and fell back on me, rolling clean over me. The pommel of the saddle and both of my holster pistols crushed my left side, and completely knocked the wind out of me. However, I got up, and shook myself, and being satisfied that no bones were broken, I felt rejoiced that I should soon be all right.

"I wrote the above yesterday, but felt so tired after it, I was obliged to desist. I almost forget where I was. Well, after my fall, we plodded on towards the second bridge, and found it occupied by a very large force of artillery, cavalry, and infantry. Unfortunately, my glass (the one I brought out, and a capital one it is) had got half-full of water, and was perfectly useless, so I could not reconnoitre them as closely as I wished. We turned homewards, and on reaching the picket I was truly rejoiced to see my relief waiting for me. I was dead-beat, having been in the saddle for fourteen hours, having during that time ridden up,

wards of thirty-six miles, and exposed to drenching rain the greater part of the time, with nothing to eat, and no smoke. I cantered back to camp to the brigadier, and he gave me half a tumbler of cherry brandy, which warmed me considerably. I then rode home, feeling quite comfortable, and beyond a slight aching in my side, I should not have known that I had come to grief. I got dry clothes, and dined with Stewart, the guides' doctor, who was the only one at home. * * * No chance of taking this place for some time to come. Reinforcements march towards us, but they never seem to get nearer. It will, indeed, be glorious when we rout and slay these treacherous, cowardly hounds. They will be hunted down like wild beasts, and it is to be hoped few will escape. You in England can never know or hear one-half of the atrocities committed by these savages, for they are too abominable ever to repeat, much less to publish."

The writer of the above passages happened to be one of the officers at Meerut at the time of the first outbreak, and assisted in the subsequent arrangements for its defence, in case of a visit from any of the armed bands and Goojurs that were straggling over the district. He writes thus of the commendable spirit shown by our countrywomen, while they were yet anticipating danger, and doing their best to lessen its possible horrors:—"I think I never told you how splendidly the ladies behaved at Meerut. You should have seen them to appreciate the whole thing—how cheerfully they took every mishap. Though they were all packed within a smallish square place, surrounded by high brick walls, none of them ever grumbled, or apparently became frightened. On the contrary, they used to be dancing about the place (we were at work fortifying it), offering us tea and all sorts of refreshment."

The tenacity with which the English commander-in-chief held his position before the city, and the invariable discomfiture that followed every attempt of the rebel troops to dislodge his pickets, or interfere with the progress of his arrangements, appears at length to have occasioned some misgivings on the part of the king as to the probable result of the contest with the powerful enemy he had wantonly provoked; and although it was perhaps inconsistent with his assumed dignity to make any direct advance towards accommodation, he did not object to seek terms of conciliation by indirect means. On the 22nd of August, Mr. Greathed, the agent at the camp of the lieutenant-governor of the North-Wset Provinces, informed that functionary that, on the previous day, "an emissary came in from the chief lady of the palace, offering her good offices to bring about an accommodation; he was told we were anxious for her personal safety, and for that of all women and children; but that no communication could be received from inmates of the palace." This, however, was not the first or only application of the sort, as rumours had already reached the government, of overtures made on the part of the king at Delhi, to the officer in command of the troops before the city; and positive instructions had been given by the governor-general, that any concession to the king, of which his restoration to his former position should be the basis, would be one to which the government could not for a moment give its consent, and that if any negotiation of the sort should be contemplated, it was directed that a full report of all the circumstances should be submitted to the governor-general in council before the government was committed to anything. This direction, it most unfortunately happened, was either misunderstood or disregarded, when the rebel king, driven from his stronghold, had sought his personal safety in flight to the Durgah Nizam-oo-deen, and conditions were granted by Captain Hodson for his surrender, as hereafter related.

A brilliant operation in the field at Nujufghur, by a detachment under the command of Brigadier-general Nicholson, on the 25th of August, is reported in the following despatch from that officer, addressed to the assistant adjutant-general, as follows:—

"Camp before Delhi, August 28th, 1857.

"Sir,—I have the honour to report, for the information of Major-general Wilson, commanding before Delhi, that agreeably to his orders, I marched from this at daybreak on the 25th, with the troops noted in the margin,* to intercept a force of the

* One squadron of her majesty's 9th lancers; sixteen guns horse artillery; 120 guide cavalry; eighty of 2nd Punjab cavalry; wing of her majesty's 61st regiment, 420 bayonets; 1st European Bengal fusiliers, 380 bayonets; 1st Punjab infantry, 400 bayonets; 2nd Punjab infantry, 400 bayonets; detachment of sappers and miners, 30; 200 Mooltanee horse.

enemy, said to be moving from Delhi towards Bahadoorghur, with the intention of attacking us in rear. On my arrival at the village of Nanglooe, about nine miles from this (and to reach which I had to cross two difficult swamps), I learned that the enemy had been at Talmu the previous day, and would probably reach Nujufghur in the course of the afternoon; I therefore decided on leaving the Bahadoorghur-road, and, if possible, coming up with and routing the enemy at Nujufghur before nightfall.

"I crossed a tolerably deep and broad ford over a branch of the Nujufghur-Jheel, near the village of Bassrowla, at about 4 P.M., and found the enemy in position on my left and front, extending from the bridge over the Nujufghur canal to the town of Nujufghur itself, a distance of a mile and three-quarters or two miles. Their strongest point was an old serai on their left centre, in which they had four guns; nine more guns were between this and the bridge. It was five o'clock before the troops were across the ford and parallel with the position. As the enemy was so far advanced, and I had no guide, I laboured under the disadvantage of being compelled to make a very hasty *reconnaissance*. The plan which I determined on was, to force the left centre (which, as I have said, was the strongest part of the position), and then changing front to the left, to sweep down their line of guns towards the bridge. I accordingly formed up her majesty's 61st regiment, the 1st fusiliers, and the 2nd Punjab infantry (with the exception of 100 men of each corps, whom I had had told-off on the march, as a rear-guard and reserve), with four guns on the right and ten on the left flank, supported by the squadron of 9th lancers and guide cavalry; and, after the artillery had fired a few rounds, I advanced and charged with the infantry.

"The enemy was driven out with scarcely any numerical loss to us (though her majesty's 61st had a most gallant and promising officer, Lieutenant Gabbett, mortally wounded); and I then changed front to the left, and so turned the position in which their guns were. The enemy made little resistance as we advanced, and were soon in full retreat across the bridge, with our guns playing upon them; thirteen of their field-pieces having fallen into our hands. At the same time that I attacked the serai, I directed Lieutenant Lumsden, officiating commandant of Major Coke's corps, the 1st Punjab infantry, to advance and clear the town of Nujufghur, on our right. This service was well performed by Lieutenant Lumsden; who, after passing through the town, brought his right shoulders forward, and followed in rear of the main line.

"The enemy's guns were now all in our possession, and I supposed the conflict at an end, when it was reported to me that a few men had concealed themselves in the little village of Nuglee, which was at this time a few hundred yards in rear of our line. I immediately sent orders to Lieutenant Lumsden, who was then nearly abreast of the village, to drive them out; but, though few in number, they had remained so long that our troops were on all sides of them, and seeing no line of retreat open, they fought with extreme desperation. Lieutenant Lumsden was, I regret to say, killed, with eleven of his men; twenty-six more were wounded; and I was obliged to send back the 61st regiment to reinforce the 1st Punjab infantry: this corps also suffered the loss of another gallant officer, Lieutenant Elkington, dangerously wounded, and five men killed; and several more were wounded before the village was in our possession.

"The enemy's cavalry, apparently not less than 1,000 strong, more than once made a show of charging during the action, but were, on each occasion, driven back by the fire of our artillery. Our own cavalry I regretted much my inability to employ against them; but I had been obliged to leave the squadron of 2nd Punjab cavalry, under Lieutenant Nicholson, and 120 of the Mooltanees, to look after the baggage; and I had, of lancers, guides, and Mooltanees, not more than 300 left to escort the guns and form a reserve. I passed the night at the bridge with the 1st fusiliers and 2nd Punjab infantry, and a detachment of artillery and lancers. I had the bridge mined and blown up by the sappers; and all the waggons and tumbrils which I had not the means of bringing away were also blown up by Major Tombs. Shortly after daybreak I started on my return to camp; and fearing lest more rain should render the ground (already sufficiently difficult) quite impracticable, I brought the column in the same evening.

"It only now remains for me to fulfil

the pleasing duty of expressing my extreme satisfaction with the conduct of the troops in these operations. No soldiers ever advanced to the attack of a position with greater gallantry and steadiness than her majesty's 61st regiment, the 1st fusiliers, and the 2nd Punjab infantry. No infantry was ever more ably assisted by artillery. Major Coke's regiment, under its gallant and lamented officiating commandant, Lieutenant Lumsden, sustained its high reputation.

"The troops are likewise entitled to great credit for the cheerfulness with which they bore the hardships they were exposed to; they marched at daybreak, and had to cross two difficult swamps before their arrival at Nanglooe; and as it would not have been prudent to take the baggage across the ford at Baprowla, they were obliged, after fourteen hours' marching and fighting, to bivouac on the field without food or covering of any kind.

"The officers to whom I am most indebted for their services on this occasion, and whom I would beg to bring prominently to the favourable notice of the major-general, are Major Tombs, commanding the artillery (this officer's merits are so well known to the major-general, that it is unnecessary for me to dwell upon them); Major Jacob, commanding 1st fusiliers; Captain Green, commanding 2nd Punjab infantry; and Captains Remmington and Blunt, and Lieutenants Wilson and Sankey, of the artillery. I also received every assistance from my staff and orderly officers; Captain Blane, her majesty's 52nd, my brigade-major; Captain Shute, deputy assistant-quartermaster-general; Captain Trench, 35th native infantry, and Lieutenant Dixon, late 9th light cavalry, my orderly officers; and Lieutenant R. C. Lowe, on the staff of the major-general commanding. Lieutenant Sarell, her majesty's 9th lancers, to whom I entrusted the command of the cavalry, with the guns during the action, and of the rear-guard on the 26th, performed these duties very much to my satisfaction. The same remarks apply to Captain Gordon, her majesty's 61st, who commanded the reserve during the action and night of the 25th. Sir Theophilus Metcalfe was good enough to accompany and give me the benefit of his local knowledge; he was also present, and very forward in the attack on the serai. Lieutenant Geneste, of the engineers, deserves credit for the very complete and successful manner in which he blew up the bridge.—I have, &c.,

"J. NICHOLSON, Brigadier-general,
"Commanding 4th Infantry Brigade."

Upon the receipt of this despatch, the following field-force order was issued:—

"Head-quarters, Camp, Delhi, August 30th.

"Major-general Wilson, commanding the force, begs to offer his most hearty thanks and congratulations to Brigadier-general Nicholson, and the force which moved from camp under his command on the morning of the 25th instant, on the very successful issue of the operations they were engaged in. This force made a march of eighteen miles, over a country intersected with swamps; at the end of which they fought an action with the enemy, variously estimated at from 4,000 to 6,000 men; gained a complete victory, capturing all the enemy's guns (thirteen in number), and, owing to the difficulty in getting up the baggage and provisions, had to bivouac on the ground, without food or covering of any kind. The next day the troops marched back, arriving in camp the same evening.

"The major-general considers he is indebted for the glorious result of these operations to the judgment and energy displayed by Brigadier-general Nicholson, the steadiness and gallantry of the troops in action, and the cheerfulness with which they bore the fatigue and hardships they were called upon to undergo.

"The major-general has much pleasure in assuring all mentioned in the despatch of Brigadier-general Nicholson, that he will bring them to favourable notice in his report to the commander of the forces in the upper provinces, for submission to government."

The battle of Nujufghur, referred to in the preceding documents, developes a very remarkable feature in this Indian revolt. The rebels, it is seen, had made a sortie in force from Delhi, with the intention of intercepting the siege-train and convoy of munitions, on the way to the English camp from the Punjab. To counteract this manœuvre, which, if successful, might have been fatal to the projected assault upon the city, General Nicholson was detached with a column of some 2,000 men, of whom not more than a third were Europeans, and sixteen horse-artillery guns. After marching from daybreak till a late hour in the evening, he fell in with the rebel force, drawn up in battle array, and strongly

posted. The time scarcely permitted him to take a sufficient survey of their position; but he nevertheless formed his plans on the instant, gave the order for the attack, and was gratified with the successful execution of his design in every particular: and now followed the most notable incident in the conflict. The battle had been won, and the whole of the enemy's artillery captured by General Nicholson, with a numerical loss on his own part scarcely noticeable, when intelligence reached him that a few of the mutineers had concealed themselves in a village to the rear of the English line. It was not understood as a case of ambuscade, but of mere concealment. The fugitives were simply endeavouring to escape notice and pursuit, and their numbers were comparatively insignificant. Orders were of course given to clear the village; but the sepoys had relied so confidently on their cover, that, before they thought of decamping, their retreat was surrounded; and then was seen the desperation which a defeated enemy can exhibit when escape becomes hopeless. That mere handful of fanatic rebels sold their lives so dearly, that the cost of their destruction was greater to the British force than that of the battle itself! The Punjab infantry were first sent against them; but the regiment lost its commandant and many of its men. The 61st (Queen's regiment) was then dispatched to reinforce the Sikhs; but of that, also, a gallant officer was dangerously wounded; and many brave soldiers met the fate the battle-field had spared them. In the end, the sepoys were destroyed to a man, and the village was cleared; but the casualties on the British side were unexpectedly, and, for the occasion, disproportionately heavy. The whole of the killed and wounded in the field, when opposed to an army of from four to six thousand men, with thirteen pieces of ordnance, amounted to thirty-three only; but in this conflict with a few desperate men, who had nothing left them to struggle for but revenge, the number killed amounted to sixteen, and the wounded to forty-six. The whole affair has been described as one singularly characteristic of the Asiatic spirit. The enemy had fled from before a numerically insignificant band of Europeans jaded with fatigue and want of food, but resolute to conquer, and therefore irresistible; and yet, after the fortune of the day had been decided by the flight of an apparently overwhelming host, and the capture of all its artillery, a score or less of desperate fanatics, with the assurance of inevitable death before them, barricade themselves in a small building, and, with fatal determination, scatter their deadly missiles among the victors of the fight, so long as a single musket could be raised to speak the intensity of their hatred, their desperation, and their defiance of the race from before whom, but an hour or two previously, they had fled in hopeless terror. With men so acted upon by the impulses of fatalism and despair, it is impossible to observe the usages or exercise the humanities of civilised warfare. These desperadoes had already been beaten from the field, and might have avoided further peril had they chosen to do so. To defeat, or even for any time to repulse their pursuers, was not expected by them; but their last hope and exciting desire was to gratify revenge, and to inflict as much wanton and useless suffering as possible upon the race they hated and feared. By such men, an offer of quarter upon surrender would have been rejected with scorn; and it is probable, owing to a conviction that such was the fact, that in this sepoy war, the word "prisoners" appears to have been expunged from the military vocabulary.

Turning from the swampy field of Nujufghur and its sanguinary history, we find that, early in September, the siege-train on its way from Kurnaul, was reported in near proximity to the British camp; and preparations were at once commenced for active operations against Delhi. One of the first objects accomplished was the formation of a trench and battery, to the left of the "Sammy-house," to prevent sorties from the Lahore or Cabul gates passing round the city wall to annoy our breaching batteries, and also to assist in keeping down the fire of the Moree bastion. By the 6th, the whole of the siege-train, and all the reinforcements that were looked for, had arrived at the camp, and it was resolved by the major-general that the siege operations should be at once commenced. The actual force of all arms, under the command of Major-general Wilson at this time, including lascars, drivers, newly-raised Sikh sappers and artillerymen, and the recruits of the Punjab corps, amounted to 8,748 men, of which 2,977 were in hospital. Of this aggregate force, the proportion of British troops was as follows:—artillery, 580; cavalry, 443; infantry, 2,294. The

European corps at this time were mere skeletons; the strongest having only 409 effective rank and file; while the 52nd light infantry, which three weeks previously had arrived at the camp with upwards of 600 rank and file fit for duty, had now only 242 men out of hospital. The Cashmere contingent of 2,200 men and four guns had also arrived before Delhi, and several hundred men of the Jhind rajah's contingent were, at the rajah's earnest solicitation, brought into camp to share the credit of the capture of the Mogul capital; the rajah himself accompanying his troops. The battering train numbered forty pieces of heavy ordnance; and in addition to his park of artillery, almost daily augmented by captured guns, the major-general had also ten heavy, and twenty-two light, mortars.

The insurgent forces within and under the walls of Delhi at this time, consisted of twenty-four regiments of regular infantry, three of regular cavalry, three of irregular infantry, 400 of miscellaneous horse belonging to various regiments and contingents, and an armed rabble of Ghazees, or fanatics. In round numbers, the strength of the mutineers in disciplined troops, at the commencement of the siege operations, consisted of 12,000 infantry and 4,000 cavalry; and there were also in the city about 3,000 infantry and 1,000 cavalry of non-military combatants, useless perhaps in the field, but well armed, and effective enough as auxiliaries to the regular troops, when stationed behind loopholed walls or the parapets of houses. The relative proportion of the insurgent and European force was, therefore, as six to one.

The absurd and mischievous influence of a system which authorised, or at least tolerated, the interference or supervision of a civil commissioner, or agent of the local government, with or over the details of military operations in the face of an enemy, was operating even at this crisis; and we find Mr. Colvin, the lieutenant-governor of the North-West Provinces, in his official communication to the governor-general on the 31st of August, after reporting the latest news from the English force before Delhi, observing, that "it is reasonable to look for an early assault; and in that case, some superior authority at or near the spot, empowered to direct the employment of troops in whatever direction, seems very necessary." Fortunately, the suggestion, which if adopted must inevitably have embarrassed the general in the exercise of his command, does not appear to have been acted upon. In this case, the government at Calcutta was guided by the principle of "letting well alone;" and the incubus that might have paralysed the energies of the army of Delhi was avoided. The unprofessional caution and obtrusive counsels of mere civilians, are dangerous and impertinent at any time when interfering with military judgment and heroic enterprise; and assuredly they are out of all place or time when thrust upon an experienced and victorious general before the walls of a beleaguered city. It does not appear, by any record, that the intervention of "superior authority," recommended by Mr. Colvin, was sanctioned by the government; but, on the contrary, it is fair to infer that Major-general Wilson was left to the unfettered exercise of his own discretion, and the employment of his own resources for the accomplishment of the important object before him.

When making the necessary arrangements for prosecuting the siege operations with vigour, it had to be considered, that the strength of the engineering department of the army was lamentably weak in effective men. Of officers there was no deficiency; but of trained sappers there were only 120 in the camp: and this paucity of numbers in a most important arm of the service, had to be remedied by hastily training some companies of Muzbee Sikhs and Coolies, who, however, worked remarkably well. The park establishment had been busily occupied for some time collecting material; and, by its exertions, 10,000 fascines, 10,000 gabions, and 100,000 sandbags, were now ready for use. A large number of field magazines, scaling-ladders, and spare platforms, had also been duly prepared, and were available at a moment's notice. As the north face of the city was the side to be attacked, it was arranged, in laying down the plan of operations, to hold the right flank in check while pushing the main attack upon the left, partly because the river Jumna would protect the flank of the storming party as it advanced, and partly, also, because, on the north side of the city, there was better cover for the troops: moreover, the latter, on entering the city, would advance for some distance upon open ground instead of through narrow streets.

The point to be attacked embraced

the Moree, Cashmere, and Water bastions, with the curtains connecting them. These bastions presented regular faces and flanks of masonry, with properly-cut embrasures; but the height of the wall was twenty-four feet above the ground level, of which, however, eight feet was a mere parapet, three feet thick, the remainder being about four times that substance: outside the wall was a very wide berm, and then a ditch sixteen feet deep, and twenty wide at the bottom; the escarp and counterscarp were deep—the latter unrevetted, and the former revetted with stone, and eight feet in height; a good sloping glacis covered the lower ten feet of the wall from all attempts of distant batteries.

Shortly after the arrival of the siege-train, the following general order was issued by Major-general Wilson, and read at the head of each division of the army:—

"G. O.—Camp before Delhi, Sept. 6, 1857.

"The force assembled before Delhi has had much hardship and fatigue to undergo since its arrival in this camp, all of which has been most cheerfully borne by officers and men. The time is now drawing near when the major-general commanding the force trusts that their labours will be over, and they will be rewarded by the capture of the city for all their past exertions, and for a cheerful endurance of yet greater fatigue and exposure.

"The troops will now be required to aid and assist the engineers in the erection of the batteries and trenches, and in daily exposure to the sun as covering parties. The artillery will have even harder work than they yet have had, and which they have so well and cheerfully performed hitherto: this, however, will be for a short period only; and when ordered to the assault, the major-general feels assured British pluck and determination will carry everything before them, and that the bloodthirsty and murderous mutineers against whom they are fighting will be driven headlong out of their stronghold, or be exterminated: but to enable them to do this, he warns the troops of the absolute necessity of their keeping together, and not straggling from their columns. By this only can success be secured.

"Major-general Wilson need hardly remind the troops of the cruel murders committed on their officers and comrades, as well as their wives and children, to move them in the deadly struggle. No quarter should be given to the mutineers. At the same time, for the sake of humanity, and the honour of the country they belong to, he calls upon them to spare all women and children that may come in their way. It is so imperative, not only for their safety, but for the success of the assault, that men should not straggle from their columns, that the major-general feels it his duty to direct all commanding officers to impress this strictly upon their men; and he is confident that, after this warning, the men's good sense and discipline will induce them to obey their officers, and keep steady to their duty.

"It is to be explained to every regiment, that indiscriminate plunder will not be allowed; that prize agents have been appointed, by whom all captured property will be collected and sold, to be divided according to the rules and regulations on this head, fairly among all men engaged; and that any man found guilty of having concealed captured property, will be made to restore it, and will forfeit all claims to the general prize; he will also be likely to be made over to the provost-marshal to be summarily dealt with.

"The major-general calls upon the officers of the force to lend their zealous and efficient co-operation in the erection of the works of the siege now about to be commenced. He looks especially to the regimental officers of all grades, to impress upon their men, that to work in the trenches during a siege, is as necessary and honourable as to fight in the ranks during a battle. He will hold all officers responsible for their utmost being done to carry out the directions of the engineers; and he confidently trusts that all will exhibit a healthy and hearty spirit of emulation and zeal, from which he has no doubt that the happiest results will follow, in the brilliant termination of all their labours:

"A. WILSON, Major-general."

After this announcement, the construction of the necessary batteries was vigorously carried on; and at sunrise on the 8th of September, the works in front of the Moree bastion, and from which they were about 700 yards distant, thundered out their first summons to the pent-up enemy. Successive batteries were erected along the face of the city, and mounted with the heavy siege guns that, night and day until the morning of the 14th, poured an incessant fire upon the defences of the

enemy, who, being at last unable to discharge a gun from either of the three bastions under our fire, yet stood to their guns in the open ground which partly enfiladed the English position; they also got a gun to bear from a hole broken in the long curtain wall. They sent rockets from one of their martello towers, and they maintained a perfect shower of musketry from an advanced trench and from the city walls, which trembled beneath the roar of fifty pieces of heavy ordnance, that poured their iron messengers of destruction against and into the walls of the doomed city. Two breaches having been effected in the wall near the Cashmere and Water bastions, on the 11th, four officers of engineers—Lieutenants Medley, Lang, Greathed, and Home—examined them during the night of the 13th, and having reported them practicable, orders were at once issued to take the place at daybreak on the following morning. The arrangements for the attack were as follows:—

1st Column.—Brigadier-general Nicholson. Her majesty's 75th regiment, 300 men, Lieutenant-colonel Herbert; 1st fusiliers, 250 men, Major Jacob; 2nd Punjab infantry, 450 men, Captain Green: total, 1,000 men.—To storm the breach near the Cashmere bastion, and to escalade the face of the bastion.—Engineer officers attached: Lieutenants Medley, Lang, and Bingham.

2nd Column.—Brigadier Jones, C.B. Her majesty's 8th regiment, 250 men, Lieutenant-colonel Greathed; 2nd fusiliers, 250 men, Captain Boyd; 4th Sikh infantry, 350 men, Captain Rothney: total, 850 men.—To storm the breach in the Water bastion.—Engineer officers attached: Lieutenants Greathed, Hovenden, and Pemberton.

3rd Column.—Colonel Campbell. Her majesty's 52nd regiment, 200 men, Major Vigors; Kumaon battalion, 250 men, Captain Ramsay; 1st Punjab infantry, 500 men, Lieutenant Nicholson: total, 900 men.—To assault by the Cashmere gate, after it should be blown open.—Engineer officers attached: Lieutenants Home, Salkeld, and Tandy.

4th Column.—Major Reid. Detachment of European regiments, Sirmoor battalion, guides, and darogahs: total, 860 men.—To attack and carry the suburb Kissengunge, and enter the city by the Lahore gate.—Engineer officers attached: Lieutenants Maunsell and Tennant.

5th Column.—(The reserve), Brigadier Longfield. Her majesty's 61st regiment, 250 men, Lieutenant-colonel Deacon; 4th Punjab infantry, 450 men, Captain Wyld; wing of Belooch battalion, 300 men, Lieutenant-colonel Farquhar; Jhind auxiliary, 300 men, Lieutenant-colonel Dunsford; and her majesty's 60th rifles, 200 men, Lieutenant-colonel Jones, who were to join the reserve after they had covered the advance of the stormers: total, 1,500 men.—Engineer officers attached: Lieutenants Ward and Thackeray.—This column had orders to await the result of the attack by the other divisions of the force, and, upon their entering the place, to follow and take possession of the posts previously assigned to it.

Precisely at four o'clock on the morning of the 14th of September, the different columns fell-in and were marched to their respective places, the heads of the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd columns being kept concealed until the moment for the actual assault should arrive. The signal was to be the advance of the rifles to the front, to cover the heads of the columns by skirmishers. Everything being now ready, General Nicholson gave the signal, and the rifles dashed to the front, extending along and skirmishing through the low jungle which extends to within fifty yards of the ditch. At the same moment the leading files of the 1st and 2nd columns emerged from the Koodseebagh, and advanced steadily towards the breach. The English batteries had maintained a tremendous fire upon the walls up to the moment of the advance, which prevented the enemy from bringing a single gun to bear on the storming columns; but no sooner did the latter advance into the open ground than a perfect hailstorm of bullets met them from the front and both flanks, and the officers and men fell fast on the crest of the glacis. For several minutes it was not possible to get the ladders down into the ditch to ascend the escarp; but the determination of the British soldier carried all before it, and the rebel troops declining to meet the thrust of the English bayonet, fled from their defences; while the troops, with a shout and a rush that were resistless, sprang into the breaches, and both positions were won at the same moment.

Simultaneously with these attacks near the Cashmere and Water bastions, the explosion party, consisting of Lieutenants Salkeld and Home, Sergeants Carmichael, Burgess,

and Smith, four sappers, and a bugler of the 52nd regiment, advanced from the head of the 3rd column, which was concealed by a bend in the road, towards the Cashmere gate, which was constructed of massive timbers, and was immensely heavy, and flanked by loopholes and embrasures.

In the very face of a terrific fire of musketry from the wall, and the loopholes that flanked the gate, the small but dauntless band steadily advanced without for one instant swerving from their direct path: and the following extract of a report from the chief engineer, Colonel Baird Smith, to Major-general Wilson, furnishes the correct details of the hazardous but successful exploits:—

"The gallantry with which the explosion party, under Lieutenants Home and Salkeld, performed the desperate duty of blowing up the Cashmere gate, in broad daylight, will, I feel sure, be held to justify me in making special mention of it. The party was composed, in addition to the two officers named, of the following:—Sergeants John Smith and A. B. Carmichael, and Corporal Burgess, sappers and miners; Bugler Hawthorne, her majesty's 52nd; fourteen native sappers and miners; ten Punjab ditto; musters covered by the fire of her majesty's 60th rifles. The party advanced at the double towards the Cashmere gate. Lieutenant Home, with Sergeants Smith and Carmichael, and Havildar Mahor, all the sappers leading and carrying the powder-bags, followed by Lieutenant Salkeld, Corporal Burgess, and a portion of the remainder of the party. The advanced party reached the gateway unhurt, and found that part of the drawbridge had been destroyed; but passing across the precarious footway supplied by the remaining beams, they proceeded to lodge their powder-bags against the gate. The wicket was open, and through it the enemy kept up a heavy fire upon them. Sergeant Carmichael was killed while laying his powder-bag, Havildar Mahor being at the same time wounded. The powder being laid, the advanced party slipped down into the ditch to allow the firing party, under Lieutenant Salkeld, to perform its duty. While endeavouring to fire the charge Lieutenant Salkeld was shot through the arm and leg, and handed over the slow match to Corporal Burgess, who fell mortally wounded just as he had successfully accomplished the onerous duty. Havildar Tilluh Sing, of the Sikhs, was wounded; and Ramloll Sepoy, of the same corps, was killed during this part of the operation. The demolition being most successful, Lieutenant Home, happily not wounded, caused the bugler to sound the regimental call of the 52nd, as the signal for the advancing columns. Fearing that amid the noise of the assault the sounds might not be heard, he had the call repeated three times, when the troops advanced and carried the gateway with complete success. I feel certain that a simple statement of this devoted and glorious deed will suffice to stamp it as one of the noblest on record in military history. The perfect success contributed most materially to the brilliant result of the day, and Lieutenants Home and Salkeld, with their gallant subordinate Europeans and natives, will, I doubt not, receive the rewards which valour before the enemy so distinguished as theirs has entitled them to."*

* The chivalrous distinction of the Victoria cross was conferred by General Wilson upon Lieutenants Salkeld and Home, and also upon Sergeant Smith and Bugler Robert Hawthorne, of the 52nd regiment. The latter belonged to the explosion party, and, after Lieutenant Salkeld was thoroughly disabled by the second shot, remained with that officer, bound up his wounds, and protected him until he was removed to the Main-guard.—Lieutenant Philip Salkeld was a son of the Rev. Richard Salkeld, formerly resident at Servan, Ile et Vilaine, and was born October 13th, 1830, and consequently was only twenty-seven years of age. He received his nomination to the Indian service from the late Mr. William Astell, M.P., father of the present director of the East India Company, and was educated at the military college of Addiscombe. There he was selected by competition for the engineers, and obtained the highest prizes for mathematics and French. On quitting Addiscombe he went to the royal engineer establishment at Chatham, where he spent nearly two years in the theoretic and practical study of fortification and other kindred subjects. He quitted that institution in January, 1850, and arrived at Calcutta in the following June, when having acquired a perfect knowledge of the native language, he joined the corps of sappers and miners. In June, 1853, he was appointed to officiate as executive engineer officer at Meerut, from whence in the following year he was transferred to the charge of a division of the Grand Trunk-road, where he was continually employed down to December, 1856, when he succeeded to the office of executive engineer of the Delhi division. In July, 1857, he joined the force before Delhi, and for the perilous duty which devolved upon him, viz., that of blowing open the Cashmere gate, General Wilson promptly expressed his warmest thanks, and his "admiration of all who were engaged in that difficult operation." Unfortunately, the gallant officer died of the wounds received at the Cashmere gate. His remains rest in the cemetery at Delhi.





Thus, as mingling with the crash of the ponderous gates, and the yells and shouts of the panic-stricken and wounded rebels behind them, the clear notes of the English bugle sounded the welcome advance, the 3rd column rushed forward over the charred and shattered fragments and mutilated corpses that laid in its path, and entered Delhi just as the 1st and 2nd columns had gained the breaches, and were sweeping the ramparts from the Water bastion to the Cabul gate, occupying the interior defences, and driving the enemy like frightened sheep before the gleam of their bayonets.

The passage of the Cashmere gate presented a scene of horror as the troops rushed through the blackened and bloody chasm before them. Some thirty or forty of the sepoys, who had been stationed for the defence of the post, lay writhing around in all directions, their mutilated limbs scattered over the place, and their shrieks of agony adding to the wild clamour of the storm, and the shouts of the victors as they trampled over the prostrate rebels, whom they shot down and bayoneted without mercy. The work of vengeance had commenced within the walls of the traitor city: no quarter could be expected—none was given.

General Nicholson having concentrated his three columns upon the open ground within the gateway, formed the troops in front of the Main-guard, and then proceeded to clear the ramparts as far as the Moree bastion, thus leaving the north face of the city entirely in the possession of his troops. Advancing from the Moree towards the Lahore gate, within which he expected to meet the 4th column under Major Reid, the men had to traverse a number of narrow lanes, along which the enemy kept up a heavy shower of grape and musketry from the houses and loopholed walls; and in one of such gorges General Nicholson received the wound of which he died on the 26th of the month.* The fortifications

* Brigadier-general Nicholson was the son of an eminent physician in the county of Dublin, and nephew of Sir James Weir Hogg, formerly chairman of the East India Company, by whom he was presented with a military cadetship in 1839, being then in his 17th year. Upon his arrival in India, John Nicholson was appointed to an ensigncy in the 27th regiment of native infantry. At the very outset of his career, the embryo general gained practical experience in the art of war. The conquest of Cabul was followed by the revolt of the Affghans. At the period of the murder of Sir William Macnaghten and the massacre of the British troops at Jugdulluck, Nicholson was in Ghuznee, under Colonel Palmer, and shared with him the dangers of the siege. The British force found themselves shut up in the citadel, and, having suffered the extremities of hunger, were forced to capitulate, and remained prisoners until rescued by Sir R. Sale and Sir G. Pollock. We next find General Nicholson serving in the Sutlej campaign of 1845-'6. At the time of the outbreak of that war, he rendered important service to Sir Henry Hardinge by watching and reporting the movements of the Sikhs. He was also present on the bloody battle-fields of Moodkee and Ferozeshah, and received a medal for his gallantry in action. He was subsequently employed with the army of the Punjab during 1848-'9, whilst holding the post of assistant to the resident at Lahore, Sir F. Currie, who in his letters and despatches frequently mentions him in terms of the highest praise. He was present at the actions of Sadoolapore, Chillianwallah, and Goojerat. In the second Punjab campaign we find the name of General Nicholson almost inseparable from that of Major Herbert Edwardes, the hero of Mooltan. While the siege of Mooltan was still proceeding, Nicholson was sent to seize the fortress of Attock, which he succeeded in taking. As soon as his services could be spared he accompanied Lord Gough in his advance, and was able to render Sir J. Thackwell material assistance in transporting his forces across the Chenab, just previous to the battle of Ramnuggur. He had the satisfaction of seeing his name mentioned in the despatch of that gallant and distinguished officer, in the following terms:—"To Captain Nicholson, assistant to the resident at Lahore, I beg to offer my best thanks for his endeavours to procure intelligence of the enemy's movements, for his successful efforts to procure supplies for the troops, and for his able assistance on all occasions." After the battle of Chillianwallah, his friends had the additional gratification of seeing his services in that engagement acknowledged in Lord Gough's despatch, side by side with those of the late lamented Sir Henry M. Lawrence. Nor was he less distinguished on the field of Goojerat, where Lord Gough finally routed and crushed the Sikh forces, and after which he particularly recommended, in his despatch addressed to the governor-general of India, "that most energetic political officer, Captain Nicholson," as deserving of reward and promotion. For his services in the Punjab campaign, Captain Nicholson was promoted, by special brevet, to the rank of major in the army, and received the additional honours of a medal and a clasp. On the breaking out of the mutinies he was entrusted with the command of a brigade; and for his victory at Nujufghur, over the rebels sent out to interrupt the siege-train on its way to Delhi, he had been created a Companion of the Bath. He was only in his 35th year at the time of his death.—An interesting story is told relative to this gallant general, which will serve to show how highly his ability as an officer was appreciated by his heroic colleague, Major Herbert Edwardes. Some few years since these two officers were both in England; and as Edwardes was the "lion" of the day, he was called upon to return thanks on behalf of the Indian army, at a grand dinner given at the Fishmongers' Hall, at which the late Duke of Wellington, Lord Gough, the late Lord Hill, and other distinguished officers were

from the Water bastion to the Cabul gate were now securely held by the English troops; and as the resistance afforded by the shelter of the numerous defiles beyond the latter post was uncontrollable by musketry only, the troops fell back, and further attempts to gain the Burn bastion and Lahore gate, were for the moment suspended.

The 3rd column, headed by Colonel Campbell, of the 52nd light infantry, then advanced through the town towards the Jumma Musjeed, guided in its progress by Sir Theophilus Metcalfe, of the civil service, who had offered his assistance as guide—an office for which his local knowledge of Delhi eminently qualified him. By taking a circuitous, instead of the direct, route to the temple, little opposition was encountered until the troops reached the Chandnee Chouk, where, after a brief but sharp contest, they obtained possession of the Khotwallee, the enemy retreating amongst the adjacent outlets. Upon attempting to advance beyond this point, the sheltered resistance was so determined and effective, that the men and officers fell fast at every step; and it was deemed expedient to expose them to further sacrifices, until sufficient means were at hand to batter down the hiding-places of the enemy. The intended attack upon the Jumma Musjeed was therefore postponed, and the column fell back upon the reserve, near the church of St. James, which by that time was occupied by General Wilson and his staff.

The reserve, under Brigadier Longfield, had followed the 3rd column into the Cashmere gate, and advanced upon the college, which, with its enclosed gardens, was occupied by a strong body of insurgents, who speedily sought safety by flight: this post was then occupied by the 4th Punjab rifles and a portion of her majesty's 61st regiment. The Water bastion, Cashmere gate, Skinner's house, and a large commanding building, the residence of Achmed Ali Khan, were also held by the column of reserve. Upon the retirement of No. 3 column, the Kumaon battalion was placed on Skinner's house, the 52nd regiment and 60th rifles at the church. The magazine near the Main-guard was held by a part of her majesty's 61st; the Belooch battalion and Jhind auxiliaries occupied the Main-guard; and the 1st Punjab infantry was stationed in houses at the end of the two streets that opened into the space around the church from the interior of the city. Guns were also posted at the head of those streets, and thereby stopped an attempt to follow the 3rd column, when returning from its intended attempt on the Jumma Musjeed.

The 4th column, under Major Reid, whose point of attack was the Lahore gate, as previously mentioned, had advanced from the Subzee Mundee towards Kissengunge, the Cashmere contingent co-operating on its right. The latter, however, was so sharply attacked by the insurgents, who were in great strength in front of it, that after losing a number of men and four guns, the contingent force was completely defeated and forced to retire to the camp. Major Reid's column also met with strenuous resistance, probably increased and encouraged by the defeat of its auxiliaries;

present. When it came to his turn to speak, Major Edwardes rose from his seat, walked down to the spot where Nicholson was sitting, and laying his hand upon him, said—"Here, gentlemen, here sits the real hero of half the noble deeds which the world has been so ready to attribute entirely to me; and his name ought, rather than my own, to have been coupled with your toast." The effect was instantaneous and almost electrical.—The following is an extract from a letter by a young officer who served in General Nicholson's brigade:—"He was a very brave man and a most valuable public officer; very determined, very bold, very clever, and very successful; therefore his loss is most deeply felt, and every one feels that his place will not easily be supplied, nor the empty void filled where before his presence was so much felt and appreciated. He was a man in whom all the troops had the most unbounded confidence, and whom they would have followed anywhere cheerfully; yet he was quite a young man, who advanced himself by his own endeavours and good services. He had a constitution of iron. The day we marched to Murdan he was twenty-six hours in the saddle, following up the mutineers. I never heard so much anxiety expressed for any man's recovery before; and the only term I know that is fully adequate to express the loss which we all felt is, that in each of our hearts the victory that day has been turned into mourning. He was a man whom all would have delighted to honour, and was beloved both for his amiability and kindness of disposition, and his more brilliant qualities as a soldier and a ruler of the people. He was assistant-commissioner here before, and his name was known and dreaded by all the hill tribes around, and by all the inhabitants of the valley of Peshawur. When it was known that he was dangerously wounded, everyone's first inquiry was, 'How is Nicholson—are there any hopes of his recovery?' He is now gone from us, but his memory will be long cherished, and the example of his daring and bravery will stimulate those who knew him to emulate his deeds. His death has caused as much grief as that of that estimable, brave, and heroic good soldier, Sir Henry Lawrence." This event will be referred to hereafter.

and the enemy were so numerous and so strongly posted, that, after sustaining heavy loss in men and officers, including the commandant himself, who was severely wounded, further effort to advance was abandoned; and the senior officer in the field, Captain Muter, of the 60th rifles, judiciously withdrew the troops to their former posts at Hindoo Rao's, and in the Subzee Mundee, both of which were regained with difficulty, although they were aided by a brisk discharge of shrapnel shells from the Crows'-nest battery. In this retrograde movement, a party of guide infantry was surrounded by the insurgents in an enclosure, from which they could not get away until rescued in a spirited manner by a wing of the Belooch battalion, which had been sent from the city to their assistance.

Meanwhile, Brigadier Grant, with his cavalry, consisting of about 600 sabres, and a troop and a-half of horse artillery, had effectually prevented any annoyance to the flanks of the assaulting columns; but his troops had suffered greatly from the fire of the Taleewarra guns, and those of the Burn bastion, three of the former of which were, however, spiked by the troopers; and the duty assigned to the brigadier having been most efficiently discharged, the cavalry was withdrawn to the neighbourhood of Ludlow Castle, having its pickets towards the ridge; and the Belooch wing having rescued the guides as mentioned, returned to the city, and again joined the reserve.

The buildings in the neighbourhood of the Cashmere gate afforded good quarters for the troops, and cover from the enemy's fire, and the post consequently became the basis of future operations. In the course of the day, many of the people of the city stole into the camp, and applied for protection: they all craved forgiveness, and of course disavowed any participation in the rebellion. They protested they had been compelled to remain prisoners in the city, but had never taken part with the insurgents in the outrages perpetrated upon the Europeans. Their asseverations of innocence and loyalty were met by an order that they should give proof of both by removing the bodies of the dead sepoys that lay festering around in every direction, as well as in the buildings contiguous to the walls. Few, if any, of them hesitated to commence the, to them, abhorrent task; and they worked with such apparent good-will, that before night most of the unsightly vestiges of the morning's havoc had been removed from sight. The city, so far as could be seen from the posts occupied by the troops, presented a wretched scene of desolation and smoky ruins, from amongst which, occasionally, women and children would rush with frantic cries while seeking other shelter than that of their ruined homes. Of these helpless creatures, it is not known that one met with molestation or insult from our soldiers;* but with the male inhabitants a far different line of conduct was pursued. The troops were exasperated by the remembrance of atrocities perpetrated upon their betrayed and massa-

* The conduct of the English troops upon this occasion, contrasts most honourably with that of the Mohammedan conquerors of Delhi in 1738, referred to in p. xx. of the Introduction to this history. The sanguinary excesses indulged in by the soldiers of Nadir Shah, are thus more fully related in Montgomery Martin's *India*, p. 165. The shah, exasperated by one of his chiefs being killed while riding by his side, "ordered his troops to retaliate, and not leave a soul alive, wherever they should discover the corpse of a Persian. This command, which of course warranted nothing less than a general massacre, was eagerly obeyed; the soldiery entered the houses, and gave free loose to those hateful passions—covetousness, lust, revenge; the true 'dogs of war.' The streets of Delhi streamed with blood: many thoroughfares became blocked up with carcasses; flames burst forth in various places where the wretched citizens, distracted by the thought of beholding their wives and children in the hands of the foe, had preferred sharing with them a fiery death; the shrieks and groans of the dying and the dishonoured pierced the air, overpowering, at moments, the fearful imprecations, or yet more fiendish scoffings of their persecutors; and from sunrise to broad noon these horrid sights and sounds continued unabated. Nadir Shah, it is said, after issuing the murderous order, went into the little mosque in the great bazaar near the centre of the city, and there remained in gloomy silence until he was aroused by the entrance of Mahomed Shah, whose deep distress obtained a command for the termination of the massacre. According to the lowest trustworthy statement, 30,000 human beings were destroyed in this merciless act of wholesale slaughter." Again—"The wretched survivors seemed to have wanted energy even to perform the funeral obsequies of the dead. In several of the Hindoo houses, where one of the family survived, he used to pile thirty or forty carcasses a-top of one another and burn them; and so they did in the streets; notwithstanding which, there still remained so many, that for a considerable time there was no such thing as passing any of those ways. After some days, the stench arising from the multitude of unburied dead becoming intolerable, the bodies were dragged into the river, thrown into pits, or else collected together in heaps, without distinction of Mussulman or Hindoo, and burned with the rubbish of the ruined houses until all were disposed of; and thus the city was at last cleared of its slaughtered inhabitants."—(Fraser's *History of Nadir Shah.*)

ored officers, and upon the defenceless women and children that had been outraged and murdered within that bloodstained city. The dogged resistance and ferocious cunning by which they were encountered at every step, and from behind every wall, of the narrow thoroughfares and hiding-places through which they had to make their way to the entire occupation of the city, often compelled them to fight from house to house, and from hand to hand; and the protracted struggle embittered still more the desire that raged within them for stern, unsparing vengeance.

In some of the buildings forced open by the troops in their progress, parties of from forty to sixty armed men were occasionally found together; and of such, when discovered, not a single life was spared.

A letter from Delhi, written whilst the fight was going on, says—"Women are flying frantically about in all directions, unmolested by our troops, in awful fright; property of great value lying about the streets everywhere, and the enemy in hundreds hurrying away from the doomed city—some say to Gwalior, *viâ* Muttra, where, I suppose, they will make another stand. The slaughter of the enemy has been very great; and in the smaller thoroughfares, where our troops had to fight from house to house, the sepoys fell where they were found, entreating the sahib log (as they called our Europeans) not to give them the cold steel, but to shoot them at once. A good deal of skirmishing is going on in the streets, but Pandy don't stand so firmly as people expected; and although the city, which may be supposed was to fall at once into our possession, has taken so long to recover, I think the worst for us is over; and bad enough it is, as far as loss of life is concerned. Many will be glad to learn that women and children are suffered to go unmolested. This is a stretch of mercy I should not have been prepared to make had I a voice in the matter. It ought to be remembered that many of these very women (or fiends in female form) were foremost in inflicting cruelty upon our own women and children; and it must be fresh in your memory, that when the mutineers came out of the city for a grand attack upon our camp, while Nicholson's force was at Nujufghur, they were followed by crowds of these very women, whose sole object on venturing out was to *loot* our camp when the mutineers took possession of it; which they calculated would be an easy affair, as our troops were away! These Coolie women of Delhi were with the men who looted all the European houses in Delhi. However, it is the general's order that they should be spared—and I hope he won't rue it. I wonder if one of these women would have spared one of our women if she had the chance of murdering her?"

In this street warfare, and the arrangement of guns and mortars to shell the palace and Selimgurh, the 15th of September passed over, the rebels still maintaining a heavy cannonade on the English position, from the grand magazine and Selimgurh; while, from the former, the college compound was annoyed by a continued fire of musketry. Skirmishing was also carried on at each of the advanced posts, but with little loss on the part of the English. On the 16th, the grand magazine was stormed and taken by her majesty's 61st regiment, aided by the 4th Punjab rifles, and a wing of the Belooch battalion. This event was announced to the governor-general in the following telegram:—"Delhi 16th. Magazine carried this evening with loss of o ly three wounded. A dash and cheer struck such terror, that the rebels dropped their lighted portfires, leaving their loaded guns an easy prey to us: 125 pieces of ordnance, and vast supplies of shot and shell, found in the magazine alone. Our guns and ten mortars are now bearing on the palace. We hold everything on our side the canal, except the palace. All look to the complete occupation of the city in a couple of days as a certainty."—This acquisition put the attacking force in possession of a vast quantity of stores of every description, except powder: and notwithstanding the enormous quantity of shot expended by the rebels during the three preceding months, huge piles, of every calibre, were yet left untouched by them.

In the course of the morning of the 16th, the rebel positions at Kissengunge and Taleewarra were abandoned, and five heavy guns belonging to the insurgents were taken possession of by a party sent out from Hindoo Rao's house for the purpose. The immense strength of the position occupied by the insurgents in those suburbs was now apparent, and accounted for the check sustained by the 4th column, under Major Reid, on the morning of the assault.

The successes of the troops up to this time, were announced to the government of India

on the 16th of September, in the following despatch of Major-general Wilson:—

"Head-quarters, Delhi, Sept. 16th.

"Sir,—I have the high satisfaction of reporting, for the information of the major-general commanding in the upper provinces, and through him to his excellency the commander-in-chief, and government, that on the morning of the 14th instant, the force under my command successfully assaulted the city of Delhi.

"After six days of open trenches, during which the artillery and engineers under their respective commanding officers, Major Gaitskell and Lieutenant-colonel Baird Smith, vied with each other in pressing forward the work, two excellent and most practicable breaches were formed in the walls of the place—one in the curtain to the right of the Cashmere bastion, the other to the left of the Water bastion; the defences of those bastions, and the parapets giving musketry cover to the enemy commanding the breaches, having also been destroyed by the artillery.

"The assault was delivered on four points. The first column, under Brigadier J. Nicholson, consisting of her majesty's 75th regiment (?00 men), the 1st European Bengal fusiliers (200 men), and the 2nd Punjab infantry (450 men), assaulted the main breach, their advance being admirably covered by the 1st battalion of her majesty's 60th rifles, under Colonel J. Jones. The operation was crowned with brilliant success; the enemy, after severe resistance, being driven from the Cashmere bastion, the Main-guard, and its vicinity, in complete rout.—The second column, under Brigadier Jones, of her majesty's 61st regiment, consisting of her majesty's 8th regiment (250 men), the 2nd European Bengal fusiliers (250 men), and the 4th regiment of Sikhs (350 men), similarly covered by the 60th rifles, advanced on the Water bastion, carried the breach, and drove the enemy from his guns and position with a determination and spirit which gave me the highest satisfaction.—The third column, under Colonel Campbell, of her majesty's 52nd light infantry, consisting of 200 of his own regiment, the Kumaon battalion (250 men), and the 1st Punjab infantry (500 men), was directed against the Cashmere gateway. This column was preceded by an explosion party, under Lieutenants Home and Salkeld, of the engineers, covered by the 60th rifles. The demolition of the gate having been accomplished, the column forced an entrance, overcoming a strenuous opposition from the enemy's infantry and heavy artillery, which had been brought to bear on the position. I cannot express too warmly my admiration of the gallantry of all concerned in this difficult operation. The reserve, under Brigadier Longfield, her majesty's 8th regiment, composed of her majesty's 61st regiment (250 men), the 4th regiment of rifles (450 men), the Belooch battalion (300 men), the Jhind rajah's auxiliaries (300 men), and 200 of her majesty's 60th rifles, who joined after the assault had been made, awaited the result of the attack, and, on the columns entering the place, took possession of the posts I had previously assigned to it. This duty was ultimately performed to my entire satisfaction. The firm establishment of the reserve rendering the assaulting columns free to act in advance, Brigadier-general Nicholson, supported by Brigadier Jones, swept the ramparts of the place from the Cashmere to the Cabul gates, occupying the bastions and defences, capturing the guns, and driving the enemy before him.

"During the advance, Brigadier-general Nicholson was, to the grief of myself and the whole army, dangerously wounded. The command consequently devolved on Brigadier Jones, who finding the enemy in great force, occupying and pouring a destructive fire from the roofs of strong and commanding houses in the city on all sides, the ramparts themselves being enfiladed by guns, prudently resolved on retaining possession of the Cabul gate, which his troops had so gallantly won, in which he firmly established himself, awaiting the result of the operations of the other columns of occupation. Colonel Campbell, with the column under his command, advanced successfully from the Cashmere gate by one of the main streets beyond the 'Chandnee Chouk,' the central and principal street of the city, towards the Jumma Musjeed, with the intention of occupying that important post. The opposition, however, which he met from the great concentration of the enemy at the Jumma Musjeed and the houses in the neighbourhood (he himself, I regret to state, being wounded), satisfied him that his most prudent course was not to maintain so advanced a position with the comparatively limited force at his disposal; and he accordingly withdrew the head of his column and placed himself in communication with the reserve, a measure which had my entire

cepting the bank; they also still occupy the palace and Selimgurh, and have a camp pitched outside near the Ajmeer gate. The palace wall will be breached as soon as we attain a suitable site for our battery, which we have not yet acquired. Our mortars have been brought into the town, and are shelling the palace. The guns taken on the works have also been turned upon the portions of the town which are in possession of the mutineers, and we are gradually pressing forwards. The usual license, which invariably accompanies an assault of a large city, has somewhat retarded our advance, but order is fast being restored. At first, the mutineers offered obstinate resistance, but they have become less active. The townspeople are flying the city in crowds, and the mutineers themselves are deserting in large bodies; their cavalry, it is reported, having almost entirely disappeared. We can get no good information as to the mutineers' line of retreat, but some say Gwalior Few pass over the bridge. Their positions at Kissengunge were abandoned on the day after the assault, seven guns being left behind in position. Our casualties on the day of the assault were: Europeans killed, eight officers, 162 rank and file; wounded, fifty-two officers, 510 rank and file. Natives killed, 103; wounded, 310. Missing, ten Europeans: total, Europeans and natives, killed and wounded, 1,145. The following ordnance has been captured:—In position and in the streets, thirty-five pieces of sorts; in the magazine, 171: total, 206. The amount of shot and shell is unlimited. I have communicated the contents of this to government.—I am, &c.,

"NEVILLE CHAMBERLAINE,
"Adjutant-general of the army."

"P.S.—19th. During the night we advanced our left up to Abbott's house, and also Khan Mahomed's house. This gives us a strong position up to within 150 yards of the palace walls. All our mortars are bearing upon the Jumma Musjeed and the southern part of the town, which is being fast evacuated, the resistance becoming much less on our right: we are also progressing by working through the houses. The king and royal family are said to have evacuated the palace, and gone to the old fort outside the city to the south. Our very small number makes it necessary to be cautious in taking possession of so large a city; for the great number we have of sick and wounded, and our losses on the day of the assault, have reduced us very much. This was too late to be sent yesterday."

The despatch was transmitted to the governor-general by the commander-in-chief, with the following expression of opinion:—

"Government-house, Calcutta, Oct. 8th.

"Sir,—I have the honour to forward, for submission to his lordship the governor-general in council, two despatches, which have arrived from Major-general Wilson (commanding the field force before Delhi), and the adjutant-general of the army. I beg very particularly to call the attention of his lordship to the matter contained in these two communications, and to give expression to the very cordial feeling I experience towards Major-general Wilson and the force under his command. It is impossible to be too lavish of praise for the untiring energy, invincible fortitude, and splendid gallantry by which this force has been distinguished, from the general in command to the private soldier in the ranks. All have done their duty most nobly; and the steadfast courage of the men has enabled the general to carry out his enterprise in spite of scanty means and a deadly season.—I have, &c.,

"C. CAMPBELL, Commander-in-chief.

"To Colonel Birch, C.B."

In reference to the above communication, the *Calcutta Gazette Extraordinary* of Friday, October 9th, 1857, contained—

"*Notification.*—The governor-general in council has the great satisfaction of publishing the subjoined letter of this day's date, from his excellency the commander-in-chief, accompanied by letters from the general in command, and from the adjutant-general of the army at Delhi. Most cordially does the governor-general in council join in the high encomium passed upon Major-general Wilson and his brave troops by General Sir Colin Campbell; from whom praise so hearty and so just will not fail to be appreciated by every soldier, British or native, in the army of the north-west. The noble qualities which that army has evinced during the arduous and wearing struggle of the last three months are indeed worthy of the highest admiration and praise. Its steady perseverance, and eager, resistless courage, have gloriously upheld the authority, and will not disappoint the expectations, of England.—By order of the governor-general of India in council.

"R. J. H. BIRCH, Colonel,
"Secretary to the Government of India.

"Fort William, October 8th, 1857."

During the 17th and 18th, the right and left positions of the British army at the Cabul gate and the magazine, were brought into direct communication by a line of posts, in rear of which everything had been secured; and a new and yet more advanced point was gained on the latter day, by occupying the Delhi bank on the left, while the sappers on the right slowly made their way towards the Burn bastion, which, with the Lahore gate, still held out. The Delhi bank buildings were not won without some hard fighting; but once gained, they were resolutely held, as they faced the west front of the palace and Selimgurh. Within the marble walls of the former, as well as behind the massive works of the latter, the enemy still held out, playing occasionally from their artillery, and keeping up a continued fire of musketry; whilst along the streets leading to the Chandnee Chouk, the dropping sound of musketry, that told of irregular and partial fighting, was heard at intervals during the day. All the mortars belonging to the English force (most of them brought from the magazine captured on the preceding day) now played constantly upon the palace and the quarters of the town occupied by the enemy.

On the 18th, it was reported by spies, that the king, with his sons, the three royal regiments, some other corps of native infantry, and troopers of the light cavalry, had secured themselves in the palace, and were resolved to resist to the last man. They had now got a field-piece in position, in front of the Chandnee Chouk gateway of the royal residence, from which they kept up a constant but ineffective fire upon the bank.

During the evening of the 19th of September, the Burn bastion was surprised and captured by a party from the Cabul gate; and early on the following morning, the Lahore gate and Garstin bastion were likewise taken by assault. On the same day, the whole of the available cavalry had moved out through the suburbs, in the direction of, but not on the road to, the Cuttub Minar, and marched to the top of the Eed-Ghah hill, from whence they overlooked the camp of the Bareilly and Nusseerabad mutineers, under General Bucktawar Khan, formerly a subahdar of cavalry in the Company's service. It was soon perceived that the enemy was evacuating the camp; and a loud explosion in the direction of it told, to practised ears, that the rebel troops were destroying their surplus ammunition previous to flight. The surmise was presently converted into assurance of the fact by the arrival of some hurkarus belonging to Hodson's irregulars. Captain Hodson immediately descended to the camp, which he found deserted, except by some sick and wounded sepoys, incapable of offering resistance. A great quantity of clothing, and some ammunition and plunder, was found in the camp, which bore unmistakable evidence of hasty abandonment. Another party of cavalry then entered the city by the Delhi gate, and quickly took possession of the Jumma Musjeed, in which important post they were immediately supported by a detail of infantry and some guns.

It had now become evident, that notwithstanding the boasted resolution to hold out "to the last man," the king and his adherents were about to, or already had, put in practice "that better part of valour called discretion," by seeking their personal safety in flight! In consequence of this change of purpose, the king and princes, with their attendants and a large portion of their troops, had left the palace and city during the night—the monarch and his family to seek a temporary refuge in the palace of the Cuttub Minar; the troops to carry the ravages of a war of extermination through the adjacent provinces.

At two o'clock on the morning of the 20th of September, a working party of engineers and sappers was detailed off to a large building near the Lahore gate of the palace, for the purpose of raising a battery of heavy guns, with which to batter the outer walls of the royal residence. By four o'clock the men had reached the station assigned to them, and filled in their sand-bags to make a traverse across a road leading to, and about 300 yards distant from, the gate, outside of which the enemy had still three heavy guns, that enabled them to keep up a desultory fire on the working party, which, however, accomplished its task, and then the rebels could no longer approach their guns, as the rifles, from behind the sand-bags, picked off every man as he showed himself. About 9 o'clock A.M., it was determined to break through some houses in front of the palace, in order to obtain a clear range towards the great gate of the building, with a view to batter it in preparatory to an assault. The subsequent operations in this quarter are described in the subjoined

letter of an officer of engineers engaged in this service. He says—"I waited a short time, when suddenly I saw some Sikhs and rifles run forward towards the gate, and squat down behind a low wall at the side of the road. A few men fired at them out of the loopholes of the palace wall, but did no damage. Colonel Jones then determined to blow in the gate and rush in. Accordingly, poor Home (who has since been killed) sent for powder-bags, and got 250lbs. of powder. As he had been at one blowing-in expedition, I offered to light the fuse and lay the bags; but he said he had been ordered, and did not approve of volunteering, so he went himself. The rifles, some of the 61st, and Sikhs and Ghoorkas, were all safe some little distance off. I was with Colonel Jones. We saw Home light the train and run off. The Sikhs ran across the road up to the gate. We all ran in as hard as we could, and found a number of our officers in the front. As we entered the gate, we found pointing at it three heavy guns, loaded with grape up to the muzzle, but luckily nobody to fire them. We collected a good many men, and dashed through, finding ourselves in a very fine archway, lofty and wide, with small vaulted rooms on each side. In these were some sepoys, who were, of course, instantly killed. The first polished off, I am almost glad to say, was a sapper. We went on half-way up the archway, which is about eighty yards long, where two roads went across, right and left. We wanted to get up to the top of the towers of the gate, and one officer luckily knew the way; I followed him close with others. We searched all through the rooms, but could find no one. We then came down, and went to the other gate of the palace, called the Delhi gate, because it leads out in the direction of the old city of Delhi. Several sepoys were killed there also—one on the way to it. We saw this man come out of his hut, look at us, run back, get his musket and a powder-flask. Several shots were fired at him, but missed; at last, a rifleman beside me stopped, stretched his leg out, and took a steady aim, and killed the man in the act of loading. Having left a guard at this gate, we were returning, in order to penetrate the interior of the palace, when we saw a man coming towards us with a tulwar, not drawn, and another native weapon, which I have now. We said, 'Who are you?' He said, '*Ryot*' (that is, a peasant.) Having found him with arms in the palace, we thought this very unlikely, and so ordered him to be shot, which was done accordingly. We then went into a large courtyard, in which were lying a few bodies of men, camels, horses, bullocks, &c., killed by our shells, of which a good many marks were visible. Passing through this, we came to what was called the 'Public Hall of Audience.' Here was a marble balcony, in which the puppet king used to sit, when every one could come to the presence and make petitions. This balcony was about fifteen feet from the ground. The enclosure round it, of paling, about four feet high, is about eighty yards long and thirty broad; inside it were a number of sepoys on beds. They were all killed. I saw one man (sepoy) have both hands cut off with a tulwar, shot in the body, two bayonet wounds in the chest, and he still lived, till a rifleman blew his brains out. I did not feel the least disgusted or ashamed of directing or seeing such things done, when I reflected on what those very wretches perhaps had done; and I hope you won't think worse of me for saying so. I think I could have seen any number killed. From this we went on to the 'Private Hall of Audience.' In this no sepoys were found that I know of. This hall, where the throne was, is built of marble, and is a mixture of splendour and tawdriness, which characterise Indian buildings. I sat down on the white stone, or block of crystal, or whatever it is, on which, I believe, the king's chair used to be placed, and leant against a marble pillar, and hoped our labours were over."

The palace of the Moguls had then been deserted by its princely occupants, and the living representative of the illustrious race of Timour, was now, with his family and retainers, a wretched fugitive, shorn of his honours, and dependent even for the boon of existence upon the mercy of those he had so grievously insulted and irreparably wronged. Perhaps a more deplorable fall may scarcely be conceived than was that of the traitor, Mahomed Suraj-oo-deen Shah Ghazee, titular king of Delhi.

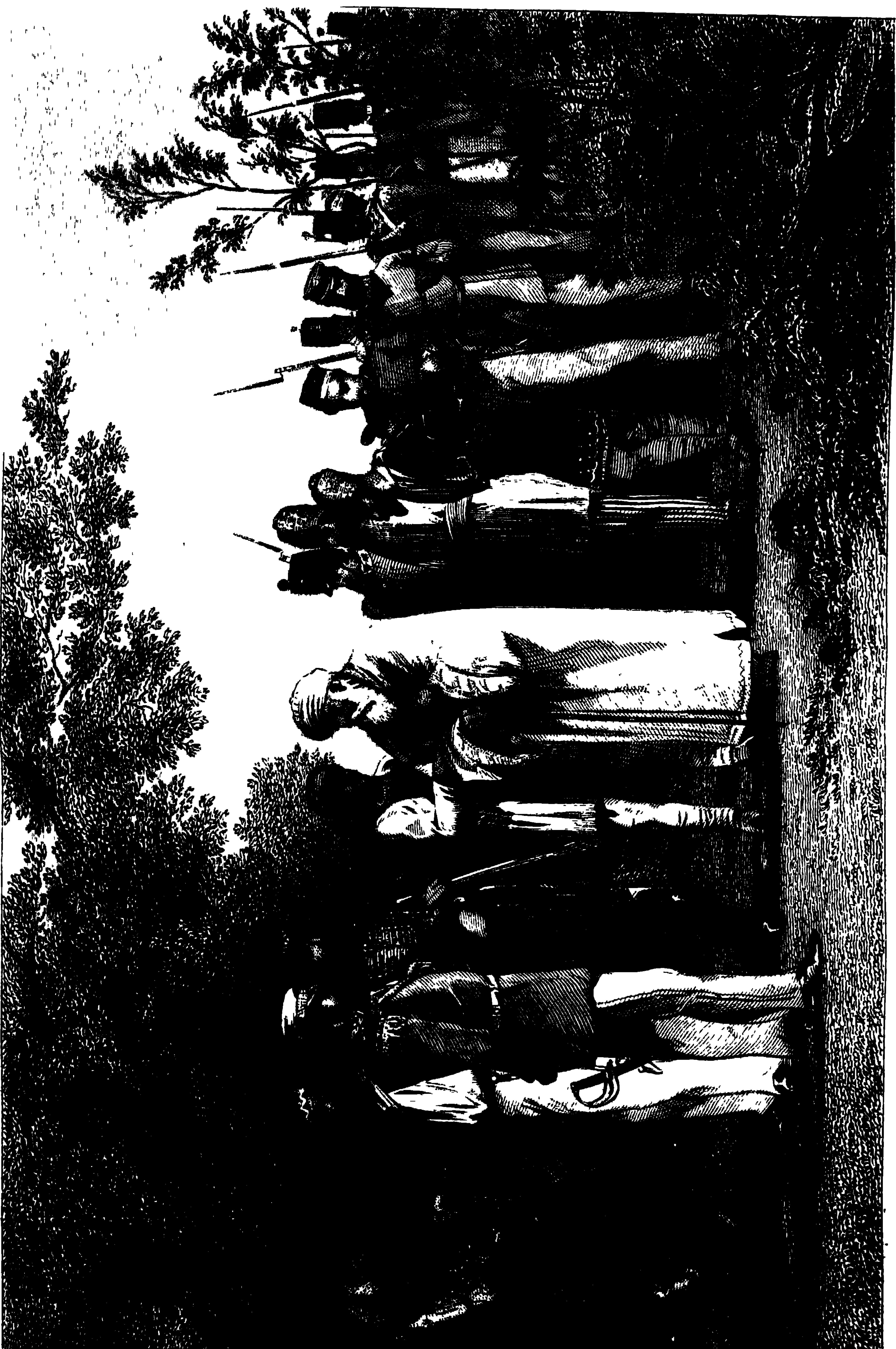
In the course of the day, the head-quarters of the army were established in the palace, in the principal hall of which the health of her majesty Queen Victoria was rapturously drank to by the conquerors of Delhi; and, under a royal salute, the British flag unfolded its triumphant blazonry;

while the building resounded with the joyous acclamations of the troops, who thus beheld the consummation of their months of toil and endurance.

Immediately that the flight of the king and princes became known, Captain Hodson obtained permission to start with his horsemen in pursuit, and came up with the elder of the royal fugitives at Durgah Nizam-oo-deen, about six miles from the city. The king was at once summoned to surrender; and, after some negotiation with the begum, his favourite wife, who had accompanied him, and who stipulated for his personal safety as the only condition on which he would return alive to Delhi, Captain Hodson gave his word that the life of the king should be spared. The royal prisoner was then brought forth, and surrendered to his pursuer, who forthwith returned to Delhi with his prize.* Upon the arrival of the horsemen with their prisoner at the gate of the palace, the men on guard prepared to turn out and salute the party, but were restrained by Captain Hodson, who with a feeling of delicacy imagined the act might be construed by the ex-monarch as one of mockery. The king, with his wife, and her son (a youth of seventeen), with some half-dozen attendants, were then conducted to a small building in the courtyard of the palace, where, under a proper guard, they remained until their fate could be decided by a military tribunal.

On the following morning Captain Hodson again started, for the purpose of capturing the fugitive princes, whom he ascertained had taken shelter at the tomb of the emperor Humayoon, near the Cuttub Minar. This active officer, with 100 of his men, speedily reached the designated spot, and having taken necessary measures for preventing any access to, or egress from, the building, he ordered one of the illegitimate sons of the king (who had saved his own life by treachery to his relatives), with a Moulvie, named Rujab Ali (a trusted emissary of the late Sir Henry Lawrence), to bring the princes from their retreat. After a delay of two hours his order was obeyed, and two of the sons and one grandson of the king came out and gave up their swords. They were immediately placed in a carriage, and, surrounded by a guard of forty men, proceeded slowly towards the city. Captain Hodson then, with the remainder of his men, entered the *enceinte* of the tomb, where he found from five to six thousand of the refuse of the city and palace congregated, and armed with weapons and missiles of all descriptions. Upon his commanding the instant surrender of their arms, several shots were fired, but not one of Hodson's band was hit. The captain sternly reiterated his command, and was about to give his men the order to charge upon the rabble, when the latter began laying down their arms: 500 swords, 1,000 fire-arms of different sorts, besides horses, elephants, &c., were collected in less than an hour and a-half, without a blow being struck. Captain Hodson then rapidly followed the royal prisoners, who had by this time nearly reached Delhi. The carriage had halted, and was surrounded by an immense gathering of people, who turned defiantly upon the troopers as they approached the spot. It was not a moment for hesitation, and the captain at once dashed into the midst of the throng, and in a few but energetic words, told the people that "those men in the carriage had not only rebelled against the government, but had ordered and witnessed the massacre and shameful

* The exigencies of the moment required that a wide discretion should be allowed to the authorities immediately upon the scene of action, when the personal condition of the king became a question; and, although the circumstances might not have warranted a subordinate officer in deviating from any positive order issued by government on the subject, it does not seem that Captain Hodson, in pledging his word for the safety of the king's life, did at all violate the instructions contained in the following notification from the secretary to the government, issued in the previous month, and simply prohibiting any negotiation in which restoration to his former state should be offered as a basis of future arrangement. The document referred to states, that "rumours have more than once reached the government that overtures have been made by the king of Delhi to the officer commanding the troops there, and that those overtures may possibly be renewed upon the basis of the restoration of the king to the position which he held before the mutiny at Meerut and Delhi. The governor-general desires it to be understood, that any concession to the king, of which the king's restoration to his former position should be the basis, is one to which the government, as at present advised, cannot for a moment give its consent. Should any negotiation of the sort be contemplated, a full report of all the circumstances must be submitted to the governor-general in council, before the government is committed to anything."—The notification merely refers to the question of future position, not to the preservation of life; and so it was doubtless understood by Captain Hodson; although Major-general Wilson was called upon by the secretary to the government, "to explain under what conditions the king's life was promised him."—(Blue Books, No. 4, p. 106; and No. 6, p. 43.)



exposure of innocent women and children: and thus, therefore," said he, turning to the carriage with his revolver—"thus, therefore, the government punishes such traitors and murderers." Suiting the action to the word, he shot them instantaneously in succession. The effect upon the rabble was wonderful: not a hand was raised, not a weapon levelled; and the Mohammedans of the troop, and some Moulvies among the people, exclaimed, as if by simultaneous impulse, "Well and rightly done: their crimes have met with their just penalty!—these were they who gave the signal for the death of helpless women and children; and outraged decency by the exposure of their persons; and now a righteous judgment has fallen upon them! God is great!" The crowd then slowly and silently dispersed, and the bodies were conveyed into the city and thrown out of the carriage, upon the very spot in front of the Khotwallee, where the blood of their victims, a few months previous, had stained the earth. Here the carcasses remained exposed to the gaze of the people until the 24th, when, for sanitary reasons, they were removed, and cast into the river.

The following official despatch, from Major-general Wilson to the adjutant-general of the army, announces the complete re-occupation of Delhi by the English authorities:—

"Delhi, September 22nd.

"Sir,—In continuation of my despatch of the 16th instant, I now have the honour to forward a report, for the information of the major-general commanding in the upper provinces, his excellency the commander-in-chief, and the government, of the further operations of the force under my command since that date. During the 17th and 18th we continued to take up advanced posts in the face of considerable opposition on the part of the rebels, and not without loss to ourselves, three officers being killed, and a number of men killed and wounded. On the evening of the 19th, the Burn bastion, which had given us considerable annoyance, was surprised and captured. On the morning of the 20th our troops pushed on and occupied the Lahore gate, from which an unopposed advance was made on the other bastions and gateways, until the whole of the defences of the city were in our hands. From the time of our first entering the city, an uninterrupted and vigorous fire from our guns and mortars was kept up on the palace, Jumma Musjeed, and other important posts in possession of the rebels; and as we took up our various positions in advance, our light guns and mortars were brought forward and used with effect on the streets and houses in their neighbourhood.

"The result of this heavy and unceasing bombardment, and of the steady and persevering advance of our troops, has been the evacuation of the palace by the king, the entire desertion of the city by the inhabitants, and the precipitate flight of the rebel troops—who, abandoning their camp property, many of their sick and wounded, and the greater part of their field artillery, have fled in utter disorganisation, some four or five thousand across the bridge of boats into the Doab, the remainder down the right bank of the Jumna. The gates of the palace having been blown in, it was occupied by our troops at about noon on the 20th, and my head-quarters established in it the same day. The great diminution of our strength by losses in action during the last few days, added to the severe sickness prevailing among the troops, has prevented my immediately organising and sending a column in pursuit; but a force,* under command of Lieutenant-colonel Greathed, will march to-morrow morning towards Bolundshuhur and Allygurh to intercept the rebels, whose intentions are said to be to cross the Jumna at Muttra. My intelligence, however, I regret to say, is very defective. The king, who accompanied the troops, it is believed for some short distance, last night gave himself up to a party of irregular cavalry, whom I had sent out in the direction of the fugitives, and he is now a prisoner under a guard of European soldiers. Three of the shahzadars† who are known to have taken a prominent part in the atrocities attending the insurrection, have been this day captured by Captain Hodson, and shot on the spot.

"Thus has the important duty committed to this force been accomplished, and its object attained. Delhi, the focus of rebellion and insurrection, and the scene of so much horrible cruelty, taken and made desolate;

* First troop, 1st brigade horse artillery; 2nd ditto; 3rd ditto; No. 7 light field battery, 9th lancers; 1st, 2nd, and 5th Punjab cavalry; Hodson's horse (220); two companies of Punjab sappers; her majesty's 8th regiment; her majesty's 7th ditto; 2nd and 4th Punjab infantry.

† Mirza Moghul, Mirza Kheyr Sultan, sons of the king; Mirza Aboo Bukkur, grandson, ditto.

the king a prisoner in our hands; and the mutineers, notwithstanding their great numerical superiority and their vast resources in ordnance, and all the munitions and appliances of war, defeated on every occasion of engagement with our troops, are now driven with slaughter in confusion and dismay from their boasted stronghold. The details of the operations have been so fully entered into in my previous despatch and annexed reports and returns from the various commanding officers, that little remains for me to say, but to again express my unqualified approbation of the conduct and spirit of the whole of the troops, not only on this occasion, but during the entire period they have been in the field. For four months of the most trying season of the year this force, originally very weak in number, has been exposed to the repeated and determined attacks of an enemy far outnumbering it, and supported by a numerous and powerful artillery. The duties imposed upon all have been laborious, harassing, and incessant, and notwithstanding heavy losses, both in action and from disease, have been at all times zealously and cheerfully performed.

"I beg to add my most cordial concurrence in the commendations bestowed by officers commanding brigades, columns, and detachments, on the officers and men named in their several reports; and I have to express my own deep obligations to those officers themselves for the valuable assistance I have at all times received from them. To Major F. Gaitskell, who recently assumed command of the artillery in the field, consequent on Brigadier Garbett having been disabled by a wound, and to the officers and men of that distinguished arm, to whose energy and untiring zeal the successful issue of the operations is so largely attributable, I have to offer my hearty thanks. And particularly am I indebted to that excellent officer, Lieutenant-colonel Hogge, director of the artillery depôt, who volunteered his services as commissary of ordnance with the siege-train, through whose able superintendence of the park, and arrangements for the supply of ammunition to the batteries, our artillery was enabled to deal out the destruction which was effected; as also to Captain J. Young, deputy commissary, and Mr. J. Stolesbury, assistant-commissary of ordnance, for their exertions during the whole siege. To Lieutenant-colonel Baird Smith, chief engineer, who, in ill-health and while suffering from the effects of a painful wound, devoted himself with the greatest ability and assiduity to the conduct of the difficult and important operations of the siege; to his gallant and eminently talented second, Captain A. Taylor; and to the whole of the officers and men of the engineer brigade, my thanks and acknowledgments are especially due for having planned and successfully carried out, in the face of extreme and unusual difficulties, an attack almost without parallel in the annals of siege operations. To that most brilliant officer, Brigadier-general J. Nicholson, whose professional character and qualifications are so well known and appreciated, I am under the greatest obligations for the daring manner in which he led his column to the assault; and I deeply deplore that his services are for the present lost to the state. To Brigadier Hope Grant, C.B., commanding the cavalry brigade, and to Brigadiers J. Longfield and W. Jones, C.B., commanding infantry brigades, I am deeply indebted; and I have to offer my best thanks to Colonel G. Campbell, commanding her majesty's 52nd light infantry, and to that intrepid and excellent officer, Major C. Reid, of the Sirmoor battalion, both wounded while gallantly leading columns of attack; as also to Colonel J. Jones, commanding the 1st battalion 60th royal rifles—a regiment which has shown a glorious example, both in its daring gallantry and its perfect discipline, to the whole force—for the ability with which he covered the advance of the assaulting columns.

"I have pleasure also in bringing favourably to notice the services rendered by Lieutenant-colonel H. P. Burn, attached as field-officer to the 1st brigade of infantry; and by Captain Seymour Blane, her majesty's 52nd light infantry, major of brigade to Brigadier-general Nicholson. Colonel J. L. Denniss, of her majesty's 52nd light infantry, whom I placed in charge of the camp during the operations, is entitled to my thanks and acknowledgments for the able dispositions he made with the troops under his command for the due protection of his important charge. To the officers of the general staff of the army, and to those of the staff of the field force, my cordial acknowledgments are due for the admirable manner in which they have performed their responsible duties. To the officers of my personal staff—Captain C. H. Barchard, who has served with me, first as my orderly

officer, and subsequently as aide-de-camp, and to whose zealous and untiring exertions I am deeply indebted; to Captain J. R. Turnbull, second aide-de-camp; Captain R. H. D. Lowe and Lieutenant R. C. Lowe, extra aides-de-camp—I am under great obligations for the zeal and readiness with which they, on this and all other occasions, have performed their duties. My thanks are also due to Major H. A. Ouvry, who attended me on the day of assault.

"For the valuable aid at all times rendered by the officers of the civil service who have been attached to the force, I have to record my warm acknowledgments. Mr. Hervey Greathed, agent to the deputy governor, North-Western Provinces (whose subsequent sudden death I deeply lament), and Mr. C. B. Saunders, both of whom attended me in action and made themselves most useful; Sir T. Metcalfe, whose gallantry in conducting Colonel Campbell's assaulting column through the city was conspicuous; and Mr. R. W. Clifford, who was also in attendance on me, are all entitled to my thanks. I need not observe how largely the success and efficiency of an army depends on the regularity of its supplies. Under circumstances of peculiar difficulty, in a district the population of which has been inimical, and in which civil authority has ceased to exist, this force has, from the commencement, been kept well and sufficiently provisioned with supplies of every description, the issue of rations to the soldiers having been as regular, both in quantity and quality, as in cantonments. My warmest thanks are therefore due to Lieutenant-colonel W. B. Thompson, deputy commissary-general, the admirable and indefatigable head of that department in the field; as also to Lieutenant T. H. Sibley, principal executive officer; to Lieutenant Waterfield, and to the other officers serving in that department.

"With the medical arrangements of the superintending surgeon, E. Tritton, I have every reason to be satisfied, and he is entitled to my cordial acknowledgments. At such a trying season of the year, and in a notoriously unhealthy locality, the sickness and mortality have, of course, been heavy. In addition to those suffering from disease, the hospitals have received almost daily accessions of wounded men. The labours, therefore, of the medical department have been unceasing, notwithstanding there has not been at any time the slightest failure in the arrangements for the care and comfort of the very numerous patients. The duties and offices of provost-marshal to the force have been conducted by a very deserving old non-commissioned officer, Sergeant-major Stoud, 3rd brigade horse artillery, whom I recommend to favourable consideration for a commission. I should neither be fulfilling the repeatedly-expressed wishes of the artillery officers attached to this force, nor following the dictates of my own inclination, if I failed to acknowledge the valuable assistance which has, throughout the operations before Delhi, been most cheerfully given by the non-commissioned officers and men of her majesty's 9th lancers and the 6th dragoon guards in working the batteries. Without it, owing to the comparatively small number of artillerymen, I should have been quite unable to man the batteries efficiently, or to keep up the heavy fire which, aided by these men, I have happily been able to do. To these regiments, therefore, and to Brigadier Grant, who so readily placed a certain number of his men at my disposal for such purpose, I tender my best thanks.

"It would be an omission on my part were I to pass over in silence the good services and loyal conduct of one who has already been rewarded by the government for the friendly assistance he rendered to our army in Affghanistan—I allude to the Nawab Jan Fishan Khan, who, with his brave nephew, Sirdar Bahadoor Meer Khan, and their retainers, accompanied me from Meerut, was present at the actions on the Hindun, and has since taken part in nearly every action in which this force has been engaged. Of the loyal services rendered to the state by the rajah of Putteeala, which must be so well known to the government, it may not be considered necessary for me to speak; but it is incumbent on me, in my capacity as commander of this force, to acknowledge officially the great assistance the rajah's troops have afforded me in enabling the numerous convoys of ammunition and stores to travel in security and safety to my camp, under their escort and protection. Equally is it my duty to bring prominently to the notice of government the admirable service performed by the Jhind rajah and his troops, under command of Lieutenant-colonel H. F. Dunsford. They have not only had very harassing duties to carry out in the constant escort of

convoys of sick and wounded men, ammunition, &c., but they have also aided me in the field on more than one occasion, and finally participated in the assault of the city.

"Lastly, I trust I may be excused if I thus publicly acknowledge the all-important and invaluable aid for which I am indebted to the chief commissioner of the Punjab, Sir John Lawrence, K.C.B., to whose indefatigable exertions in reinforcing me with every available soldier in the Punjab, the successful result of our operations is, I unhesitatingly pronounce, attributable; and I take this opportunity of recognising the advantage derived from the presence of the troops of his highness the Maharajah Rumbeer Sing, in alliance with the British force, the moral effect of which has been great: and, although unsuccessful, I regret to say, in the actual accomplishment of that part of the operations in which the Jummoo contingent was engaged on the 14th, I can attach no particle of blame to those troops, as I consider, under the circumstances in which they were placed, the very strong position which they had to attack, and the prolonged and determined resistance which they encountered from an enemy superior to them in number, arms, training, and experience, that they behaved, under their gallant commander, Captain R. C. Lawrence, and the other British officers serving with them (to whom my best thanks are due), as well as they could have been expected to do.—I have, &c.,

"A. WILSON, Major-general,
"Commanding Delhi Field Force."

Upon the receipt of the preceding despatch at the seat of government, the following notification was issued by command of the governor-general in council:—

"Fort William, 2nd October, 1857.

"The right honourable the governor-general in council has received, by a telegraphic message, the gratifying announcement that Delhi is entirely in the hands of Major-general Wilson's army. Delhi, the focus of the treason and revolt which for four months have harassed Hindostan, and the stronghold in which the mutinous army of Bengal has sought to concentrate its power, has been wrested from the rebels. The king is a prisoner in the palace. The head-quarters of Major-general Wilson are established in the Dewan Khas. A strong column is in pursuit of the fugitives. Whatever may be the motives and passions by which the mutinous soldiers, and those who are leagued with them, have been instigated to faithlessness, rebellion, and crimes at which the heart sickens, it is certain that they have found encouragement in the delusive belief that India was weakly guarded by England, and that before the government could gather together its strength against them, their ends would be gained. They are now undeceived. Before a single soldier of the many thousands who are hastening from England to uphold the supremacy of the British power has set foot on these shores, the rebel force, where it was strongest and most united, and where it had the command of unbounded military appliances, has been destroyed or scattered by an army collected within the limits of the North-Western Provinces and the Punjab alone.

"The work has been done before the support of those battalions which have been collected in Bengal from the forces of the queen in China, and in her majesty's eastern colonies, could reach Major-general Wilson's army; and it is by the courage and endurance of that gallant army alone; by the skill, sound judgment, and steady resolution of its brave commander; and by the aid of some native chiefs, true to their allegiance, that, under the blessing of God, the head of rebellion has been crushed, and the cause of loyalty, humanity, and rightful authority vindicated.

"The governor-general in council hopes that the receipt of despatches from Major-general Wilson will soon place it in his power to make known the details of the operations against Delhi, and to record, fully and publicly, the thanks and commendation which are due to the officers and men by whose guidance, courage, and exertions those operations have been brought to a successful issue. But the governor-general in council will not postpone, till then, his grateful acknowledgment of the services which have been rendered to the empire at this juncture by the chief commissioner of the Punjab. To Sir John Lawrence, K.C.B., it is owing that the army before Delhi, long ago cut off from all the direct support from the lower provinces, has been constantly reunited and strengthened so effectually, as to enable its commander not only to hold his position unshaken, but to achieve complete success. To Sir John Lawrence's unceasing vigilance, and to his energetic and judicious employment of the trustworthy force at his

own disposal, it is due that Major-general Wilson's army has not been harassed or threatened on the side of the Punjab, and that the authority of the government in the Punjab itself has been sustained and generally respected. The governor-general in council seizes, with pleasure, the earliest opportunity of testifying his high appreciation of these great and timely services.—By order of the right honourable the governor-general of India in council.

"R. J. H. Birch, Colonel,
"Secretary to the Government of India
in the Military Department."

In an affair of so much importance, upon the successful issue of which it was, at one time, considered that the future destiny of the English rule in India was probably dependent, and which had naturally been an object of intense anxiety, the revelations of parties engaged in the conflict, and sharing its perils and its toils, become valuable and interesting; and as many of the exciting incidents of the siege and capture of Delhi are detailed in the subjoined correspondence and extracts, the introduction of them at the close of the present chapter may not be considered inappropriate. The first extract enters somewhat argumentatively upon the incident of the outbreak of the 11th of May, and the policy pursued by the several commanders in the early operations of the force collected for the recapture of the city, and the punishment of the traitors collected within it. The writer, an officer of engineers, dating from Delhi, September 28th, says—

"You will see by the date of my letter that the task in which we have been so long engaged, is at last accomplished. Delhi was assaulted, and a portion of the city captured by us on the 14th of September. Our progress from this date was slow till the 20th, when the city was evacuated by the mutineers, and we found ourselves in possession of the whole. Thus had ended what I suppose future generations will consider one of the most extraordinary sieges in history. You will, by the time this reaches you, have learnt something more of the actual difficulties that we have had to contend against than our last English letters show; but you cannot have the same notion of the wonderful way in which our small force has been protected by Providence, as we who have been participators in all that has passed. You will hear a great deal, I will acknowledge; but there are small details which strike us so forcibly at the time of the occurrence, and these are so innumerable, that the most careful narrator will fail to tell all. Many calamities have befallen us since the 10th of May, that most of us felt tempted to look upon as irretrievable at the moment, but which a short time has sufficed to point out as the only remedies against evils of far greater magnitude. So often has our position seemed perfectly hopeless, and so wonderful have been our deliverances, that I cannot conceive the most sceptical man denying events to have been brought about by a power far above human. I will only attempt to point out to you some of the most convincing proofs of what I assert. Firstly, when the mutiny broke out, see how General Hewitt was blamed for his inactivity. The outcry was natural; and no one can deny that he was the most incompetent man that could have filled such a post. But let us for an instant suppose, that some more able man had commanded at Meerut, and even that the mutiny had, at its first outbreak at Meerut, been quelled. Subsequent events and disclosures have only proved to us that the outbreak has been premature, and that had it been overcome at the time, it would probably have come upon us at the appointed day with a force that none of us could have hoped to withstand. Secondly, let us take the fact, that the mutineers, on the 10th of May, found the Water gate (to the south of the palace) open, when all others had been shut against them. I have heard many deplore this fact; but let us suppose it otherwise. Let us suppose that all the gates in the city had been closed, and that all ingress had been impracticable. The results, I think, must have been far more lamentable even than they were. The mutineers, I think without a doubt, would not have spent much time in fruitless endeavours to enter the city, but have rushed straight up to the cantonments, where they would have been joined by the native infantry regiments there quartered. The surprise would have been most complete; and, under the circumstances, few indeed, if any, of us could have escaped from cantonments; and, with the prospect of the immense plunder in the city, I do not think they would have wasted much time in effecting an entrance, which would then have been most easy: and how would it have fared with those in the city? Thirdly, we have always

lamented the delay in the assistance of the European force from Bengal reaching us. The event has shown how far more necessary these same Europeans were down-country even than up here. Fourthly, we have three times (previously to the 14th of September) been on the point of assaulting Delhi. This was very shortly after our first arrival here on June 8th. On one occasion (June 12th) we had even sent out the advance column. I was the senior engineer with the column, and virtually had the command of it. My instructions were to advance through a portion of the suburbs of Delhi—Kissengunge, Paharipore, and those villages to the right of our position on the ridge—in close column, and when within 400 yards of the city walls, to extend to the right and left in skirmishing order. The suburbs that I allude to, I must tell you, are chiefly composed of loopholed enclosures and serais, which, you would think, had been built expressly for defensive purposes. The streets are very narrow; and the distance that we had to traverse, to reach within 400 yards of the wall, something beyond a mile. Had this position been occupied only by the merest handful of the enemy—and there was nothing to prevent its being so without our knowledge—we could certainly never have forced our way through it; and had the merest handful of the enemy only let us pass through to the extreme end of the suburbs, and then attacked us and cut off our retreat, I really think that hardly a man of us would have escaped to tell the tale. As it turned out, just as I was on the point of throwing out the skirmishers, an aide-de-camp rode up to tell me we were unsupported, and must make the best of our way back, and he only hoped we might get back safely. Most providentially, the enemy seemed to be in perfect ignorance of our movements, for not a shot was fired at us till we had almost reached camp again, and were very nearly out of range of the round shot from the city walls. On reaching the camp, we learned that the project had miscarried, owing to a misconception of orders of Brigadier Graves, in command of the second column. Loud were the abuses heaped on this unfortunate man, who seemed (and perhaps deservedly so) the butt of everybody's censure. Of course, everybody attributed to him the loss of such a seemingly good opportunity of taking the city. I think few would venture to say so now. My own (and, I think, the general) conviction is, that our force, so contemptibly small as it then was, would have been completely lost in such an immense city; and, unless the enemy had been most completely panic-stricken, would have had little chance of holding any temporary advantage that we might have gained in the first rush. I could enumerate instances of the same kind without number; but it would try your patience. I think few can ponder on all that has happened, and imagine that our work in India is done, and that Providence has altogether forsaken us."

Another engineer officer, whose letter ranges from the 21st to the 27th of September, says—"Here we are at last, thank God! having kicked out those rascals neck and crop after a twelve days' attack. The 14th was the storming-day, as I told you, and I got knocked over the day before, which prevented my being present. We lost about 64 officers and 1,100 men out of 3,000 who went in. Some men say there never was harder fighting; and when we got inside, the brutes disputed every inch, till yesterday we shelled them out of the palace, charged, and took it with no loss, and all the villains in the city bolted; it is all ours now. Our men have been really most humane; they would not kill a single man who was not a sepoy, and I am glad to say not a woman or child was touched; but when I saw sturdy brutes of men, the very class who committed all the atrocities, allowed to pass out, I could not help wishing some of the soldiers would drive their bayonets through them; but I did not say so out loud, as they are very apt to take you at your word.

"September 23rd.—We have all moved down to a capital house on the banks of the river in the city; the breeze is delightful, and we are all getting as fat and jolly as if we were at home. We are getting on capitally; we have got the king (the Great Mogul) prisoner, and are only waiting for leave from Calcutta to hang him. His eldest son and heir, Mirza Moghul Beg, a most infernal scoundrel, who set the example of murdering the Europeans, was caught and shot like a dog; and his son, a man about twenty years' old; as well as the king's eldest son, Mirza's brother. I saw all the three bodies exposed in the Khotwallee this morning. I am happy to say we are not so lenient as we were. Two of our native sappers were murdered in the

city, so we went out and hunted up about fifty or sixty men, thorough rascals, and our men have been shooting them ever since. I saw twenty-four knocked over, all tied together against the walls; and when you hear those wretches, when they see they have no chance, coolly tell you, 'Well, you may shoot me if you like; I killed three Europeans in the glorious massacre,' you lose all horror at the sight, and only wish they had cat's lives, to take them all. Only four Victoria crosses have been given in the army—one to Lieutenant Home, engineers; one to Lieutenant Salkeld, engineers; one to Sergeant Smith, sappers and miners; and one to a bugler in her majesty's 52nd. So you see, we got three out of the four in our corps. Poor Salkeld is so badly wounded I am afraid he will never wear his. However, the red riband has been better than any medicine. I am sure I would have given my left arm for it; and I might have had a chance, as I should most probably have been with Salkeld, blowing-up the Cashmere gate, had it not been for that wretched grape the night before. * * * We are wonderfully comfortable in our new house; it was a powder manufactory in the days of the Mogul, and, consequently, our servants accidentally blew us up the other day, and killed one of themselves. But these little excitements are necessary. After being three months every day under fire, the change is so great, that we were thinking of paying men to fire at us daily, and so let ourselves down to a quiet life by degrees. * * * I have given up walking about the back streets of Delhi; as yesterday, an officer and myself had taken a party of twenty men out patrolling, and we found fourteen women with their throats cut from ear to ear by their own husbands, and laid out in their shawls. We caught a man there, who said he saw them killed for fear they should fall into our hands, and showed us their husbands, who had done the best thing they could afterwards, and killed themselves. We took about 280 cannon, with shot, &c., for nearly three years. Without artillery they are no good; with it, no despicable antagonists. There are no better gunners anywhere, as we discovered in this siege. By returns we lost 1,350 men and 64 officers during the assaults only. Tolerably bloody work. Our loss in the assault, out of eighteen officers on duty, was one officer killed (poor Tandy), ten wounded, many severely; one, I fear, mortally; one the day before the assault, one after: total, 13 out of 18—a tolerable number; for there were seven or eight who were on another part of the work, whom I don't count, and who are on the strength to assist the unhappy remaining five now. I am glad to say there is not much work for us just now. At present, indeed, cut up as we have been, we could not do it if we had much; as, what with officers thoroughly done up since with fever, and others sent out with movable columns, our twenty-six for duty are reduced to four."

The progress of the trench-work, preparatory to the assault, is described in the following communications, also from officers belonging to the royal engineers. The first extract says—"When once we began the siege we knew we should soon take the place, which kept us up to any work. On the 8th of September large working parties from all the regiments in camp paraded at the engineer park, taking tools with them. We marched down to within 300 yards of the walls and bastions of the city. The men were employed in filling sand-bags, and making the ground ready for the batteries. Previous to this, for about a fortnight, we had to go out at night with large working and covering parties, and cut all the trees where the works were intended to be. That was the worst part of all, stumbling about all night in the long rank jungle, sometimes five feet high, wet through with the dew, and frequently attacked by the enemy. On the 9th, 10th, 11th, and 12th the batteries were completed. They were immensely large, built up to the bottom of the embrasures of solid fascines; and 1,500 camels were employed nightly in carrying down the fascines. Strange to say, the enemy did not fire on us much while building the batteries. We were almost all of us on duty three nights running. On the 12th the batteries opened fire, when, after seeing the first salvo knock down a large portion of the Cashmere bastion, I was so tired that I lay down and slept during the roar of the guns for three or four hours. There were four batteries, one of them having twenty heavy guns and howitzers. The walls seemed to crumble before the weight of metal, and after two days' firing, two breaches were made and a great part of the parapet stripped off the wall. One sand-bag battery was within 200 yards of the Water bastion. The fire of musketry from the walls of the town at this bastion was

tremendous. The guns were obliged to have iron mantlets fixed on them to protect the men while working the guns. I was in the battery when poor Captain Fagan, of the artillery, was shot through the head with a musket-ball. He would expose himself, though frequently warned. He used to get up and look over the mantlets to lay his guns better. Captain Taylor, of the engineers, managed the attack admirably. He was the director of the attack. On the night of the 13th he and Lieutenants Medley and Lang, of the engineers, with two or three riflemen, crept up to the ditch and ascertained that the breaches were practicable, and got back again without being seen. Captain Taylor instantly determined on the assault for the following morning. There were five columns of attack. Two or three engineer officers were told-off to each by seniority. The seniors went with the first column, the next with the second; so Ward and myself, the unfortunate juniors (Carnegie and Forbes being sick), had to go with the fifth column or reserve; so I do not consider that we had so much danger, though the fire was rather sharp when we went in. All the engineer officers in the other columns, except Home, Lang, and Thomason, were wounded."

The second extract, referring to the engineering operations, says—"We opened our trenches on the 7th of September, and the way in which we accomplished this was one of the most wonderful parts of the siege. Our attack was divided into two—the right and left. The right was directed against the Moree bastion; and the left, to which I was attached, was directed against the portion of the walls near the Cashmere gate and church. If you can recollect the ground at all, you will remember that opposite Ludlow Castle (where Mr. S. Fraser lived), towards the river, it was occupied by gardens. The distance between this position and the city is very small, within easy range of grapeshot from No. 2 bastion, against which the thick brushwood was of course no protection. Breaking ground so close to the walls was a bold manœuvre, which few circumstances would justify, and one which we fully expected would cost us many valuable lives. Judge, then, of our surprise to find scarcely any notice whatever taken of our proceedings. It is the more remarkable, as there seemed to be no attempt at secrecy on our part, and we ourselves could hear the enemy's sentries on the ramparts. Our working party was an excessively large one; and had the enemy taken common precautions (for they could not have been ignorant of our presence), they must have inflicted very heavy losses, if, indeed, they had not entirely stopped our works. Vigilant, however, as we have always found them, this first night God seemed to have blinded their eyes to all sense of danger; for, with the exception of one shower of grape and two or three round shot directed at us, which injured no one, they fired away at our batteries on the ridge as usual. In the morning they acted very differently; for they commenced, and through the day kept up a very hot fire; too late, however, for we had managed to obtain pretty good shelter by that time; and our first battery on the right was not only finished, but armed and hard at work breaching. You would think that after the experience of our first night, they would have allowed us little peace in breaking fresh ground nearer the walls; however, even then there was not very much fire, and it was only on the third night that they seemed to awake to a sense of their danger; and from that time they kept up a pretty steady fire of all sorts, including musketry, and we certainly lost some men. You may fancy that the engineers had little time to themselves. I was not in bed for four nights, and, as you may imagine, pretty well done up. There was only one battery (only 150 or 200 yards from the walls) to be finished, and it was the excitement alone that kept us awake. I had a party of her majesty's 61st and 8th regiments under me, filling sand-bags. The fire was very hot, and I was anxious to get my men under cover in some pits, where the earth was softer to dig. I was leading them to the pit, when, the night being dark, I fell into one that I had not seen, and sprained my leg and ankle so severely that I was obliged to be taken to camp in a dhooly. There I lay on my back till the day of the assault. I don't think that anybody in camp knew for certain the time of the assault till within two hours of the time. I was in my tent, away from the mess, and therefore had no opportunity of hearing anything about it till the rattle of musketry told me that something was doing. Of course, stopping in bed was out of the question; and as my charger was *hors de combat*, I had no choice but to mount my little pony Donald. I had my doubts about my new charger, a very pretty little beast, and perfect in every

respect except courage, being one of the most determined shyers that I have ever seen. However, I had no choice for it, so I mounted, and in due course of time I found myself at the Cashmere gate. Our columns had entered, and one had even penetrated as far as the bank, but being unable to withstand the murderous fire, was compelled to retreat. It was with the greatest difficulty that I could keep my seat, for on reaching the branch roads outside the Cashmere gate, the bullets and shot of all descriptions were flying about like hail, and one which struck close to the hoofs of my pony frightened him so that he became quite unmanageable. However, I got him through the gate, and a fearful sight it was that met my eyes.

"A portion of our troops had escaladed the bastion walls close to the gate; others had scrambled up two large breaches in the walls and bastion near the treasury. The remainder had entered at the gate itself, which had been blown open by one of our officers. The latter was really the hazardous duty of the day, and was most gallantly performed, though in broad daylight. The explosion party consisted of Lieutenants Home and Salkeld, of our corps, a few sappers, and a bugler of her majesty's 52nd. On their nearing the gate they found it slightly open, with a number of muskets protruding at the opening. They were received with a volley, which killed and wounded a number. Still, however, they advanced, and fixed their powder-bags on to the gate. Sergeant Carmichael, of the sappers, tried to light the portfire attached to the bags, but was shot dead in the attempt. After him Corporal Burgess, of the sappers, tried, but fell, pierced with three bullets. After Corporal Burgess, Salkeld tried, but fell into the ditch, shot in the leg, which is broken, and in the arm, which has been amputated. Sergeant Smith, of the sappers, tried next, and he and Home, between them, happily succeeded without a wound. Seeing the portfire well a-light, the whole party jumped into the ditch; and the enemy, little dreaming of what had been done, continued firing till the explosion took place, so you may fancy what effect it had. Twenty of the mutineers strewed the road inside the gate, not one of whom would it have been possible to recognise; and this was the first sight that met my eyes at the gate. Little wonder that Donald refused to move; however, finally he did, and got as far as the centre of the Main-guard, beyond which nothing would urge him. It was perfect agony keeping my seat, and I would have given worlds to dismount; but walking was out of the question; it was anything but an agreeable fix to be in. I felt how perfectly useless I was; and being the only mounted man there in the open space, fully accounted for the number of bullets whistling past my ears. There was no help for it, so I had to make my way back to camp as I best could, fully convinced of my own folly. You may imagine I had done neither leg nor ankle much good by the trip, and I had not many opportunities of seeing the remainder of the operations. We progressed slowly after this for two days; but having obtained possession of the magazine containing about 130 guns, there could no longer be much doubt as to the result. The enemy, who had hitherto so stoutly resisted us, was losing heart, though he had succeeded in beating us back with loss, and kept us at bay at two or three points. Daily and nightly large numbers continued to leave the city till the 20th, when we found ourselves in perfect possession, and the entire city evacuated. Immediately on receiving news of the evacuation I started for the palace. You can have no conception of the scene of confusion—riflemen, Ghoorkas, Sikhs, and Punjabees quarrelling over their plunder; and such plunder to quarrel about! Old counterpanes, dirty blankets, tin and copper pots and pans, sepoys' red coats, baskets, papers, packets of tinsel, bottles of rose-water and otto of roses lying here, there, and everywhere, and the whole place in a state of squalor and wretchedness passing all description. On turning into the gardens in front of Douglas's stables I found myself alone. I cannot tell you what a scene of desolation presented itself to my eyes. The garden had been an encamping-ground of the sepoys, and everything bore witness to its having been deserted in hot haste. The tents were still standing; but it seemed as if everybody had taken his armful out of the boxes, and, without caring for what might drop, had made the best of his way out of the place. The stillness, too, after the noise and riot that I had just quitted, was really appalling, and I stood at the foot of the stairs stupefied as if with a heated atmosphere, and unable to move. I was roused by hearing three cheers from the apartments above me."

Another correspondent says—"The Cashmere gate presented a horrible sight; thirty or forty sepoys, some blown up and others bayoneted and shot down, were lying all about. It was the same all along the walls. No quarter was given; but they made very little defence, and retired into the city, where they again made a stand. I went into the bastions. Such a scene of ruin you never saw. Almost every gun was dismounted, or had a great piece of iron knocked out of it, and dead sepoys all around. The troops took up their quarters in the college and church, but the enemy fired on us all night. We made a battery by the college, and commenced shelling the town and palace. We lost most of our men in the town. They advanced too far without support, and were fired at from the walls and houses. Our losses, from the 14th to the 20th, were sixty-four officers and 1,380 men killed and wounded. On the 16th we attacked and took the magazine. I went with the column. We took them by surprise, and they offered very little resistance; but in the afternoon they returned and attacked the magazine, and set the roof on fire. We had to get up on the roof with leathern bags of water and put it out, while they threw large stones at us. They were fanatics, I afterwards heard. I think that day I had the narrowest escape of any. After putting out part of the fire, I was just jumping down, when three of them put their heads over the wall and took three deliberate shots at me, all of which missed. They could not have been above ten yards off; I fired my revolver at one, but don't know whether it hit him or not. A sergeant of artillery then got on the top of the artillery magazine with 10-inch shells in his hand; he lighted the fuse, and dropped them on their heads; five or six he let off in this way. He must have killed a great many, for they fled almost directly. On the 20th, after our pouring into it a tremendous fire of shell, we attacked the palace. There were very few sepoys found in it. They had all fled during the night. Thank God it is all over; I am sick of bloodshed and seeing men killed."

An officer describing the assault on the 14th of September, observes:—"The Cashmere gate was blown open in the most gallant manner by the engineers, and our troops marched in. The scaling parties on the right and left took the walls, but with great loss. Pandy was perfectly unconscious of our movements until the columns rushed forward; the ramparts were now cleared, and the guns turned on the rebel city. Our troops advanced in different directions, and were succeeding better than expected, when several stores of beer, champagne, and brandy, placed there by Pandy (he knowing too well the character of the British soldier), were fallen in with, and some of the European troops became a drunken rabble. We were driven back some distance, where we made a stand. Guns were now brought up with mortars, and the firing became incessant against the magazine, the first stronghold. Our troops fought well, and took a great many guns. Every street had its one or two pieces, which poured grape into our advancing columns, and could only be captured by the bayonet. General Nicholson received a mortal wound while cheering on the men to a second charge at a gun. On the 21st I rode down to see the palace; the wall and entrance are the finest part. The interior is dirty, filthy, and in great disorder, Pandy having revelled in its cool archways. The hall of justice and the king's throne are entirely built of white marble; the latter is inlaid with stones and mosaics. I went all over the state apartments and the harem. The latter is a curious place, and had a remarkable appearance; its floor covered with guitars, bangles, &c., and redolent of sandal-wood. The fair daughters of Cashmere had their swing in the centre of the room. They had left in a great hurry; dresses, silks, slippers, were lying on all sides. On leaving the palace I met a dhooly, surrounded by some cavalry, and a few natives on foot. Its inmate was a thin-faced, anxious-looking old man. This was the new king of Hindostan, the descendant of the Great Moguls, entering his palace in the hands of his enemies. He was captured some distance from the city. Being eighty-five years of age, his life is to be spared. He will be kept a close prisoner for life."

Another letter, of the 24th of September, describes a visit to the dethroned and captive majesty of Delhi in the following terms:—"The day after the king was caught I went to see him with two or three officers. He was in a house in a street called the 'Lâll Kooa'-street—that is, the Red Well-street. He was lying on a bed with cushions, &c., a man fanning him, and two or three servants about. He is, and looks,

very old, being very much wasted; has a very hooked beak; short white beard; not at all a regal looking swell. He looked in a great fright, and, apparently, thought we had come to insult him, &c.; but we only took a look, and then came away. I hope to get a likeness of him in a day or two."

A correspondent, attached to the English commissariat, says—"We have seen the captive king and royal family; they are in ruinous little rooms in one of the gates of the palace. The old king looks very frail, and has a blank fixed eye, as of one on whom life is fast closing. He certainly is too old to be responsible for anything that has been done. With his sons much more guilt may lie: some have been shot, as you must have read; some are yet untaken. The youngest son we saw, looking like fifteen—they say eighteen; bold and coarse to look at. He is the only child of the queen. With her some of our ladies have had a long interview; they found her seated on a common *charpoy* (bedstead), dressed in white cotton clothes, with very few and very trifling ornaments, all her grand things having been taken from her. She is described as short and stout, above thirty years of age, with a round, animated face, not at all pretty, but having very pretty little plump hands; she was cutting betel-nut to eat with her pawn. Some thirty females, relatives and menials, surrounded her. She professes the utmost horror of the 3rd cavalry, to whom she traces all her misfortunes. She says the king was helpless to control them, and that when their arrival had placed Delhi in rebellion against us, they were as ready to rob her as any one else. She says the mutineers did rob the palace, and that all her jewels were only saved by being buried. She does not seem to blame us for their present captivity; she understands the necessity for inquiring into guilty or innocent parties; but she did not seem to assert the king's innocence as much as her own. She said he had been in the hands of bad people. There appeared to be frightful rivalries among the women; it is said she criminated the sons of the former wives, she being the last. Her sister is represented as much better-looking than herself, and has a daughter of thirteen married to the king's youngest son, already mentioned, and reputed very beautiful. Our ladies describe her as having superb large eyes, and a most beautiful little mouth, but her face otherwise too flat and full. Some of the women told them they had had Englishwomen and children in the palace after the massacre, in hope of preserving them; but the mutineers demanded them, and could not be resisted. They say the sepoys complained that the king was feeding Englishwomen daintily, while he only gave them gram for food. Heaven knows if the royal family be clean in heart and hand or not."

An officer who, in his tour of duty, had charge of the royal prisoner, writes thus:—"I was on guard over the king and his wives and concubines, on the 24th and 25th, and was obliged to be much on the alert to prevent rescue or attempts at escape. I was ordered to shoot him if things came to the last extremity. Yesterday I handed him over to a guard of the 60th rifles, being precious glad to be relieved of so responsible a position. We daily find hidden in the houses sepoys who were unable to escape from sickness or wounds; these are all put to death on the spot. On the 24th I caught a fine tall sowar, or trooper, of some light cavalry regiment, dragged him out into the street, and shot him dead. No mercy can be shown to them. We don't forget, and won't forget, the massacres of women and children, and we kill every sepoy we catch. The city is quite deserted, and all the citizens have fled. It is curious to see a large place like this without a soul in it. We have plundered all the shops, and all the valuables are being collected and sold for prize. Our vengeance cannot be appeased, for we found several of our men who had been merely wounded on the 14th in the assault, and overlooked by us, lying dead *minus* their heads, and fearfully gashed with sabre-cuts; and so we spare no one. Every sepoy we catch, 'Shoot him' is the word. I'm sorry to say our regiment has suffered much; and we have buried four officers, and upwards of 200 men, since it left Ferozepore."

Of the interior of the city, we have the following descriptive sketches in letters of officers, ranging from the 21st to the 28th of September:—

"It is a frightful drive from the palace to the Cashmere gate; every house rent, riven, and tottering; the church battered, and piles of rubbish on every side. Alas! the burnt European houses and deserted shops! Desolate Delhi! and yet we are told it is clearing, and much improved since the storming of the place. It has only as

yet a handful of inhabitants in its great street, the Chandnee Chouk; who are all Hindoos, I believe. Many miserable wretches prowl through the camps outside the city, begging for admission at the various gates; but none are admitted whose respectability cannot be vouched for. Cartloads of ball are daily being dug out from the Moree bastion, now a shapeless, battered mass. Every wall or bastion that faced our camp is in almost shapeless ruin; while the white marble pavilions of the palace arise unharmed along the Jumna's bank. In one of these live the ——. There is no describing the beauty and quaintness of their rooms. I long for photographs to send home. They are all of inlaid marble, with semianahs pitched in the zenana courts between; but all around speaks of awful war: the rows on rows of captured guns; the groups of English soldiers at every post; and not English only, for our brave defenders, the Ghoorkas, Sikhs, and Cabulees, mingle among them. A strange army, indeed, with not a trace of pipeclay."

Again we read—"For a description of the riches of Delhi my pen is inadequate. Cashmere shawls inlaid with gold, bodies covered with gold lace. skirts of dresses, watches, bars of gold, beds of silk and down, such as no nobleman's house in England could produce, you would see Sikhs carrying out of Delhi the first day, as if they were almost nothing. A shawl which in England would fetch £100, they were selling for four rupees; and you may depend our fellows were not behind them. * * * It is supposed the rifles will go to England with upwards of £1,000 each, though General Wilson has issued an order that the prizes shall be all put together and divided. Most of our men are worth upwards of 100 rupees."

Another writer gives the following description:—"Since the 22nd of September, we have lived in the city, in a place called Durria Gunge, in a large house formerly owned by a nawab, and in which a number of people took refuge on May 11th, and held out in the upper story, till, being promised quarter, they went down, and met the fate of those who trust to the mercy of such villains as the sepoys proved themselves. The house had been afterwards used as a powder manufactory. We found several barrels of powder, and all the materials for making it scattered about. We were afraid of a blow-up; and, unfortunately, we were not disappointed. On the morning after we had occupied I went out riding, to see part of the town; and on returning, I found everybody outside the house, and everything turned out, and was told there had been an explosion. It appeared that one of my servants had been smoking in the lower story, and some ashes from his hookah dropped on the floor on a lot of pounded charcoal, sulphur, and inflammable stuff; the consequence was the explosion, and the house partially set on fire; while my poor servant was so scorched, that although I took him to the hospital directly, he died in two days. No one else was hurt, but a good deal of damage was done. We are very glad we took Delhi without reinforcements from England. A good deal of loot has been found, and we all expect to get some prize-money some day or other. Numbers of Cashmere shawls and Delhi shawls, silk dressing-gowns (called chogas), handsome native coats (called chapkans), scarfs, &c. A good deal of cash, too, has been dug up, having been buried by the owners. I have heard also of jewels being found; but as all the bankers, jewellers, and rich people had bolted long before the assault, I do not give much credit to the stories I hear. The Jumma Musjeed is a most beautiful building. You ascend wide steps, which go all round it, made of red stone, brought from near Agra. The wall is built, and the large open space paved, with the same stone. Inside the temple, the pavement and walls are of marble, and luckily not adorned, as I said the palace was. There are many good houses in the city, but so hard to find. There are very few good streets—that is, wide ones. Riots occurring daily on account of plundering. Some men of a native corps actually fired on a guard of ours to-day, in consequence of the men preventing them from breaking into a house where valuables were secured. Our men wounded some, and took two prisoners, who will, no doubt, according to order, suffer death. It is almost impossible to prevent looting, the city is so large. I have heard about some ladies being murdered on our entering the city, but no authentic news of it."

A letter from the camp, dated September 26th, says—"We are left behind, in a camp strewn with dead animals in all directions, and with all the filth of three months'

encampment. Within a hundred yards of my tent is the churchyard, a very small space, but containing the remains of nearly 1,000 men. The graves are like mole-hills, as close together as they can pack; and on digging a new one, the stench that issues is revolting, and the wonder is that a plague has not broken out, and taken us all off while exposed to these things, the sick included. We have about 4,000 sick and wounded at present. It will rapidly decrease now, I trust, the weather becoming much cooler. Cholera is still carrying off individuals here and there. It has never entirely left us since June. It is extraordinary the stillness now. It is, in truth, unpleasant. For three months, day and night, the cannon have been firing; now a musket-shot is rarely heard. Do not suppose that I like the noise in preference to the quietness. I do not wish ever to see or hear another gun fired in action. War is certainly an awful scourge; and when these rebels are cut up, I hope India may long have peace. Our camp is swarming at present with old men, women, and children, without food or money. They have lost everything, and are obliged to be fed by our commissariat. A famine will be raging this season all through this part of India. No fields have been cultivated, no money circulated; so starvation must stare them in the face. If it fell upon the Goojurs chiefly, no one would regret it, as they have committed more mischief than any other sect; but the innocent will also suffer."

The following interesting passages, also extracted from a private letter, may conclude the selection from Indian correspondence so far as it relates to the recapture of Delhi. The writer says—"When we received the news of the occupation of Delhi, I found my way across country, and came in with the vultures, to have a look at the carcase of the reconquered city. Those who called the fortifications of Delhi a garden-wall, have only to walk round them to be satisfied of their mistake. The defences are exceedingly strong; and though the heights, a mile distant, facilitate a siege, they by no means, for practical purposes, give any real command of the place. From a mere artillery point of view, the place is stronger than Bhurtpore ever was; and yet it proves that our main difficulty was inside, not outside Delhi. Street by street the enemy contested every foot of ground, and occupied position after position with a courage and determination worthy of a better cause. There is no doubt, that on our occupation of a part of the city, our army became disorganised to a degree which was highly dangerous when the battle was but half won. Whether the collection in the part of the town which we first assaulted, of vast quantities of wine and spirits (the produce of the plunder of a long line of road on which those articles are the main staple of European commerce), was really the result of deep strategy on the part of the mutineers, I cannot say; but it does seem as if the only common bond which unites the various races fighting under our standard, is a common love of liquor; and Europeans, Sikhs, Ghoorkas, and Affghans, are said to have all indulged to an extent which might have been disastrous. In truth, the days which followed the first assault were a time of great anxiety. Our progress was slow; the number of men whom we could bring into action curiously small; and the abandonment of the positions held by the enemy was, I believe, a relief to the generals, even though we did *not* exterminate the mutineers. In fact, I believe that the bridge of boats was purposely left intact by our batteries; we were well content to leave a bridge to a flying enemy. I do not think that the enemy were actually forced out by our shells. I was surprised to find how little damage was done by them. The walls of the palace are almost intact; so are by far the greater portion of the buildings inside; and it is quite clear that the chances were yet very much in favour of such as chose quietly to sit in them. In fact, I fancy that our mortar batteries were by no means very strong, and not sufficient to do effectually such extensive work; but both the sepoys and the king's party had had enough of it. The fire was, no doubt, hot, and was becoming more so; so they retreated, carrying with them most of their valuables, but leaving all the heavy guns and other bulky articles. As to pursuit, the infantry was simply completely knocked up, and unfit to pursue for a single mile, and the general would not risk the mounted branch alone; so he contented himself with securing his conquest, and the city of Delhi is completely ours. For the taking of Delhi, I believe that General Wilson—slow, cautious, calculating, and purely an artillery officer—has been the right man in the right

place, and that we have been very fortunate in him. He is neither a square man nor a round man, but a very peculiar man, who has found his place in the very peculiar situation before Delhi; and, amid much to perplex, has very steadily held his cautious course till, by a favouring Providence—having meantime averted all the possible and probable *contre-temps* which might have prevented the issue—he has at last triumphed. But Delhi taken, I believe that his part is played. General Wilson seems to have been born to take Delhi, and he has taken Delhi; so let us be thankful."

Upon examining the apartments occupied by the king and his chief officers in the palace, many papers were found that threw a light upon the intended proceedings of the rebel monarch; and from them it appeared that the kind of government to be permanently established for the city and immediately surrounding country, was more of the nature of a military than of a Mohammedan government. It seems to have been a sort of constitutional monarchical milocracy. The king was king, and honoured as such like a constitutional monarch; but, instead of a parliament, he had a council of soldiers, in whom power rested, and of whom he was in no degree a military commander. No Arabic or Persian names, forms, or terms appear to have been introduced; but, on the contrary, the English terms and modes of business were generally adopted. All petitions seem to have been presented to the king; but the great authority to which almost all of them, on all matters both civil and military, were referred (by order endorsed on the petition), was the "Court"—a body composed of a number of colonels, a brigade-major, and *seketur* (or secretary), which latter functionary seems to have been the most important personage in Delhi. All the colonels, &c., were sepoys who made their mark, or, at best, signed in rough Hindoo characters. Very regular muster-rolls of regiments were kept up, and authenticated in due form by the colonel, adjutant, and quartermaster. From these documents it also appears, that they went so far into detail as to fill up the places of the European "sergeant-majors" and "quartermaster-sergeants."

One sepoy colonel had presented to the king a kind of memorandum on the best mode of administering the country after getting rid of the "Feringhees." First and foremost, he advises his majesty to collect as much money as he can, from any quarter, by any means whatever, as a capital to start upon. Second, he avers that there is no doubt that, with all the faults of the English, their government was the best that Hindostan has ever seen, and he proposes that the future administration should be based on their model; and then, in many headings, he goes into details evincing considerable thought and shrewdness. There was also among the papers, a very long and enthusiastic account of the destruction of the European garrison of Futteghur. A petition was found, from a man who sought to be appointed collector of the district in rear of our army, on a solemn pledge that he would collect the revenue and stop the supplies of the Europeans, or, if not, would submit to be blown from a gun; but the prudent order is "to be considered when the hill (the British position) is taken!" There were also many communications from native princes, who either promised or temporised much.

The requirements of retributive justice had yet to be satisfied by the exemplary punishment of the royal traitor and his sons. The king himself was reserved, on the score of advanced age, for the more formal and dilatory procedure of a military commission; but for his principal instruments in the dire work of rebellion and carnage, no unnecessary delay was accorded in disposing of them, and their fate was as promptly decided as the severity of it was merited. Soon after the capture of the king, followed by that of two of his sons and a grandson at the tomb of Humayoon, two others of his progeny were also captured, and tried by a military commission, for aiding in the revolt and massacres.

Evidence was produced before the court, principally documentary, consisting of reports, returns, &c., bearing the prisoners' seals, showing that they exercised command of their regiments, and acted. In their defence they pleaded total ignorance of the intention of the sepoys to mutiny, and said that when the Meerut mutineers first reached Delhi on the 11th of May, they (the princes) thought it was a Russian invading army! They were then summoned to an audience by the king, and a few days after were appointed colonels of regiments at the request of the sepoys themselves. The court, however, found the prisoners (Prince Mirza Bucktawar Shah, and Prince Mirza Ma-

hadoo) guilty, and sentenced them to death; and, accordingly, they were shot by a party of the 60th rifles. Detachments of rifles, artillery, sappers, and Ghoorkas, and a great number of spectators, were present at the execution. The bodies were afterwards cast into the Jumna.

A letter of the 14th of October, referring to this occurrence, says—"Yesterday morning two princes, sons of the late king, were shot by musketry. I went to the palace the evening before, and saw them told their approaching fate. They said, 'Very good, it is our fate;' or words to that effect. It is wonderful how quietly these people (Mussulmans) take it. They were taken in a cart to the outside of the wall of the city, near the river, just at sunrise, and shot by riflemen, their bodies being afterwards pitched into the river."

On the 10th of October, the following message was transmitted, by the secretary to the government of India, to General Wilson:—

"The governor-general received yesterday the despatch of the 21st ultimo, those of previous dates having reached him. The governor-general in council heartily congratulates you and your brave army upon the brilliant success which you have achieved. You have nobly earned it, and the governor-general in council offers you his warmest thanks. The governor-general in council desires that you will at once proceed to demolish the defences of Delhi. You will spare places of worship, tombs, and all ancient buildings of interest. You will blow up, or otherwise destroy, all fortifications, and you will so far destroy the walls and gates of the city as to make them useless for defence. As you will not be able to do this completely with the force at present available at Delhi, you will select the points at which the work may be commenced with the best effect, and operate there. If, as has been reported to the governor-general in council, the king of Delhi has received from any British officer a promise that his life will be spared, you are desired to send him to Allahabad, under an escort, as soon as this can be safely done. The escort must be strong enough to resist all attempts at a rescue, and must consist in part of some European infantry and cavalry, with some field guns. Any member of the king's family who is included in the promise, is to be sent with the king. You will appoint one or two officers specially to take charge of the king, who is to be exposed to no indignity or needless hardship. If no promise of his life has been given to the king, he is to be brought to trial under Act 14, of 1857. The special commissioners appointed for this purpose, are Mr. Montgomery, judicial commissioner of the Punjab; Mr. C. G. Barnes, commissioner of the Cis-Sutlej states; and Major Lake, commissioner of the Trans-Sutlej states. You will summon these officers at once to Delhi, in the event of a trial of the king taking place. Mr. C. B. Saunders will act as prosecutor, will collect the evidence, and frame the charges. Should the king be found guilty, the sentence is to be carried out without further reference to the governor-general in council."

Before the above message had reached Delhi, Major-general Wilson had been compelled, by ill-health and fatigue, to relinquish the command of the gallant army he had guided to victory. The remark of one of the correspondents, from whose letter we have extracted an interesting passage upon the subject of his probable retirement from active service, appeared to have been prophetic. With the conquest of Delhi General Wilson's "part had been played": and it had been well played to the end. Of the services of this valuable officer the following summary is recorded:—Major-general Archdale Wilson is a scion of a Norfolk family of high antiquity, and first-cousin of the present Lord Berners. He was born in 1803; and, in 1819, obtained a second-lieutenancy in the Company's artillery, arriving at Calcutta in September of that year. Having served with distinction at the siege of Bhurtpore, under Lord Combermere, in 1826, for which he received a medal; in 1839 he was invested with the command of the artillery force stationed at Lucknow. In 1840 he was appointed to the charge of the foundry at Cossipore, and superintended the casting of most of the guns which were turned against the British forces before Delhi; the arsenal of which city was completed and stored during his tenure of office. In 1847 he succeeded to the rank of lieutenant-colonel, and the command of a battalion. This gave him an opportunity of distinction of which he did not fail to take early advantage; for the second Sikh war, which was commenced in 1848, was decided in our favour by the battle of Goojerat, which has been called "emphatically an artillery battle;" and the late Sir H. Wheeler

recommended Colonel Wilson for honorary distinction for his services. The next appointments held by Colonel Wilson were those of commandant of artillery at Jullundur, and afterwards at Dum Dum, the most important artillery command under the Bengal government. In 1855 he was promoted to the command of the artillery throughout the presidency, with the command of the station of Meerut, whither, since the time of Sir Charles Napier, the head-quarters of the regiment of artillery had been removed. He was further promoted, since the outbreak of the mutiny, to the command of the Meerut division, in supercession of General Hewitt. On assuming command he was at once ordered to Delhi, and crowned his professional career by victory, gained by consummate prudence and heroic daring.

Upon Major-general Wilson retiring from the command of the army of Delhi, he was succeeded in that distinguished post by Major-general Nicholas Penny, C.B., an officer of high standing in the army. General Penny was born in 1790, and was gazetted to an ensigncy in the Bengal army in February, 1807, obtaining his lieutenant's commission December 19, 1812. During the war of 1814, '15, and '16, Lieutenant Penny was actively employed in Nepaul; and in the latter year, also, in the Mahratta war. In 1817 he served with distinction under the Marquis of Hastings, and in 1818 won laurels at Gurrah Khota. In 1823 he came to London on furlough; but, returning to India in 1825, he accompanied the commander-in-chief on service to Agra, and acted for a time as deputy quartermaster-general with the forces near that city. In the same year he took part in the siege of Bhurtpore, and was thanked by the commander-in-chief for his services on that occasion. In the following year he was nominated major of brigade on the establishment, and appointed to the command of the Muttra and Agra frontier. In 1828 he was appointed deputy assistant-adjutant-general on the establishment, and also to the command of the Dinapore division, from which he was shortly afterwards removed to the presidency at the express order of the governor-general, the late Lord William Bentinck; being allowed brevet rank for his services in the field. In November, 1837, he was directed to take charge of the adjutant-general's department at the presidency; from which post he was transferred, in June, 1841, to the command of the Nusseree battalion, for the efficient drill and discipline of which he was so frequently thanked by his superiors, that his name became almost a by-word and a proverb for energy and activity. At the same time he was directed to act as assistant-adjutant-general at Barrackpore, in which capacity he was again reported as a "most zealous and efficient officer." In the Sutlej campaigns he commanded, at first, the 12th brigade of the fifth division, and the 2nd infantry brigade on the breaking up of the 12th. He was present at Aliwal, where he was in the very thickest of the fight, and was thanked for his gallantry on the battle-field. General Penny was again engaged at Sobraon, where he was wounded; and Sir Hugh Gough recommended him, "in the most earnest manner," to the notice of the governor-general, for the spirited manner in which he and his gallant troop had overcome "the most formidable opposition."

After an uninterrupted career of success and promotion, during which he received the medal for Aliwal and Sobraon, General Penny was gazetted a C.B., and appointed honorary aide-de-camp to the governor-general. He attained, in 1854, the rank of major-general; and in May of the following year, was appointed to the divisional staff of the army, and posted to the Cawnpore district: from thence he succeeded Major-general Wilson in the command at Meerut; and again following his steps, replaced him as commander-in-chief of the army of Delhi.

Returning to the subject of the demolition of the fortifications of Delhi, it seems that the propriety of that step was questioned by Sir John Lawrence, chief commissioner of the Punjab; who, on the 21st of October, wrote to the governor-general in council as follows:—

"I have received your message of the 20th. The king's life has been guaranteed. There can be no object in sending down the three officers named by government;* and I can ill spare their services at present. As regards the fortifications of the town, I should be glad if General Penny would delay their destruction, until government can receive and give orders on my despatches of the 9th and 15th of October. I do not think that any danger by delay could arise. If the fortifications be dismantled, I would suggest that it be done as was the case at

* Messrs. Montgomery and Barnes, and Major Lake: see previous page.

Lahore: we filled in the ditches by cutting down the glacis, and lowered the walls, and dismantled the covering-works in front of the gates and bastions. A wall of ten or twelve feet high could do no harm, and would be very useful for police purposes. Delhi, without any walls, would be exposed to constant depredation from the Meeras and Goojurs, and other predatory races: even such a partial demolition will cost several lacs of rupees, and take a long time. Works at Lahore cost two lacs; and occupied upwards of two years."

On the 22nd of the same month, General Penny wrote to the secretary to the government thus:—

"Your message to Major-general Wilson, now sick at Mussoorie, has been sent to him to explain under what conditions the king's life was promised him. The king, agreeably to instructions, will be sent to the fort of Allahabad as soon as the road shall be freely opened; but that cannot be immediately. In communication with the engineers, I will get everything in readiness for the destruction of the fortifications; but as the chief commissioner of the Punjab has requested the work to be stopped until an answer can be received from government to a reference made by Sir John Lawrence, and as the delay will involve no detriment to the contemplated work, I have consented to the propositions. I solicit early instructions."

And here, with the sword of retributive justice suspended over the smoking city, its streets desolated, its palaces in ruins, its king a wretched captive, and the rebel host that had converted it into a Golgotha, scattered to the winds; it may be well, by way of *résumé*, to indulge in a brief retrospect of the circumstances that had led to the deplorable climax, and to the heroic achievements by which that climax was attained.

There can be no doubt, that upon the first indications of discontent among the troops at Barrackpore, Meerut, and other places in the early part of May, the importance of the fact was lamentably underrated, and that the supreme government actually believed that the mutinous spirit could be repressed, and subordination restored, without having recourse to other than the ordinary means at hand; that the disaffection was partial, and would be removed by simply withdrawing an obnoxious innovation upon the religious prejudices of the sepoys: in short, that it was confined to the Bengal presidency, and, if necessary, could be put down by the European force in the vicinity, and the contingents of our allies among the native princes, though all the native regiments in the Company's service should become affected by the assumed grievance. Even after the serious outbreak at Meerut, and the revolt at Delhi, it was thought it could only be necessary for the English commander to appear before that city, to ensure its surrender; and that, with its restoration to English rule, the pacification of the country would doubtless follow. To effect this purpose, therefore, a small army was put in motion towards Delhi from the north; while detachments, to augment its ranks, came up from the south in scanty numbers, far from support, and without any base for military operations, until the proximity of the city itself was reached; but unforeseen difficulties lay in the way of progress. The means of transport were not ready; the heat was excessive; and the commander of the "army of retribution" (as the force of General Anson was at first designated) was without heavy artillery. It was then, as if for the first time, discovered that the city of the Moguls, which had been literally given into the hands of the rebels, was not a mere imaginary fortress that could be taken by a rush, and held by a handful of European troops; but that it was a large and strong place, which, with a singular fatality, we had been for years storing with the appliances and resources of a first-class arsenal; and, in spite of repeated warnings, had persisted in confiding such resources to the protection of native troops alone; thus placing in their hands the most dangerous and effective means of offence, whenever they should be stimulated, by disaffection or fanaticism, to avail themselves of the opportunity. At length the opportunity occurred; and the consequence was, that the calculations and arrangements of the Anglo-Indian government were overturned, and a series of unparalleled disasters ensued. In an incredibly short time from the first bursting forth of the flames of rebellion, the mutineers had possessed themselves of the largest arsenals, had occupied the chief strategic points, and, at every turn, outnumbered, by ten to one, the Europeans opposed to them in conflict. At length the army reached the heights of Delhi; and upon those heights, from June to Septem-

ber, the British lines were maintained almost altogether upon a defensive principle. Sorties, that thinned the ranks and exhausted the strength of the army, were of daily occurrence, and, for a long time also, of daily-increasing boldness. A small besieging army, without artillery, lay for weeks in front of a garrison held by at least one-fifth of the enormous native levies of Bengal, with upwards of 260 pieces of ordnance, and munitions of war that were inexhaustible, at their command. For some time it was a question whether the constantly-increasing accessions to the rebel force would not compel the English to retire from their position by the mere pressure of overwhelming numbers; and the failure in so doing may be attributed partly to want of rebel courage for a hand-to-hand attack, and partly to the determination and tenacity with which the English trenches, from the left extremity of the ridge down to the river bank, were held by a mere handful of gallant defenders. Moreover, after the signal defeat of the mutineers at Nujufghur, on the 26th of August, their offensive operations became for a time paralysed; and such was the effect of their terror, that on the 31st of the month, a white flag was sent into camp, to ask for terms; with a proposal on the part of the troops, to give up all actual murderers, provided the rest of the force within Delhi was suffered to go free: but the instant reply of General Wilson—"Unconditional surrender—any other rebel coming to propose terms will be hung—future negotiation must be carried on at the cannon's mouth"—settled the question of capitulation. At length, on the 6th of September, the siege-train arrived; on the 8th the batteries were opened within 700 yards of the walls; and the bombardment commenced preparatory to the final assault. The English troops—which had passed from the hands of two commanders-in-chief, whose decaying energies were prostrated by the fatigues of active service—were now under the command of Major-general Wilson, and barely numbered 8,000 men, with forty heavy guns and howitzers, and about twenty-two mortars, none of which, as we have observed, were in position for effective service until the 8th of September. The ordinary methods of approach were then resorted to; and at daybreak of the 11th of the month, a heavy cannonade was opened against the city, that increased in intensity as the day advanced; and then, for two more successive days and nights, the agents of destruction poured forth their iron hail against the walls and bastions of the rebel capital. On the 14th the assault was made: the gallant rifles covered the heads of the storming columns, one of which rushed through the smoke and *debris* of an explosion at the Cashmere gate; a second and third dashed over the bodies of dying traitors, through breaches in the shattered walls, and swept the ramparts; and again the British colours floated victoriously upon the walls of Delhi. But the city was not to be won in a day. For a week the enemy fought from street to street, and from house to house. On the 17th, the English batteries commanded the bridge, the Selimgurh fort, and the palace; all of which were kept under an incessant fire of shells. The rebels at length came to a conclusion that the town could be no longer held, and, accordingly, sent off their baggage and plunder, with the intention to follow when it had gained a fair start. The inhabitants took refuge in the palace, or fled the city over the Jumna bridge, or by the Delhi gate. Many of them came into the districts of the city occupied by the English troops, and were passed out of the town unhurt. Streams of people and cattle also poured out of the Ajmeer gate; and, a few days later, the city was described as void of inhabitants. Houses, mosques, bazaars, were tenantless; and large districts of the capital of Mohammedan India, with its 200,000 inhabitants, were changed to the desolateness of Pompeii. By the 19th great numbers of the mutineers had effected their escape from the city; but a remnant of the rebel host still remained in and about the palace, and exhibited to the last moment their determined spirit by mounting a single gun behind a breastwork, near the Lahore gate of the royal residence, with which they continued to play upon the English troops at the bank. The act was inoperative as far as the desire of mischief was concerned; but it evinced the obstinacy of those engaged in the duty of resistance; since, two days previously, the greater portion of the guns, to the number of 226, had been taken from the rebels, and there was not the slightest possibility of their recovering, by this single field-piece, one inch of the ground from which they had been driven. On the 20th, by five o'clock in the evening, the struggle for Delhi was

over; and the entire city, the palace, the Jumma Musjeed, the Selimgurh, and the bridge, were in the possession of the English troops. Such of the insurgents as could then escape appear to have been seized with a panic; for they deserted their camp outside the Ajmeer gate, leaving their clothing, bedding, cooking utensils, and other necessary articles behind them. So ended the siege of Delhi! The number of troops by whom the assault was successfully carried was disproportionately small, when compared with the numbers and resources of its defenders; but the perseverance, the energy, and the indomitable courage of Englishmen, determined to avenge their murdered countrymen, and the helpless women and children sacrificed by the malignity of a treacherous and unmanly enemy, overcame every obstacle.

The dastardly flight of the greater portion of the rebel troops and of their phantom king, had, as we have seen, preceded by a few hours the final attack upon the palace, the marble pavements of which were, but a few months previously, stained with the blood of the helpless victims of Mohammedan lust and cruelty. It is needless here to contrast the position of the aged traitor—who for years had enjoyed the honours of a titular monarch within those walls; possessed of ample revenue, surrounded by a host of retainers, and ruling his dependents in mimic state—with that he occupied when, led back a prisoner, he again entered the outer gate of the palace of his mighty ancestors, a miserable and hopeless captive—a withering trunk, from which every living branch was now to be torn, and whose inevitable future was henceforth only to be traced by its desolateness and despair.

The consequences entailed upon the inhabitants of Delhi by the insane and revengeful passions of the mutinous soldiery, and the infatuated folly of their Monghol princes, were necessarily most calamitous: their homes were destroyed—their families scattered—their property at the mercy of outlaws and plunderers, whom they dared not resist and could not propitiate;—before them peril, and around them, on every side, death in its most revolting form: for them no alternative was left between the ruin brought upon them by their own people, and impending utter destruction by the hands of others; unless, indeed, the scarcely-to-be-hoped-for mercy of their exasperated conquerors should concede to them the miserable privilege of bare existence. They sought that mercy, and were not refused it: and yet, when it is remembered that the inhabitants of Delhi, if not actually in arms with the mutineers of May, had sympathised with, and encouraged them in their atrocities—that the people of that city had stood by when the most frightful outrages upon suffering humanity were wantonly perpetrated by their licentious, brutal, and unmanly princes and ruffian soldiers—that they had permitted Englishwomen to be paraded naked through their streets in the face of day, and had gloated over their agonies, and mocked their despair, without lifting one hand to prevent the indescribable wrong;—when these things were remembered (and it was impossible but that they should be so), it would have been no great wonder if English soldiers, in the hot fury of the strife, when the streets of the guilty city, the actual scenes of the outrages, were open before them, should have associated all they met with the foul pollution cast upon the name of Englishwomen, and have retaliated upon the cowardly abettors of such wrong as they would upon the actual perpetrators of it. But, to the honour of the British arms, no massacre of the inhabitants followed the storming of the city. On the contrary, all of its unarmed population that appealed for British protection, appear to have received it.

The capture of a city is about the greatest trial that can be put in the way of the temper of troops and the authority of a general; it is a wild, exciting, lawless scene—the *finale* of a long and slow process, when patience and endurance have to give place to vehement action; and passion, after being reined in and suppressed for weeks or months, bursts out with unrestrained fury. On such an occasion, soldiers must be excited; for such excitement is an essence of the very nature and duty of war, and the reckless daring of the assault could not be sustained without it: and yet, when the field is won, and the enemy is prostrate before the uplifted sword of the victor, how swiftly does this excitement subside into pity, and the hand that has stricken down a foe becomes the first to bind up the wounds it has inflicted.

With the conquest of Delhi, the *prestige* of the Indian rebellion passed away. The war, still fed by isolated bands of insurgent soldiery, might yet, for a time, spread its de-

vastating influences in different directions, and at remote points; but the chief seat of its strength was lost. So long as a descendant of the Moguls could spread the banner of his race from the ramparts of his palace at Delhi, rebellion had an emblem, a prospect, and a name to strive for; but with that banner trailing in the dust, that Mogul a powerless captive, and his vast army a scattered rabble, little remained for the iron heel of the conqueror but to trample out the smouldering fires that, for a time, continued to scorch and sear the ravaged provinces of Central India.

CHAPTER XXIV.

DEFECTION OF HOLKAR'S CONTINGENT AT INDORE; DEATH OF COLONEL PLATT; MASSACRE OF THE EUROPEANS; CONDUCT OF THE MAHARAJAH; PRIVATE CORRESPONDENCE; THE OUTBREAK AT MHOW; INCIDENTS OF THE REVOLT; ARRIVAL OF EUROPEAN TROOPS; REVOLT OF PETTY CHIEFS OF MALWA; FLIGHT FROM BHOPAWUR; REVOLT OF THE GWALIOR CONTINGENT AT AUGGUR; MURDER OF LIEUTENANT O'DOWDA; FLIGHT OF EUROPEANS; ADVENTURES ON THE ROAD AND IN THE JUNGLE; ALARM AT AGRA; ARRIVAL OF NEEMUCH AND NUSSEERABAD MUTINEERS; BATTLE OF FUTTEHPORE SIKREE; DEATH OF CAPTAIN D'OYLEY; DESTRUCTION OF THE CANTONMENT AT AGRA; OFFICIAL REPORT; 14TH NATIVE INFANTRY DISARMED AT JHELUM; 58TH NATIVE INFANTRY DISARMED AT RAWUL PINDEE; MUTINY AT SAUGOR; ENGLISH OFFICERS CALLED INTO THE FORT; FIGHT BETWEEN THE NATIVE TROOPS; DEFEAT AND FLIGHT OF THE MUTINEERS; OUTBREAK AND MASSACRE AT SEALKOTE; MURDER OF DR. GRAHAM; PURSUIT AND DEFEAT OF MUTINEERS; RETRIBUTION; PRIVATE CORRESPONDENCE.

HAVING detailed the varied incidents connected with the siege and capture of Delhi, from the arrival of the "army of retribution" before its walls in June, until the complete reoccupation of it by the British troops in September, we shall now revert to occurrences that were progressing in other quarters simultaneously with the events narrated in the preceding chapters.

The month of July was rife with the horrors and calamities of savage and relentless warfare. From the gray dawn of its first morning, until the midnight hour of the last day of that month, murder and rapine stalked wolf-like through the provinces of India; and although at every point where insurrection raised its head it was promptly beaten down and repulsed by the valour and prudence opposed to it, still the distress and suffering inflicted upon families and individuals, through the exterminating ferocity of the rebel hordes who had madly rushed upon a career of destruction, was vast in its extent, and too often irreparable in its consequences.

INDORE and MHOW*.—Upon intelligence of the mutiny and revolt at Neemuch† reaching these places, a considerable degree of excitement became visible among the troops stationed at them; but the vigilance of the Maharajah Holkar at the one station, and of the English authorities at the other, had the effect, for some time, of repressing the ebullitions of bad feeling. At Indore, on the 1st of July, the troops consisted of a regiment of Bhopal contingent cavalry, three companies of Bhopal contingent infantry, with two guns; two companies of the Malwa Bheel corps, a regiment of the Mehidpore contingent, and a detachment of Holkar's contingent, with three guns. Those of the Bhopal's were placed near the residency, which was then occupied by Colonel Durand, the political agent at the court of Holkar. The guns belonging to Holkar were kept at a distance; and no immediate outbreak on the part of any of the troops appears to have been expected, although the conduct of some of the men was far from satisfactory. The storm was,

* INDORE is the chief town of Malwa, a state of Central India, belonging to Holkar, and is situated about thirty miles south-east of Oojein, on a finely-wooded table-land, at an elevation of 2,000 feet from the sea. It is modern, having been wholly built within the present century, upon the site of a village belonging to the Princess Ahilya Baee, who is described as being "the most illustrious ruler of the Holkar dynasty." There are some spacious streets and a few good buildings, but the massive granite palace of the rajah is the only edifice of any importance.—MHOW is a small town situate about fourteen miles south of Indore, and derives its only claim to notice from its existence as a station for the Company's troops.

† See *ante*, p. 211.

however, nearer at hand than was anticipated; and it burst upon its victims with sudden and terrible effect.

A little after eight o'clock on the morning of the 1st of July, the troops belonging to the maharajah, without any previous warning, broke into open mutiny, and proceeded with their three guns towards the residency, then under the protection of the two companies of Bheels and the Bhopal cavalry, both of which vainly attempted to arrest the progress of the mutinous corps. The cavalry under the command of Major Travers behaved with excellent spirit, until he ordered them to charge the guns, when, of the forty troopers present, five only followed their officer to the attack, and those would have sabred the artillerymen had the latter not skulked under the guns. This effort to cripple the enemy having failed, the major retired to the residency, followed by the enemy, who had now, with their guns, reached an open space in front of the flower-garden, intending to cannonade the buildings in which all the Europeans that could escape from the town had assembled for protection. Meanwhile, intelligence of the outbreak, with a call for immediate assistance, had been transmitted to Mhow, where Colonel Platt, with the 23rd regiment of native infantry, and some cavalry, under the command of Major Harris, were stationed. A spirited resistance was still kept up by Major Travers, who brought the two guns of the Bhopal contingent into play, and prevented the mutineers from entering the grounds of the residency, until, as by one impulse, the whole of the troops that had assisted in the defence, with the exception of the Bheels and a few troopers, deserted to the mutineers, threatening, at the same time, to shoot the European officers if they ventured to interfere with them. At this juncture, it was perceived that a large and tumultuous body of troops, both infantry and cavalry, with several guns, were approaching the residency, followed by a rabble from the town; and it became evident, that if an effort was to be made to escape the impending danger, not a moment was to be lost. As the whole of the carriages and horses belonging to the European residents were in the possession of the mutineers, no other means of flight were at hand, of which the ladies and children could avail themselves, but the gun-carriages at the residency; and these were at once brought to the rear of the buildings, and used for the conveyance of the fugitives, who left the place as the rebels broke into the front enclosure, their retreat being covered by Major Travers and the few troopers that still continued faithful. During the tumult, Holkar himself did all that lay in his power to re-establish order and protect the Europeans, and he resolutely refused to countenance the behaviour of his rebellious subjects. Fortunately, the greater part of the European residents at Indore were saved by this timely retreat; but several persons belonging to the post-office and telegraph establishments, who had not been able to escape from the town, were barbarously murdered.

Major Travers, writing of this affair from Lahore, on the 4th of July, gives the following details of the outbreak and subsequent proceedings. He says—"A little after 8 A.M. on the 1st, Holkar's troops suddenly attacked us at Indore: they cut down a number of poor telegraph people, and dosed us with a supply of our own grape, furnished them from Mhow. My only cavalry at the moment available, were a few always kept saddled in the square of the stable-yard; the others, being in the Mehidpore cavalry lines, were in a measure cut off, and required time to saddle and come round. The Mehidpore infantry were neutral, and our own (Bhopal) nearly in as bad a state. To strike a blow, and an effectual one, was of the greatest importance, and in doing this not a moment was to be lost. Placing myself at the head of the few cavalry ready, though not properly formed, I led them against both the guns and infantry supporting each other, at first with something less than twenty men: the affair seemed almost hopeless, but our only chance. As I cast my eye back, and found only six or seven following me, and not in good order, much as I despise the Mahrattas as soldiers, I saw we could not by any possibility make an impression. Still, at it I went; to draw rein or turn after giving the order to charge was too much against the grain. I came in for a large share of their most polite attention. My horse was wounded in three places; I had to parry a sabre-cut with the back of my sword; but God, in his great mercy, protected me, and the dastardly gunners threw themselves under their guns. Had I had thirty or forty good sowars at the time, with their hearts in the right place, I would have captured their three guns, and

cut their 200 infantry to pieces; but what could half-a-dozen do against so many? The foe then moved into the plain in front of the flower-garden, to blaze into the residency. I instantly moved up and attacked with my two guns (the Subahdar Sewlale and the gunners behaving nobly), and drove them back, disabling, apparently, one of their guns.

"The rest of my cavalry now came up, asking to be led to the charge; but I could find no bugler, nor could I get the men into proper order. They seemed uncertain whom to trust—who were friends or who foes; and to lead them on as they then were would have been destruction. They would have been taken in flank by Holkar's numerous cavalry, and overthrown. My infantry was reported in a state of mutiny, so it was all up. —— decided upon retreating, drawing off the children and ladies before we were completely surrounded. Although we could have held the residency for a few hours longer, we should have been unable to withdraw the poor helpless women and children, many of whom had to be put upon the gun-limbers and waggons, as all Holkar's force was pouring out of the city, and the rascals also. I covered the retreat with the cavalry, and we made for Mundlaisir, *viâ* Simrole Ghat; but we found that, during the previous night, a strong force had been sent to occupy the Ghat, and prevent our escape in that direction. It was therefore necessary to change our route, and that instantly, for we all knew that delay would be death. We then continued our march until we had left the Maghoghur Pass behind us; for had that been occupied, we should have been still in difficulties. Even then we could only halt for an hour or so, as we had to look out for the Tuppa Pass. At last that was got over; men and cattle done up, the poor ladies and children bearing up wonderfully, or better than that: at Koorlee we rested for three hours, and then pushed on for 'Ashta,' which we reached yesterday, the 3rd. How the weaker portion stood so much is wonderful."

Tracing the route of the fugitives, the major again writes on the 8th:—"A large party left for Hosungabad a few days ago. The begum (Bhopal) has clearly told us that the whole of India is now at enmity with us—that our remaining here is a source of weakness to her, and endangers the state and her: we have, therefore, no other option but to depart for Hosungabad, taking with us as much of the contingent as choose to go, which will be few. The remainder I leave here in charge of the begum, and we trust to retain the contingent thus, who are angels in comparison. I lost everything at Indore, as did every one. To say my heart is heavy, is no word for it; but what can be done? Matters are indeed horrible. The 5th infantry, Gwalior contingent, murdered Dr. and Mrs. James, and Lieutenant and Adjutant O'Dowda; the others, with a large party, are coming this way. Terrible rain; and so many poor women and young children exposed night and day to it."

The following letter, written by a native functionary at the court of Holkar, describes the conduct of the latter during the outbreak of the troops, and the state of the place after the flight of some, and the massacre of other Europeans on the 1st of July. The writer, dating from Indore palace, July 8th, says—"At last, the worst has happened at Indore. The two companies and three guns which have so long been, at Colonel Durand's request, sent to protect the residency, broke out into open mutiny on the 1st instant, and fired on the residency-house. Colonel Durand, Mr. and Mrs. Shakspeare and child, Mrs. Dutton, Major Stockley, Captain Waterman (all European gentlemen), went away quite safe to Lahore.

"Poor Mr. M'Mahon and Mr. Butler, and some of the East Indian writers and telegraph people, have had a severe loss of lives. After the firing began, Molabux and Surroop-Narain escaped to the town. I stood for a while, keeping all the Baboos and their families and the treasures with me, and sent his highness word that we wanted protection. He sent out a few horsemen, by whose assistance I safely reached the palace, and the Baboos the town. Meanwhile it appeared that not only those companies alone, but almost all the troops of his highness, were disaffected more or less; for no one would go out to attack the mutineers, among whom Saadut Khan, Bukshee Hafeez's son, had taken the lead. The work of rapine and destruction lasted long, and the whole residency presents a regular scene of woe. The poor maharajah was quite horrified. The troops told him it was a case of *deen* (faith), and they would not go against their brethren.

"There seems to have been an under-

standing between them and the Mhow troops; for, simultaneously with Indore, the Mhow regiments shot the good old Colonel Platt, Major Harris, and a few others, and burnt some bungalows. The Rev. C. Hamilton, Captain Elliot, and all the other officers, are quite safe. Early on the morning of the 2nd, the whole of the 23rd regiment and the wing of cavalry arrived at Indore, and put up at the residency, together with their brother-mutineers: the disorder that lasted for two days can hardly be described; servants were plundering their masters, old retainers were shamefully revolting, not for 'deen,' but actually for plunder. The mutineers dictated their own terms to the maharajah; and, not satisfied with receiving all they wanted, they proposed to him the hard terms of cutting off and sending to them the heads of a few poor Europeans and Christians, to whom he had given protection in his own palace, together with those of his advisers who were in the British or 'Kafir's' interest. Of these, unfortunately, I was one, and Ramchuder, Khooman, and Gunish; and you can conceive his highness's situation; but he firmly refused to yield to any such terms. On the 4th, the general plunder of the town of Indore commenced; there was no end of fright. Our own guards began to run away with our property, and the whole was confusion and uproar. At last, the maharajah rode with a very few of his paigah, guarded the posts, and then went to the mutineers' camp with a handful of followers, and told them, in the name of 'deen,' to cease plundering. He said he would, as long as he lived, never consent to give up his European *protégés*, dead or alive, nor those of his courtiers; and, though he knew his troops had deserted, he would yet die manfully if they did not cease plundering. The rascally mutineers had also philosophers and historians among them; they reminded the maharajah of his illustrious ancestor Jeswunt Rao Holkar; that he ought yet to take the 'bambo' upon his shoulders and proceed to Delhi with them; that the star of the British in the East had set, owing to their pride and faithlessness, and his highness must not prove himself to be a coward. But to all this harangue his highness made proper answers. He said he had no strength of his forefathers; that he did not think rapine, and the murder of poor women and children, a part of any religion; and that he could not therefore make a fit companion to them. He then came home, and the plundering in the town ceased. On the evening of the 4th, they plundered the British treasury to the extent of ten lacs, and, with about six of the guns, which had been given over to the mutineers, marched on towards Dewar. The panic is yet great; his highness endeavours to recover the guns and the treasury, and has sent an attack; but I don't know if it will succeed. His highness is giving every assistance to the European officers in Mhow fort; and about twelve lacs of the remaining and the recovered treasure, with notes to the value of 24½ lacs, was sent to Mhow, under a strong escort, together with the European *protégés*. All the ringleaders have gone away with the Mhow brigade to Delhi; a great part of the property has been recovered. I went to see the residency and my house yesterday, and I could not help bursting into tears to see its ruins. So you see the fearful consequences of your leaving Indore. The authorities were told months before there was danger, yet they could do nothing. Last night a letter was received from Captain Elliot, stating that Mr. and Mrs. Hutchinson, who had fled in disguise, were caught at Umjheera. His highness immediately ordered 300 foot, 200 horse, and two guns, under Khooman Sing, to blow up Umjheera; but though the troops have marched, the report appears to be incorrect, and Captain H—— and party are all safe at Jabooah, Molabux having received a letter to that effect. We have just dispatched runners to bring correct news. I am yet alive; but momentarily expect my head to be cut off, owing to old enmities, and being known to be in the British interest. Pray do come out soon or Malwa is gone; your presence is equal to five regiments. I can't write more.—I am, your obedient servant,

"OMEID SING."

One of the ladies who fortunately escaped from the residency, has given an interesting account of the outbreak, and describes the retreat in the following terms:—

"It was now urged by all, that unless we took advantage of the present moment, escape would be impossible, and a general massacre would follow. The cavalry, which was our sole reliance, were preparing to fly, their only thought being to save

their own lives, and ours also, provided we chose to accompany them; if not, to leave us to our fate. Under the circumstances, retreat seemed the only alternative, and the order was most reluctantly given by the resident. He and others had hoped to hold out till relief could arrive from Mhow. Our carriages and horses were in the hands of the mutineers. We, ladies and children, &c., retreated at the back of the house, while the guns were raking the front. We mounted the gun-waggons, sitting upon shot and powder-boxes, and were slowly dragged by bullocks. The guns, with the few cavalry and some infantry who did not desert us, followed with the officers. As we retreated over the plain, we saw the smoke of the burning bungalows, and for some time heard heavy firing, the shot from the enemy's guns passing close among us; mercifully not a soul was hit. I kept continually looking back to see that —— was safe. Of course, I could but be truly thankful that our lives were spared; but I confess I felt keenly with —— the mortification of being compelled to leave without our troops having made a good stand. As to fear, that was far less present with me than vexation and disgust at the conduct of the wretched cowards who were our sole reliance. With a hundred European soldiers we should have held the place. * * * The destructive wretches, after we left Indore, commenced doing all the damage they could—cutting up carpets with their tulwars, smashing chandeliers, marble tables, slabs, chairs, &c.; they even cut out the cloth and lining of our carriages, hacking up the woodwork. The residency is uninhabitable, and almost all have lost everything. I might have saved a few things in the hour and a-half that elapsed between the outbreak and our retreat, but I had so relied on some of our defenders, and felt so secure of holding on, that flight never for a moment occurred to me.

"On the morning of the outbreak it was imagined, because Holkar sent no messengers (while his troops were firing upon the residency), that there might have been connivance on his part; but he (Holkar) says that all his troops mutinied, and that his own life was in as great danger as ours. His vakeel narrowly escaped being shot by some of the infantry as they were rushing past Holkar's palace towards the residency. The vakeel attempted a remonstrance upon their going without orders from the maharajah, when instantly several muskets were levelled at him, and he was asked what he was saying? He readily replied, 'I was only saying that you should take plenty of ammunition!' Upon hearing this, they lowered their arms and passed on. The greater part of these troops are still at Indore, having assisted in all the violence and plunder; only a small portion of them went finally off with the Mhow mutineers, so we have a nice collection near us; but no fear of their having the courage to attempt any attack upon Mhow, which has a wing of her majesty's 14th dragoons and a wing of her majesty's 86th (which came in to-day), and some artillery, &c. They never would stand a charge of our dragoons for a moment, superior as they are in numbers."

Of the whole number of Europeans massacred at Indore, amounting to thirty-four individuals, many were so horribly mutilated as to leave no clue to their identity. The following only were recognised—namely, Mrs. Beauvais, the wife of the postmaster; Mrs. Crawley and her young child, Mr. and Mrs. Norries, Mr. Murray, Mrs. and Miss Macbeth, and five children; Mr. M'Mahon, two Parsees, Mr. Payne, Mrs. Alphonso, Mr. Brooke, Mr. and Mrs. Avery, and Mr. and Mrs. Bone. Amongst those who escaped were Colonel and Mrs. Durand, Captain and Mrs. Shakspeare, Major Travers, Dr. and Mrs. Knapp, Lieutenant and Mrs. Cobbe, Mrs. Robertson and two children, Captain Ludlow, Captain and Mrs. Mallingot, Colonel Stockley, Mrs. Dutton, Sergeant and Mrs. Murphy, Messrs. H. Hammond and Williams, Mr. Shields, Messrs. Martin, Collins, O'Brien, Galloway, Norries, Tinley, Farrell, Moran, Beauvais, and Crawley; Lieutenant Waterman and Dr. Thornton, of the 1st light cavalry. The house of the latter gentleman being the most distant from the cantonments, he had no means of escaping the rebels but by creeping into a drain, from which he only emerged on seeing some troops approach his asylum.

Mhow.—While these events were progressing at Indore, the Europeans at Mhow were also in imminent peril; for there, too, a mutinous spirit had burst forth in wild revenge for imaginary wrongs, that could not be atoned for but by the blood of many good and gallant men, who had braved the dangers of the battle-field to fall ingloriously by the felon hands of their own treacherous



soldiers. The following despatch of Brevet-major Cooper, of the 23rd native infantry, at Mhow, furnishes the melancholy details of the whole occurrence:—

"Head-quarters, Mhow, July 9th, 1857.

"It is with feelings of extreme pain that I fulfil the duty of reporting, for the information of his excellency the commander-in-chief, the circumstances of the mutiny of the sepoys of the 23rd regiment native infantry, and the murder, by their hands, of Brevet-colonel Platt, commanding the regiment, and of Lieutenant and Brevet-captain and Adjutant Fagan. On the 1st of July, 1857, Colonel Platt received, about half-past 10 A.M., a pencil note from Lieutenant-colonel Durand, agent for governor-general in Central India, at Indore, stating that the residency at that place was attacked by Holkar's troops. Subsequent information came that Lieutenant-colonel Durand had been overpowered, and that he, with several officers and ladies, had been obliged to fly for their lives from Indore, accompanied by a few faithful troops only. About noon, Colonel Platt dispatched the two flank companies of the 23rd regiment native infantry, under command of Captain Trower, and accompanied by Lieutenant Westmacott, down the road to Bombay, with orders to bring back into cantonments, at all hazards, two 9-pounder brass guns, belonging to the maharajah, which had passed through Mhow two hours previously, with the assistance of a troop of 1st light cavalry, under Captain Brooke (who overtook the guns, and brought them to a standstill till the infantry came up); this duty was satisfactorily performed, and the guns brought back into the fort at Mhow about 3 P.M.; no casualties having occurred in the detachment.

"Meanwhile, Colonel Platt was taking every precaution for the defence of the cantonments, expecting an attack from Holkar's troops, and placing full reliance on the loyalty and attachment of his regiment. The ladies and children, with the European battery of artillery, were ordered into the fortified square, and the officers of the 23rd native infantry were ordered to proceed, at dusk, to their men's lines, and remain there all night, ready at any moment to turn out and repel any attack. At about a quarter past 10 P.M., several of them were sitting together, talking, in front of the lines of the grenadier company, when a shot was heard from the cavalry lines on the left, followed by several others. Immediately afterwards the fusiliers commenced in the rear of the lines of the grenadier company 23rd native infantry, and was rapidly taken up from right to left all along the lines of huts. The men were evidently firing on their officers, who, supposing the lines were attacked by Holkar's troops, went towards their respective cavalry lines and the quarter-guard to turn the men out to repel the attack. It soon, however, became evident what was the true state of the case, and finding they could do nothing, and as the parade-ground was literally whistling with bullets fired from the lines at them, the officers made their escape to the fort; there they found Colonel Platt, who had not as yet been down to the lines, and whom it was difficult to persuade of the fact of the regiment having mutinied, so confident was he of their loyalty.

"However, the men of the regiment on duty at the fort gate were immediately disarmed and turned out by the artillery, and four guns of the horse battery were immediately got ready, and went down to the sepoy lines. Colonel Platt, however, without waiting for them, ordered Captain Fagan, his adjutant, to accompany him, and the two rode down together to the lines of the 23rd native infantry. They were never seen alive again; all night, after the return of the four guns, they were anxiously expected; but it now appears that they were shot down by the men by a volley whilst Colonel Platt was in the act of haranguing them, and before the guns had time to come up. Their bodies, as well as those of their horses, were found next morning lying on the parade-ground, in front of the bells of arms, literally riddled with bullets. Colonel Platt had also been fearfully gashed by the cut of a tulwar across the mouth and the back of the head. The two guns, under Captain Hungerford, of artillery, opened on the lines with grape and canister, and speedily cleared them of their occupants. The men all rushed out of cantonments, not even waiting to take their property with them, and, with the cavalry, went off to Indore, not, however, before they had managed to burn down the regiment mess-house and the bungalows of several other officers. Since then small parties have occasionally returned, or have been hanging about the neighbouring villages, from which the guns drove them out on the following day.

"The remainder of the officers, with their families, are safe in the fort at Mhow, and the officers have all placed themselves under the orders of Captain Hungerford, commanding the fort, and act as volunteers for night duties and sentries on the walls, and to accompany the guns, mounted as a covering party, whenever they have occasion to move out. They, with myself, await the orders of his excellency the commander-in-chief as to our future disposal; but as yet the disturbed state of the country will not admit of our leaving the fort. Of the men of the regiment, only the drum-major, a Mussulman, and five Christian drummers, have remained with their officers. Two sepoys preserved the life of Lieutenant Simpson (who was on picket duty with them on the night of the mutiny), and brought him safely into the fort next morning; but though I promised these men promotion to havildar, they have since gone and joined their comrades. The colours of the regiment have been carried away, as well as the arms, except a certain number recovered; returns of which shall be hereafter furnished. The regiment magazine has been blown up by Captain Hungerford's orders. We are now in a dangerous position, in a weak fort, utterly untenable against an enemy with guns for any length of time, with only a handful of Europeans in the midst of a country risen all around; but we trust to be able to hold our own until such time as assistance, so much needed, may reach us.—I have, &c.,

"Charles Cooper, Brevet-major,
"Commanding 23rd regiment N. I."

The outrages and murders of the day had not sufficed to appease the vengeful feeling that raged among the troops: more victims were required; and the following report from Captain Brooke, of the 1st Bengal native cavalry at Mhow, describes the manner of the sacrifice. Addressing the deputy adjutant-general of the army on the 5th of July, the captain writes thus:—

"Sir,—It is with great regret that I do myself the honour to report, for the information of his excellency the commander-in-chief, the mutiny, on the night of the 1st instant, of the right wing of the 1st cavalry, and the murder of its late commanding officer, Major Alfred Harris. As the next senior officer present of my late regiment, I venture to send the following detail of the conduct of the men prior to, and on the occasion of the late lamentable outbreak; and would, at the same time, solicit his excellency's excuse for what must necessarily be a hurried and imperfect report.

"For a considerable time after hearing of the mutiny of the 4th and 6th troops of the corps at Neemuch, on the 3rd of June, the men were in a very unsettled state; the constant watch, however, kept upon them, and the judicious measures used by the late Colonel Platt, had the effect of quieting them down, so that we had great hopes of being able to weather the storm; but on the morning of the 1st of July, the intelligence reached Mhow of the attack on the Indore presidency by the troops of the Maharajah Holkar. The effect produced by this intelligence was immediately noticed on our men; many talked of fears for their own safety; others hinted to their officers that danger was impending. Within half-an-hour of the Indore news reaching us, the 3rd troop, under my command, was directed to proceed on the Bombay road, and recover the guns belonging to Holkar, which had passed unheeded through the cantonment about two hours before, and which were supposed to have been sent on to occupy the passes and obstruct the advance of General Woodburn's column. Some few of my men demurred at being sent on this duty, and lagged behind; but, on the whole, I was satisfied with their conduct, especially when, on nearing the guns (two brass 9-pounders, manned by about twenty-five artillerymen), they charged them, and the capture was effected without any loss on our side.

"It was agreed that we should all sleep in our lines that night, the ladies and families of all officers having resorted to the fort during the day, not, however, from any fears from our men, but from an apprehension of an attack from the rajah's troops. Our tent was pitched ten paces in front of the quarter-guard. The regiment was warned to be ready to turn out at a moment's notice; and each man, with the major's permission, slept with his arms alongside him. Nothing occurred to disturb the tranquillity of the night until about ten o'clock, when a bungalow close in front of us was set fire to; the men appeared to take little notice of this act of incendiarism. Lieutenant Martin, the adjutant, remained conversing with the men at the guard, and was so occupied until about eleven o'clock, at which hour, in an instant, a most fearful

and never-to-be-forgotten yell was raised; the trooper with whom Lieutenant Martin was conversing turned round and fired two pistols at him. We all rushed off across the parade in the direction of the fort, having no time to mount our horses, and pursued and fired on by the whole guard, and the men now issuing from all parts of the lines. Firing commenced in the 23rd lines about three minutes afterwards. We had, consequently, to run the gauntlet of the whole of their fire as well; but all contrived to reach the fort in safety, except Major Harris, who was found dead on the parade-ground the next morning, with a frightful sabre-cut on the throat. The lines were entirely deserted and plundered during the night; the only man who remained being a Christian trumpeter, who was stripped of his arms and clothes by the mutineers. The officers of the regiment are now acting as a cavalry guard for the support of the European battery, under the orders of Captain Hungerford.

"In conclusion, I have the honour to report, that the last accounts (dated the 19th ultimo) from the five troops of the regiment on duty at Kherwarra were very favourable, and the men continued as loyal and tractable as before.—I have, &c.,

"JOHN H. BROOKE, Captain,
"Commanding 1st Regiment."

The following letters from officers stationed at Mhow at the time of the murderous outbreak, describe with great force some of the most interesting incidents connected with it, and are valuable as records of the events and its attendant circumstances. The first communication is from an officer belonging to the 1st cavalry, who writes thus:—

"Fort Mhow, July 6th.

"On the 1st of the month, news came in from Indore, that the rajah's troops had risen and slaughtered every European, forty in number. I heard nothing of it; but the commanding officer came to my bungalow, saying, 'You are on duty, so go and retake some guns with the 3rd troop.' We went; and most marvellous to say, took them the first charge, Brooke and I together. The men demurred at first, but afterwards followed well. We were all surprised, as we knew they were in an unsettled state. The guns were brought into the fort. We went to our houses about three o'clock, having had a long morning, as the guns we took were some way off. Nothing occurred the remainder of the afternoon. The officers of the 1st Bengal light cavalry met to consult. We agreed to sleep in the lines with the men, anticipating an attack from the rajah's troops, little suspecting the awful scene we were to witness in a few hours. Mess-time came, and we dined as usual. I should tell you, all the ladies were moved in here, and the artillery took possession of the fort. About 9.30 P.M. we went to the lines, having had our tent pitched two or three yards in front of the Main-guard. Brooke and I in one bed, after looking at our horses all ready for action, went to try to sleep. But there was a presentiment on my mind: about ten o'clock, a small bungalow in front caught fire. I went with one or two sepoys, who had stuck by me in the morning, to see who had done it. The men with me cocked their pistols, and looked ominously at me. I returned to the guard. Martin was in the centre of all the men, talking to them. I joined him, and observed one man in my troop—a villain; he had his carbine, and began to cavil with Martin about some men Brooke and I had killed in the morning. I, feeling sleepy, said to Martin, 'I'll turn in;' but, good God! I had hardly turned my back, and got to Brooke's side, when an awful shriek arose from the men, and the bullets whizzed around us in torrents. The man I had observed lifted his carbine first, and fired either at myself or Martin. I leaped out of my tent, and saw Martin rushing across the parade-ground, the wretches shrieking after him. I reached him, and Brooke followed. We felt our last moment had come; but we ran for it. I led to the fort, a mile off. The men kept following us, and the bullets fell thick. Having got across the parade-ground about 500 or 600 yards, we came to the hill with the church at the top; and when at the top, Martin caught hold of me, exclaiming, 'For God's sake stop!' I caught hold of his arm and said, 'Only keep up and follow;' but at this moment I felt I was done. We parted, as I thought, only to meet in death. But, thank God, I rushed on and reached a bungalow about a quarter of a mile from the fort. By this time the infantry had all risen; and as I ran, the ground was torn up with bullets, and they fell thick around me. Their lines were in a direct line between the fort and ours, so that we, poor fellows, had to run the gauntlet of both fires. I felt, when I got to the

bungalow, quite sick and done. Wonderful Providence! I saw two natives, and rushed up to them, and simply took their hands, hardly able to speak, and said, 'Save me!' They did. To them I owe my life. At the moment the infantry were coming screaming around. They hid me in a small house. Oh, those moments! for I could not trust the men, and felt sure they would give me up. Some sepoys came, but did not find me. At last there was a lull. I opened the door and ran for the fort, my nigger friends having wrapped me in their own clothing to disguise me. Can I ever make you feel the deep thankfulness that was in my heart as I ran across the open plain, up the hill, to the fort. The artillerymen were manning the walls, and the sentry's call was never more thankfully received; and I cried 'Friend, friend!' and found myself safe inside. Can you realise the scene? I am too excited, and, in fact, overdone, to write fully now. Directly I got in and had drunk something, we who were saved went to the walls with muskets and swords, as we felt almost sure that this rising was in union with the rajah's troops, and that they would immediately attack the fort where we are now—only eighty-four Europeans. We were under arms all night. I am without a stitch to my back hardly, having lost everything I possess, with the exception of a pair of trowsers and a few shirts. My horse and all my money gone. But, oh! how kind every one has been, and I have got everything I want now! But to my story. Nothing occurred that night. The next day we were formed into an irregular cavalry (about twenty-one of us), and went out with the guns to bring in ammunition, which was safely done. We found all the sepoys gone. Every day since, we have been out at ten o'clock in the morning, almost all day, blowing up our magazines that were left, or getting in provisions, and killing every sepoy we came across. I had a tremendous chase the first day, with an artilleryman, after one. We were wrong, and went too far. I recognised the man as one of my troop. We cut him down dead, and rode back to the guns unhurt. The excitement has been immense. We have been, and are now, on sentry duty; all night as well. Last night was the first we were a little relieved; having heard that all the men had left Indore for Delhi; that the Rajah Holkar was friendly, but that all his troops had gone. But the same watches will continue, as treachery is to be feared. We are all very closely packed, and shall be so till the European troops join us from Bombay, when we shall most likely proceed up the road, first retaking Indore, then clearing everything before us up to Agra or so: this is what is supposed. We have a bloody time before us, indeed; and I can only leave my life in God's hands.

"Most wonderful to say, only three officers have been killed—Major Harris (of ours), Colonel Platt, and Captain Fagan. They were most shockingly cut up. We buried them the same day—a most mournful occasion. The European blood was indeed roused by the sight of their poor bodies. We all vow vengeance.* It was a fine scene when we came into the fort and found each other safe. I was one of the last, and they had quite given me up as lost. But how we did shake hands together and express our thankfulness! We are living in a most curious style—something like picnicking—never taking off our clothes night or day; always ready to turn out at a moment's notice. If I get into a dragoon regiment I shall have a glorious time of it if my life is spared. The whole of India must be reconquered. Now you may think of us as jolly as possible. Don't be the least uneasy about me; and when once the force arrives from Bombay, part of which we expect every moment, we shall be perfectly safe."

An officer of the 23rd regiment also writes on the same day (July 6th); and after describing the pursuit and capture of the two guns mentioned in the preceding letter, says—"The guns were taken by Captain Brooke, but he could not disarm the fellows with them until we came up. We then took the arms from the gunners, yoked the bullocks to the guns, and came back to cantonments. I noticed how sulky the men were; and when I went to the lines to lodge their ammunition, they told me they had an order to keep forty rounds in their pouch; but I would not let them, and there was a good deal of grumbling; but

* "On the morning of the 2nd of July, Captain Hungerford sent out four guns to bring in the bodies of the murdered officers, and to clear the cantonments of any loiterers for plunder. The bodies of Colonel Platt and Captain Fagan, and that of Major Harris, were then brought in, and buried in the corner of one of the bastions—all three in one grave."

they all pretended they were faithful to us, and only wanted their arms in case they were attacked from Indore. However, in riding away from the lines I saw the men collected in groups talking, and some with muskets in their hands; this made me more suspicious, and I went and reported it to the colonel; he, poor man, thanked me, but evidently did not doubt the good faith of the regiment. * * * However, thank God! my representations, coupled with the assistance of the officer commanding the artillery, made him give orders for the occupation of the place we are now in; but, to give our men confidence in us, we had guards detached to our bungalows, and had orders to sleep in our lines. Our dinner was taken down to our sergeant-major's house, close to the lines, and there we sat down. During dinner we saw a light on the roof of our mess-house. I went up, and it was put out by the cook. Not one of the sepoys of the guards was there. That made me nervous; but I went back to the lines, and we all sat in a group, talking. After a little while they came and told us there was a light in another roof. I went up, and beat out the fire with my cap, and was assisted by a sepoy on guard from my own house. After extinguishing it I went back and sat down. Some officer proposed we should then go to our beds at the bells of arms of each of our companies; and we were going, when some one said, 'The report is, the regiment will rise at ten to-night.' It then wanted ten minutes, and our major said, 'Oh, very well; let's wait and see.' By Jove! the words were hardly uttered when we heard shots in the cavalry lines, and we all sprang up, some one crying out we were attacked in rear by the Bheels. We all ran towards our companies; but as I got to mine I was received by two shots, one in rear and one in front: an officer was behind me, and I sang out, 'The men are firing on us! there is no hope—run!' I then saw the adjutant galloping towards our quarter-guard; he was received by a volley. He, poor man, saw it was hopeless, and told Dysart to run. It was a bright, beautiful moonlight night, and we were in our white uniforms, so they could see us for a long distance. I ran, and received a volley from our grenadier company; but the bullets went all round me. After a little I was dead-beat, and could not move. At last, seeing a Syce running away with an officer's horse, I seized it, and mounted; but not liking to carry away an animal that belonged to another man who might be in danger, I waited under the shade of an empty guard-house to see for him; but I heard footsteps, and, looking round the corner, I saw the men of our hospital guard within fifty yards of me. I thought then I was done for, but put the horse to a gallop, and heard a shot ping by me quite close. I then made for the fort, and found the gateway all confusion. Our poor colonel was there on horseback, and, infatuated to the last, would not believe the men had mutinied, and called on the adjutant to follow him to the lines. That was the last we saw of the poor fellows. We instantly disarmed the native guard in the fort, and turned them out, mounted sentries at the bastions ourselves, and prepared for the worst. It was a fearful night, for some of our officers were on picket duty by themselves, miles out on the Indore-road, and we feared their death was certain; in fact, the escapes were wonderful. One officer, who had hid in the bazaar all night, came into the fort at daybreak, telling us the colonel and adjutant of our regiment had been killed in our lines, and that Major Harris was lying dead in the road, shot by his own troopers. The only one we could not account for was Dr. Thornton, of the cavalry. Hearing the bodies were lying there, we resolved to bring them in, and went out with two guns and some officers mounted to protect them. The scene of pillage and confusion was horrible; our mess-house was burnt to the ground; my own house also. I have lost everything except my sword and pistols, which I had on at the time of this outbreak. * * * Having recovered the bodies, and not knowing how many men were near us, we returned to the fort, and had the melancholy task of burying them. Throughout all this I cannot express the admiration I feel at the way the ladies have behaved—cheerful, and assisting in every way in their power; poor things! without servants or quarters, huddled together, they have had to do everything for themselves, and employ all their time in sewing bags for powder for the guns, well knowing the awful fate that awaits them if the place is taken: there has not been a sign of fear; they bring us tea or any little thing they can, and would even like to keep watch on the bastions if we would let them. * * * Yesterday Holkar's vakeel came over and disclaimed all participation in the mutiny. We shall see if he is sincere; for

they offered to send all the treasure that was not carried off over here; but I have my doubts. We have no money; and the people round, seeing the state of affairs, won't let us have anything without paying for it. We hear Woodburn's column will be here on the 15th. God speed it! There is no water in the fort; we are dependent for it from a well close by; and if we are invested I don't know what we shall do. It all depends on Holkar, for our mutineers have marched to that rallying place of the faithful, Delhi, to assist there. I don't know whether you will ever get this letter, for the road is lined with people to intercept the dâks. You should see the state we are in; all of us dirty and tired with night watching; we mount sentry duty to take the weight of it off the artillerymen; we snatch sleep and food as we can; we have made a few foraging parties, and I succeeded in driving back our mess sheep, to the number of 150, and recovered a lot of mess stores; but all our silver and furniture has been stolen and burnt. This is not a regular fort—merely a sort of store-place for spare guns, &c. But we are putting it in as defensible a state as we can, and I think we shall stagger a few before they capture it. Martial law is proclaimed, and a gallows in course of erection outside the fort gates. Mercy is a word we have scratched out of our memories; in fact, mercy to them is death to us."

Another letter, from an artillery officer who writes from Mhow on the 23rd of July, describes the occurrences of the 1st, and the murder of Colonel Platt, thus:—"Since I last wrote to you we have had some very hard work. On the 1st of this month the troops broke out at Indore, fourteen miles from here. We were ordered out with our battery; but when we had gone seven miles and a-half, news came that the insurgents had taken another road, so we returned and found the station in great alarm. After dinner we were ordered to clear out of the barracks into the arsenal, and we got most of the things in by dark. About half-past 8 P.M. one of the native infantry officers came galloping in, saying that the regiment was up; in came another from the cavalry with the same story. Our horses were so knocked up that we placed the guns inside, so as to play through the gate in case of an attack. We had forty of the native infantry on guard inside; next up came Colonel Platt and said they were outside, and the battery must be brought out. We could not, for it takes half-an-hour to put in horses and get ready. The first thing we did was to disarm the guard we had inside, which was done promptly; we found every man with his piece loaded, and some of them with three balls. There was only one shot fired on our side, and not one on theirs; the reason of this was, we had them in front of our guns, and could have sent them to 'kingdom come' in no time. During the time this was going on, Colonel Platt rushed outside along with one of the officers of his regiment, and tried to persuade them to come back. We were ordered to fire; the portfires were lit; and as soon as they saw that, away they went, so we had no firing inside. It was a great pity the old colonel was in the gateway, or we should have mown them down nicely with grape. I must not forget to mention that Colonel Platt was like a father to the men; and when he had an opportunity of leaving them and joining an European corps last summer, the men petitioned him to stay. He had been upwards of thirty years with them; and when the riot took place, he had so much confidence in them that he rode up to their lines before we could get out. When we found him next morning both cheeks were blown off, his back completely riddled with balls, one through each thigh; his chin smashed into his mouth, and three sabre-cuts between the cheek bone and temple; also a cut across the shoulder and the back of the neck. Two others were killed—one native Indian and one cavalry officer; total, three. I never saw such mangled bodies in my life, and never wish to see the like again. We have been hard at work ever since. The first four nights and days we got no rest. My face and arms are skinned, the same as if they had been scalded, and my lips are parched with the heat of the sun. After the first day's work all the native drivers left us (on the 2nd instant), so we had no choice but to mount and drive ourselves. Three of the drivers returned; one of them so late that we taught him how to dance upon nothing. We are hanging all we can get hold of; the gallows is just in front of one of our siege batteries. We have mounted twelve heavy guns—six in front and four in rear; also one in front of each battery inside; so that if they take the outside ones they will have to come through a gateway up to the muzzles of our eighteen guns. In all, we have twenty-four guns, from 9 to 24-pounders. The inside of the place is

like a fair; it is not much more than 200 yards square, and we have all our horses, bullocks, carts, carriages, furniture, &c. We have everything up from the barracks. Officers work with pickaxe and spade, just the same as the men; all are alike so far as duty goes: officers do sentry at night with firelocks on their shoulders. It is a mercy that any of us are alive; and nothing but the hand of Providence saved us all from death. There are old soldiers here who say this is twenty times worse than any campaign; for this reason—we do not know the moment that we may be attacked by the insurgents, nor yet their number. Keep up your spirits and trust in God. I am sure He will not forsake those who trust in Him. I have seen His hand put forth in our defence already, and I thank God for our escape."

The arrival of a European reinforcement at Mhow, and some subsequent proceedings at that place, are described in the following letter from a medical officer, who had succeeded in escaping from Indore:—

"Mhow, August 8th.

"We left Hosungabad on the 21st of July, and reached Mhow after a march of twelve days, accompanied with the usual amount of misery, to which we have been so long subjected. On the 1st of August we reached the left bank of the Nerbudda, and found the movable column, which consisted of four troops—her majesty's 14th dragoons, 25th regiment of Bombay native infantry, and Woolcoomb's battery, with a force of Madras and Bombay sappers, commanded by Major Boileau of the former. With the column (which is commanded by Stuart, Bombay 16th native infantry) we proceeded to Mhow, where, on arriving, we found all the European inhabitants under shelter of the fort. The news of our approach was the signal for them to abandon their hiding-place, and return to their houses (those who had such, for many had not), the padre among the number. Confidence was at once restored; and we had the satisfaction of again seeing the poor people breathe freely. This force came by Aurungabad and Asseerghur, meting out punishment to those deserving such at either place. Three of the wing of the 6th regiment of the Gwalior contingent at Asseerghur were blown away from the guns. They had incited the company of the 5th regiment, Gwalior contingent, at Boorhaunpoor (distant about twelve miles from Asseerghur), to join them; but failed. Oudan Sing, subahdar of the company, behaved well; but it was deemed prudent to disarm them all; and both parties are encamped here, under Scott, second in command of the 6th Gwalior contingent. Their final disposal seems to be with Durand a subject of much concern; for the company of the 5th Gwalior contingent are positively innocent as to acts of mutiny. Two hundred and fifty men of the 86th Queen's joined us on the 6th instant; and it was supposed an immediate advance upon Indore would take place. Circumstances, it would seem, have altered since the 6th. Holkar's force, hitherto in a state of open and avowed mutiny (hearing, no doubt, of the approach of our dreaded Europeans), have, it seems, returned to their allegiance, on the promise from their chief, it is understood, that all previous offences will be condoned; but we surely will not allow ourselves to be compromised in such a matter, nor the blood and treasure spilt on the 1st of July to be so easily forgotten. Now, not a word regarding an advance is ever heard. The rebel remains of the Gwalior contingent are round about the fort of Gwalior, at the solicitation, it is said, of the old demon, the 'Bhazee Baee.' God only knows when peace again will reign in Central India; I fear the day is far distant. Oh! how thankful you must be that it pleased Providence to release you from the trials and dangers to which a residence in India, at this crisis, would necessarily have exposed you. Would to heaven that I was at home with you! But it is the duty of every Englishman to stand by the old craft when in distress; and, please God, I shall never be found absent from the call of duty."

The subjoined letter, from the brother of Gordon Cumming, the lion-hunter, is eminently descriptive and entertaining. Writing from Maunpore on the 8th of July, this gentleman says—"We are in the thick of the row here. God only knows where it will stop. I have not much time, but will give you an outline of what has taken place. Elliot, of the Thuggee department, and his wife, had been staying here with me some time. On the morning of the 1st they went to Mhow to get some things, intending to return in the evening. I went out alone for a ride, and came home, and was sitting at breakfast, when suddenly heavy firing was heard in the Mhow direction, and big guns going like smoke. I had about me seventeen men of the Gwalior

contingent; one havildar, and four sepoys of the Bhopal contingent, who formed Elliot's guard; and a lot of Nujeebs, guarding Thuggee prisoners. Besides these, I had six chuprassies, and some of my own police. I at once armed them with every weapon I had—swords, spears, &c. Elliot had left two rifles and a gun, and I had as many of my own and two pistols. These I distributed among men I could trust—rather a difficult point to discriminate now-a-days. The firing ceased about twelve o'clock, and Holkar's sowars kept coming and going along the road to Maunpore. We were all in a state of great excitement, as you may suppose. I preserved a calm exterior, though I felt anything but comfortable. A lot of the men about me were scoundrels, only looking out for a chance to cut me down: the worst of all was my own bearer, a Mussulman, who told several of the men, if there was a scrimmage, not to kill the natives, but him (pointing to me.) He kept dodging after me all day, having armed himself with my regimental sword. Bappoo,* however, and my police jemadar, Bhuggo, and two or three others, kept close to him with loaded rifles and pistols; and, though not appearing to know what he was after, I, too, was on my guard, and had a pistol in my belt, and a sword in my hand all the day. Reports of all sorts kept coming in, and I did not know what to believe. At length, about midnight, a native banker's clerk came and told me that the Indore residency had been attacked by Holkar's troops. The guard made no resistance. Every European whom they could get at had been butchered, the resident escaping with some Sikh horsemen of the Bhopal contingent. I hear he is gone to Bhopal. I do not know for certain who was killed; but I hear twenty-six Christians in all—chiefly telegraph men; M'Mahon, the road contractor, three Parsees, and some Baboos. On hearing this, I got a lot of men I could trust about me, and slipped quietly out by the rear of the house, and took to the hills. I remained there till yesterday, sending out scouts all over the country, keeping some good Bheels about me, and moving my ground every day. The Europeans at Mhow, consisting of a battery, or troop, of artillery and the officers, got into the fort—a place built in the plain in the old days to keep out Bheels and Pindarries. They made themselves as strong as they could, with big guns. Pay was issued to the infantry on the 30th of June, and to the cavalry on the 1st of July. At ten that night they went off, firing some bungalows, and shooting their colonel, poor Platt, and Harris of the cavalry, and two other officers. They went to Indore, and demanded to be taken into Holkar's service. He refused, offering them a month's pay, and telling them to go on. Our people in the fort sent to Holkar, telling him to come on—if he wanted a little war, to come at once; if a big battle, to wait three months, and they'd show him what they meant. Holkar sent a deputation of the three sirdars, saying he was in the same fix as ourselves—his men had mutinied too. The treasury was not looted at first; but three days ago the whole of the mutineers went off towards the fabulous Delhi. I hear they've begun to fight among themselves for the treasure; and such of Holkar's troops as had stood fast were to have gone after them last night to bring back the treasure. Meanwhile I was out; but kept up constant communication with Maunpore and Mhow. Elliot's guard of four sepoys went off, driving the havildar before them with their bayonets; and the Nujeebs took off all they could get. My guard stood fast, and are still with me. They prevented the bungalow being plundered. I hope they will remain firm, and that government will reward them. Elliot wrote to me yesterday to do all I could to reopen the dâk to Bombay, and I came in here and sent sowars along the road for that purpose. The Dhar Durbar has been intriguing with the Bhomiah chiefs under me; but, finding Holkar was not against us, they have returned, most of them having been to Dhar. I have got hold of several letters sent to them. I hear Bhopawur has been looted by the Amyherra men; that the sahibs have escaped and are safe; but where I can't find out. I am the only political now in the country, and God knows when it may be my turn to go under! I hope, however, to do my duty.

* Bappoo was a pultewallah, or peon, who had been with the writer of the letter for the past five years. Though "a follower of the prophet," he was one of the stanchest natives going, and had proved his fidelity and attachment to his master on more than one occasion. Not long previous to this affair he had saved Mr. Cumming's life when he was seized and terribly mauled by a bear. Bappoo, in the nick of time, shot the infuriated animal through the body, and killed her on the spot.

I have got a motley army about me; road police armed with carbines, Bheels with bows, and Bundlecund men with long matchlocks—some 200 men in all, and a few sowars. You cannot tell who to trust. The men say themselves they would not trust their own fathers now-a-days! I get on with them very well though; my jemadar is a capital fellow, and Bappoo is invaluable. Neither of them ever seem to tire; they are constantly moving about among the men, armed with double rifles, swords, and pistols. When I was in the jungle, one or two of my party showed signs of wavering; but the rest swore they would shoot down any man who attempted that kind of humbug. I have raised the pay of all the police and sowars, and have sent fifteen men to Mhow to-day to get some muskets and ammunition, which have been promised to me by Elliot. We are anxiously looking out for the arrival of troops from Bombay. I hear some are near the Nerbudda, on the Asseer-road, and others coming up from Malligaum. I do not, however, anticipate much more disturbance here. Holkar is with us, and Dhar cannot do anything alone. Holkar's sowars escort the dâk in his district, and are relieved by mine. Things are getting quieter; the mutineers having gone off, we are tolerably quiet; but the times are very ticklish. Some Bheels have been looting on this side of the Nerbudda; but I hope soon to put them down. I am all alone here, fourteen miles from Mhow, and twenty-eight miles from Indore. The country is loud in the praises of the bravery of the European artillerymen in Mhow fort; and some of my Bheels insist on being introduced, the very first opportunity, to the lame gentleman Hungerford, of the artillery—to wit, he being lame in one leg. They are all very happy in the fort, and have carried off supplies of every sort from the bazaar. On the 2nd, some sepoys came back to the lines for their kit, but were pursued by the artillery, and shot. A gallows is up, and martial law going on. Any one who liked was allowed to take what he chose from the sepoy lines; and rips of all sorts are walking off with what they could find. A lot of great-coats and warm trowsers have found their way out here, and been sold by the finders to my men for a mere trifle. I hear all the bungalows at Bhopawur are burnt, and at Mhow six bungalows. If we only had one regiment here, the effect in the country would be great. Holkar has sent thirteen elephants to meet Woodburn's force. I have no time to write more now, so good-bye, old fellow. Love to all the 'boys.' I got your letter last night, with that of the Dholka 'Mamlutdar.' Bappoo sends his salaam."

The fidelity and good-will of Holkar, although for a moment suspected, in consequence of the behaviour of his troops at Indore, had not wavered, notwithstanding that his avowed determination to protect the Europeans to the utmost of his power, in spite of his rebellious subjects, had exposed him to much personal danger from their fanaticism and rancour. As a proof of his reliance upon the confidence placed in him by the government, he at once transmitted the whole of his treasure (twenty-four lacs) and valuables to the fort at Mhow, for safe custody, and offered a large reward for the discovery of the chief instigator of the rebellion in his capital. An autograph letter was also dispatched by him to Sir Robert Hamilton, the British resident at Indore (absent in England on leave), in which he described the events at his capital, and expressed, in feeling and eloquent terms, his great distress at the violence of his soldiers, and his determination to protect the English, of whom he had ever been the faithful friend, at all hazard to himself and family.

The openly-declared loyalty of Holkar was, at this juncture, of the greatest importance to the European cause; and it happened that opportunity was promptly afforded for judging of the effect that would have been produced throughout Central India by his defection. The mere rumour that the mutiny at Indore was sanctioned by him, was sufficient to incite to action several of the petty chiefs of Malwa. The rajah of Dhar, a small state about 32 miles W.S.W. of Indore, at once commenced hostilities: his neighbour of Umjheera, not to be behind in the *mêlée*, made a descent upon the town of Bhopawur, a station 60 miles from Indore, and the seat of the English resident for the small state of Malwa; from whence the Europeans had to seek safety by a precipitate flight. The circumstances connected with this petty exhibition of native feeling, are detailed in the subjoined letter from a gentleman who had medical charge of the station, and of the Bheels located there.

"You may remember that I returned from

Indore to Bhopawur about the middle of June; at that time I left Indore perfectly quiet, and there was no suspicion of any mischief taking place. But in the dark a treacherous plot was brewing, which has brought down ruin on us all. A portion of Holkar's troops attacked the residency; the contingent troops joined them, with the exception of the Bheel corps; but the latter, being thus left alone, were unable to resist, and ran away.

"As soon as the news of the affair at Indore was known, it spread like wildfire through the country that Holkar had attacked the British, and all prepared to join him. Happily the rumour was false, for it was only a portion of his troops that had done so, and that against his will; in truth, they had mutinied like our own men. Holkar himself remained true, as you will find; and to his assistance our party are, humanly speaking, indebted for their lives. But the rumour was not contradicted till too late for us at Bhopawur. A neighbouring chief, called the Rajah of Umjheera, thought it a fine thing to follow Holkar's example (or what he thought to be such), and, without the slightest provocation or warning, sent his troops to attack our little station. We heard, however, of their approach. I immediately assembled the men of the Bheel corps, about 180 in number (the head-quarters, as you know, being away), got out two small guns which we had, helped to load them with my own hands, and posted them in a good spot. I then sent to Lieutenant Hutchinson, the political officer, who was living three miles away, and told him what I had done, recommending him to join me and make a stand at the lines of the Bheel corps. He accordingly came down with his family. All this occurred on the evening of the 2nd of July. Night came without the appearance of the enemy. The men lay down at their posts, and I slept at the quarter-guard. In the night, however, the cowardly Bheels took advantage of the darkness to desert, and by two o'clock in the morning not twenty of them remained; and it was evident, from their conduct, that these twenty did not mean to fight. What could we then do? We knew that no mercy would be shown us by the villains coming from Umjheera; and as it was hopeless to attempt any defence after the desertion of our men, we determined to fly, and thus endeavour to save the ladies and children. Accordingly, having made what little preparations we could, we left the place about half-past four on the morning of the 3rd of July, our little party consisting of Lieutenant and Mrs. Hutchinson and child, Mrs. Colonel Stockley and four children, and myself. Scarcely any of our servants followed us, and not one of the faithless Bheel corps would accompany our party for the protection of their colonel's wife and children. Of all my own servants only one came along with me, and he ran away the first night afterwards. The rest not only deserted me, but helped themselves to whatever they could lay their hands on. Such were the miserable circumstances under which we took our departure; and, excepting for the providence of God, the prospect of escape was as hopeless as could well be; for the nearest British post towards which we could make our way was nearly 200 miles off.

"Hardly had we turned our backs on the station ere it was taken possession of by the Umjheera people. I suppose they were at first too busy plundering to think of us, and we continued to push on. In the afternoon we had got about fifteen miles away, having travelled over shocking roads. Our cattle were quite knocked up, and we were obliged to halt. Happily for us, the spot which we had reached was in the state of a petty chief called the Rajah of Jabwa. About an hour after we had halted we were overtaken by a party sent in pursuit of us from Bhopawur. We gave ourselves up for lost; but Lieutenant Hutchinson and myself prepared to sell our lives as dearly as we could. Fortunately, we were well armed, having five guns between us. Our resolution probably deterred the villains from making an open attack upon us, for they knew we should in all likelihood knock over some of them. They thought we should endeavour to escape as soon as it got dark; and in the hopes of killing us without any risk to themselves, the scoundrels took up their position about a quarter of a mile in advance, at a very difficult and broken part of the road, where the jungle came down to the edge on both sides, and afforded them every facility for their murderous purposes. This we only discovered next morning; but in the meantime, knowing that there were more than a dozen of them, horse and foot, we every moment expected their attack. Fatigued as we were, Lieutenant Hutchinson and myself kept watch all night, hour and hour about, each awaking his com-

panion (if he slept) at the slightest cause for alarm. You may imagine how dreadful a night the poor ladies passed; indeed, few of our party will be disposed, I fancy, ever to forget it. Nothing but jungle all round; one miserable hut within sight, belonging to some dâk runners; deserted again by the few people who accompanied us so far from Bhopawur; and a band of assassins at hand thirsting for our blood—where could we look for aid but to Him whose merciful hand did shield us in that hour of danger? I told you that we had just entered the state of the rajah of Jabwa. A Bheel, who had observed what was going on, carried intelligence to the nearest town—a small place called Para—of the invasion by the Umjheera people. Firing at the insult, a party started from Para to drive them away. Just as the gray of the morning appeared we had the pleasure of being rescued by them; and thus did God raise up instruments for our delivery when death seemed near at hand. But had the villains not been such cowards nothing could have saved us, if they had attacked us in the night. This fresh party carried us to Para, and were civil enough at first; but towards evening, for some reason or other, they began to get very insolent, and commenced plundering us. We saw our position had but little improved, and we prepared again to sell our lives as dearly as could be. But just as things appeared to be getting desperate, a party arrived from Jabwa (ten miles away), sent by the chief to our rescue as soon as he had heard of our being at Para. They carried us to Jabwa that same evening, and we reached the town early in the morning, having rested for some hours on the road. The young chief, who is a very pleasing-looking boy of sixteen or seventeen, received us very kindly. The managing authority, however, is an old lady, who is, I believe, grandmother to the chief, and by her directions everything that could be done for our safety or comfort was effected. To protect us, however, was as much as she could do, for there were a number of Arabs and men of that class in the employ of the chief; and these fanatics loudly demanded our surrender, that they might put us to death. The family themselves are Rajpoots, and had fortunately a number of Rajpoot retainers about them. To these they assigned our protection, and faithfully did they execute their trust. Not a Mussulman sepoy was allowed to approach our quarters in the palace; and there we waited patiently for eight days for assistance from some quarter or other. Lieutenant Hutchinson wrote to the resident at Baroda to send aid to us, and this he did. But long before that could reach us Holkar had done all that was necessary. I must tell you that Mrs. Hutchinson is a daughter of Sir Robert Hamilton, and Holkar professes the greatest friendship for that family. The first intelligence that reached him was, that the rajah of Umjheera had made us prisoners. He instantly dispatched some of his chief officers with a strong force, giving them particular orders to recover us, and blow the town of Umjheera to pieces. In the meantime he received the true intelligence of our being at Jabwa, the chief of which is one of his tributaries. He sent him a despatch to say that if a hair of our heads was injured the chief should answer for it, and that in a few days his cavalry would reach Jabwa to our rescue. They did so, and escorted us back to Bhopawur, where we remained for a couple of days. What a change from its former neat appearance did every house present! From Bhopawur we intended to go into Indore, where Holkar had kindly prepared rooms for us in his palace. But hearing that many of his troops were still in a very agitated state, and that the Mussulmans in the city were ripe for mischief, we turned off and came in here, thinking it more prudent, both on Holkar's account and our own. We arrived on the night of the 16th of July, thanking God for His mercy to us during so many days of danger."

The demonstrations of satisfaction and active co-operation, with the reported hostility of Holkar, was not confined to the two instances mentioned, as many other of the petty chiefs of the district hastened to show, by insults and action (where the latter was practicable), the intense delight with which they received and welcomed intelligence of so valuable an auxiliary to the cause of rebellion.

The whole district of Malwa was, at this period, in a state of excitement that could hardly be controlled by the resident authorities. Colonel Durand, who was acting *pro tem.* for Sir Robert Hamilton at Indore, wrote, in August, to the governor-general as follows:—

"Western Malwa much disturbed. The shahzadah, or hadjee, has established himself at Mundisore, after wounding the soubah and kotwal. He is reported to

have about 6,000 followers. The troops of the nawab of Jowrah are mutinous and threatening. The sudden death of the rajah of Rutlam, a chief loyal to the British government, is a misfortune. The Mussulmans have commenced plundering in the city of Rutlam. Eastern Malwa also in a critical state. Bhopal fort most precarious; its troops as mutinously disposed as those of Bhopal contingent at Sehore. Boondellah swarm is said to have settled down on Major Tirdau's districts, and were expected to leave Chornarputhy, on the right bank of the Nerbudda, on the 21st or 22nd. Mutinous masses at Gwalior, incited by leaders of Indore insurrection, after failing to obtain fort of Gwalior from Scindia, were bent on marching to Agra and Delhi. Scindia has applied to me for aid. Mhow and Indore quiet; but Holkar's compromised troops in a sullen and dangerously uncertain temper, and not under control."

On the 30th of July, Brigadier Stuart's column reached Mhow, and Colonel Durand, who accompanied it, returned to the duties of his residency. Holkar had dispatched his vakeels and courtiers to receive Colonel Durand, who, on his part, had summoned the vakeels of the surrounding chiefs, that had formerly waited upon him at Indore, to attend his court at Mhow, where he remained until relieved from duty by the return of Sir Robert Hamilton from England.

AUGGUR.—Amongst the details of romantic incident so abundantly furnished by the actual occurrences and extraordinary escapes hitherto narrated, in connection with the progress of the revolt, the following are certainly entitled to notice. The town of Auggur is a fortified and populous station in the Gwalior dominions, situated about thirty-six miles to the north-east of Oojein, and at no great distance from Indore. At this place the 5th regiment of the Gwalior contingent, with other troops, had been for some time stationed. Of the first-mentioned, the men had, by their steady and soldierlike behaviour, strengthened the confidence reposed in them by their officers—that whatever pressure might be brought to bear upon them by the mutinous troops in other places, they at least, to a man, would stand firm in their loyalty and attachment to their officers. In this satisfactory state the troops continued until about the 3rd or 4th of July, when several officers attached to the Gwalior contingent, and the commandant of artillery from Sepree, arrived at the station, bringing intelligence of the outbreaks at Indore and Mhow, in which Holkar's troops had joined. The news occasioned much excitement among the men, who were already dissatisfied, on account of the refusal of the soubah to advance pay for the regiment upon the receipt of the officer commanding, as he had theretofore done. This fact had evidently shaken the confidence of some of the men; but their behaviour generally had been still satisfactory.

The best spirit appeared to exist amongst the troops of all ranks up to the morning of the 4th of July, when, at dawn, the night-guards over the officers' bungalows withdrew to the lines with their accustomed order and regularity; but, about half-past five o'clock, the orderlies of the officer commanding, reported that there was a great deal of excitement and running about in the lines. Captain Carter instantly dressed, and called to the adjutant, Lieutenant O'Dowda, to accompany him to the lines as quickly as possible; but the horse of the adjutant being ready at the door, and that of Captain Carter remaining in the stable unsaddled, Lieutenant O'Dowda rode off without a moment's delay, and had scarcely entered the lines when he was shot down. Whilst Captain Carter's horse was being prepared, the orderlies reported that a large body of cavalry and infantry were approaching the parade-ground; and, supposing such to be the case, he galloped over to Captain Le Marchand's house, to desire he would take charge of two guns of the Mehidpore contingent, then in position at the quarter-guard. Having given his orders, he proceeded towards the lines, and, on the way, met Quartermaster-sergeant Miller with a musket on his shoulder, from whom he learned that the regiment was in open mutiny, and had warned him away. Still the captain pressed on till stopped by four sepoys, who, with raised hands, entreated him to return, or he would be shot. As a good deal of firing was then taking place, any attempt at interference seemed not only useless but unwise: he therefore returned to the bungalow, and devoted the few remaining minutes that intervened before leaving cantonments, to arranging for the safety of the ladies and children, whom it was necessary should be instantly removed from the station. The incidents of their escape are described in a letter from a

medical officer attached to the Gwalior contingent, who, writing from Hosungabad on the 16th of the month, after noticing the alarm and the urgent necessity for immediate flight, proceeds thus:—"Having a double-seated curricle with fast horses, I, through God's goodness, had the satisfaction of rescuing Mrs. Burlton and Mrs. Harrison of the 2nd cavalry, whose husbands were absent, and each of whom had an infant in her arms. While yoking the curricle, my servants threw in a few blankets and some bedding, which, with our lives, was all that remained to us. The other ladies effected their escape in a cart, excepting Mrs. James, of whose fate we have no positive information. Both she and her husband had mounted their horses for their morning's ride, and while moving away from the house, Dr. James (who officiated for me during my absence in Bombay,) was shot down by some sepoys of the rear-guard. The horse which Mrs. James rode took fright, threw her, and screams for help were heard, but only reported when it was impossible to render her any assistance. It is generally supposed that this unfortunate lady was also slain; but no certainty as to her fate exists. Of the European non-commissioned officers at Auggur (two of the 5th regiment and one of the Mehidpore artillery), with their families, nothing is known; but reposing as we did perfect confidence in the fidelity of our men, there is every reason to apprehend that they too have been murdered. Twelve minutes from the commencement of the disturbances, and the little band of fugitives was wending its way towards the jungles, with nothing but the clothes that covered them; some in their night-dresses as they rose from their beds, bare-footed and bare-legged, uncertain whither, or in what direction, to proceed, unattended by servants, and without food, and looking back upon the neat houses which contained their all, only to see them in flames. We passed on through the village of Ranur to a town called Mundoda, within four miles of Sarungpore. At Mundoda we halted for the night, and were joined by two European overseers and their families, who had been compelled to fly from their work upon the roads between Indore and Patchore. Our party now consisted of—Captain Carter, commanding late 5th regiment, G. C., and station of Auggur; Captain McDougall, second in command, ditto; Major Macpherson, commanding late 3rd regiment, G.C., at Sepree; Captain Ryall, second in command, ditto; Dr. Sillijant, surgeon, ditto; Captain Le Marchand, late 3rd battalion artillery; Mrs. Burlton and child; Mrs. Harrison and three children; Mrs. Le Marchand and four children; Mrs. Heyman; Miss Heyman; Messrs. Watts and Wackfield, European overseers, with their families and myself. About midway between Auggur and Mundoda we were met by two mounted men—Ram Row, moonshee; and Oonkar Sing, chuprassy—who, after some interrogation, we learned were spies, in the service of Major Rickards, the resident at Bhopal; they recommended our proceeding to the begum's territory, and offered to escort us to Sehore. At Mundoda we felt the first foretaste of that dire misery which our little band was doomed to experience. Every villager was uncivil; and the smile of respectful submission with which the European officer was wont to be greeted, was displaced by an angry scowl and haughty air towards the despicable Feringhee, whose raj was at an end. No house to shelter us; and only a little milk and chupatty to appease the hungry cries of the poor little children, were procured in scanty quantities, and with the utmost difficulty. From this place we directed our course, *viâ* Sarungpore, to a place called Lurrawud, some thirty miles distant; but two serious obstacles intervened, *i.e.*, the Kala Sind river and the Trunk-road. We were now but four miles distant from the city of Sarungpore, which was then said to be in the hands of plunderers, and that a regiment of cavalry from Mhow, with seven European officers, had halted there; every inch of the road, moreover, was said to be infested with gangs of marauders, from whom escape was unlikely, did we attempt to cross it. It now became necessary to alter our route so as to avoid that city, and that portion of the road contiguous to it. We crawled along through lanes and byepaths, making about a mile an hour on our way towards the friendly (?) rajah of Lurrawud, and had proceeded some five miles, when a number of men from a village approached us, stating that a few miles ahead several hundred cavalry and infantry were waiting for us. This was not calculated to raise the hearts of men in our condition. Our anxiety was not for ourselves, as we were well armed, and could fight our way, but for the helpless ladies and children

whose protectors we were. The few men who first came from the village were quickly followed by thousands, every man with a menace in his look. Through Ram Row, we endeavoured to procure by bribery safe conduct through the village, and this he said the headman could give. The conditions were agreed upon; but still the chief hesitated to proceed. Fearing treachery, the moonshee took him aside and swore him to be true to his trust; yet even this was insufficient to reassure us; and the timid looks and wavering manner of Ram Row, told us too plainly that we had but little to hope for. The proportions of the crowd continued to swell; a restless buzz of a hornet's nest went through it; the headman had withdrawn, and so had the moonshee; the mob was gradually closing in upon us; we formed up closely upon open ground round our charge, every finger on a trigger awaiting the attack. About this period we learned that it was a village of Sondeas who had turned out upon us; and all who are familiar with the habits of these scoundrels will appreciate the danger in which we stood. Night was now at hand, and to remain in our present position was to encounter to a certainty an attack from thousands under cover of its darkness. It was agreed that we should move on; and committing ourselves to the protection and guidance of Providence, and doubling our rear-guard, we silently advanced towards the village from which the onslaught was expected. Finding that the Sondeas did not hang upon our rear, we were enabled to show a considerable front on entering the village, by decreasing the strength of our rear-guard. The word was passed for all to be silent, and so we proceeded; but what with dogs barking, lighted houses, and neighing horses, our expectations of a successful passage was but frail. We passed the chowkie, and saw but one man rise, enter his house, doubtless to arm, and resume his position; but there was no challenge. We had reached the outskirts of the village in safety, and were venturing to congratulate each other in a whisper, when, through the unpardonable clumsiness of one of our party, his gun went off, spreading dismay among us all. At three o'clock on the morning of the 6th we reached Lurrawud, and after submitting to the usual ceremony of an hour's detention, were permitted to enter the old 'gurree,' or fort, in which the rajah resided. Everything in and about it bore the semblance of squalid poverty, and gave poor promise of comfort or protection. The space allotted us was not habitable, and it was judged wiser to occupy a shed outside the walls. In this we had hardly settled ourselves, when a man from the bastion shouted out, 'Cavalry, cavalry!' A rush inside was of course the result; the alarm was a false one; but it was not disregarded, for it had its meaning. A few putrid mangoes were offered us as food; and while waiting for forage for our jaded horses, we learned that our host rejoiced in the allowance of two rupees a day whereon to support the dignity of his station. He and his people were at first accessible and civil; but in a few hours the demeanour of all became totally changed, and every assistance was denied us. We had all looked forward with much hope and confidence to the rajah of Lurrawud; and the depth of the disappointment we experienced on his refusing to aid us, even to the extent of procuring a guide, may be easily imagined; and to complete our despair, the moonshee Ram Row, and the chuprassy Oonkar Sing, refused to accompany us any further, stating that they were to remain by order of the rajah. To tarry any longer in such a hotbed of vagabonds was imprudent, and preparations to resume our journey were immediately made. It was now about four in the afternoon; we had travelled far, and were without food, and the cries of the hungry children were heartrending. As our preparations for a start progressed, armed men poured in from every side, and lined the fort walls, under which our road lay.

"The aspect of affairs at this crisis seemed to render escape impossible; yet we advanced, in the opinion of most of us, to certain death beneath the crowded wall. To our intense surprise, not a shot was fired, nor a word spoken by our supposed assailants, who stood in hundreds on the walls above our heads. As we descended across the river and ravine, where the sowars were seen to halt, shouting commenced, and numbers began to run towards the hill in advance of us, apparently with the intention of occupying it. While in the nullah, we were joined by a man who offered his services as a guide; this inspired us with fresh hope, and we moved on, several of us filing off through the jungle to meet the horsemen. We con-

tinued our course unmolested, though every man among us looked on death as certain and immediate; and to the goodness of God alone was our preservation due. A little further on, and a fresh disaster overtook us; one of the carts was upset, to the imminent danger of all in it; and though not more than a mile from Lurrawud, the people from an adjoining village lent us ready assistance, the Patell himself volunteering to escort us across the Kala Sind: his promise was faithfully fulfilled, and he received the reward he merited. Our guide, hitherto looked upon with much suspicion, gradually regained our confidence, and this we testified by advancing him a portion of his promised pay; still, it was thought necessary to guard him closely, and this duty we took in turn. About midnight we lost our way; and our weary cattle were for several hours obliged to labour over ploughed fields of heavy black soil, till at length we reached a village, in which it was judged prudent to make inquiries for the road to Inchode. Here we were fired upon, and were obliged to proceed, ignorant as to whether we were taking the right direction or not. At a Chumar village some miles further on, we discovered our position, and were joined by a man who pointed out the road to Inchode, which we reached, weary and hungry, on the morning of the 7th, at daylight. This was the first village of the Bhopal begum, who we knew still continued the stanch ally of our government, and we all gratefully hailed it as a place of rest and safety. About a quarter of a mile outside the town, we halted under a tamarind tree, and were waited on by the Komashdar, from whom we obtained favourable accounts of the state of affairs at Sehore, whither it was our desire to proceed. Through his agency we obtained some milk for the half-famished children, and the promise of his good offices to forward a chit to the resident at Sehore. He, moreover, offered us shelter in the town; but which, on being examined, was found so utterly filthy and inadequate to accommodate us, that we determined on remaining under the friendly shelter of the big tree, where he proposed sending us some provisions. Soon after our arrival, a fearful storm of rain and thunder set in, compelling us to seek refuge in the town; for in ten minutes from its commencement, the spot we occupied became a swamp, and everything we possessed was literally afloat. A deep nullah separated us from Inchode, and it had now become swollen into a torrent. No language could possibly exaggerate the misery we experienced here. All were obliged to ford the rapid at the risk of their lives; and some were to be seen with children upon their heads in water to the neck. Still the rain continued to pour down incessantly. Each looked upon the other, and deplored his miserable fate, as we sat, twenty-seven souls, drenched, cold, and hungry, huddled together on the damp mud floor of a buneah's verandah, some twenty-four feet long by eight broad. There was not an inch of dry raiment among us all, until we procured a few coarse blankets, and a little hay, on which to lie down. Almost tired of life under such repeated hardships, we sought comfort in sleep, drenched, hungry, and cold as we were. Throughout the whole night long the wind and rain beat in upon us in ceaseless fury; the screams of hungry children, and fighting of horses broken loose from their pickets, rendered sleep impossible; for most of the gentlemen were obliged to stand by their own horses, or aid in catching loose ones. During the 8th the rain continued to fall heavily; we were able to procure a few chupatties and milk; but our position still continued extremely miserable, and the close of the day found us doomed to endure another night of wretchedness. On the 9th the weather began to clear up; but the Duddee Neewud river, which was to be crossed, still continued flooded. We passed the day in a state of anxious expectancy for a note from Sehore; but none arriving, we resumed our march with heavy hearts about 7 P.M. Here, too, the authorities, who but the day previous were all civility, now refused to make good the promises they had given us, denying us even the assistance of a Coolie, and leaving us to cross the river without either guide or guard. This was regarded by us all as an unfavourable omen; yet there was nothing left us but to trust in Providence and push on, in hopes of meeting a messenger from Sehore. Just before marching, we found that a report prevailed, that a force from Mhow and Indore was marching upon that station, and were then but a couple of marches distant. Our position, sad enough hitherto, now became more critical. The passage of the river was accomplished with the utmost difficulty, occupying us better

than two hours; the black soil through which the road ran was as tenacious as putty, and four miles was all we could make until obliged to halt in the jungles for the night. About five o'clock on the morning of the 10th, we started for Jamnair, another village of the begum's—Captain Carter and myself riding on in advance to ascertain the true state of affairs at Sehore. Scarcely had we dismounted in the main street of the town, when, to our intense joy, an elephant appeared, and a chuprassy handed us a note from Major Rickards, telling us on no account to come into Sehore, but to proceed to Hosungabad, six marches further on, where we should find a safe retreat. This was indeed an oasis in the desert of our affliction. This good man had also sent us a bountiful supply of food and clothes—bread, mutton, tea, sugar, chocolate, beer, wine, and brandy, as comforts for the sick; and clothes, warm and clean, for both infants and adults: indeed, the quantity and variety of the good things sent us, proved the solicitude with which we were regarded. No language of mine could convey to you half what I felt on the contents of each basket and bundle being exposed. All were silent; and those who did venture utterance, could not suppress the tear of gratitude which gathered as he spoke. Major and Mrs. Rickards, and the other good and thoughtful people at Sehore, to whom we owe so deep a debt of gratitude, will have the satisfaction of knowing, that through their kindness the little half-nude children were clothed and made comfortable, hungry and half-starved mothers enabled to supply their little infants at the breast with food, and the hearts and arms of strong men made braver to protect the charge they had in safety brought so far. Curious to ascertain the cause of our prohibited entry into Sehore, we inquired from the chuprassy (an intelligent young Moslem), who gave us much useful information. From him we learned that, at the request of Secunder Begum, all the officers of the contingent had left for Hosungabad, now a Madras station; that the resident had everything in readiness to quit cantonments; and that the begum had promised to take charge of the station and contingent. He also told us, that the begum had received an 'ishtaher' from the king of Delhi, calling upon her, as a true Moslem, to hoist the standard of rebellion, and extirpate the Feringhee race from her dominions; but her timely warning to the officers of the Bhopal contingent, enabling them to escape in safety, showed that her sympathy with the rebel king was but slight indeed. Abandoning our carriage, we left the same evening for Imlaah, making a detour of three miles to avoid Byrassiah, a large town of Scindia's, this side the Parbutty, in which a strong body of horse and foot were said to be posted. It was our intention to have rested at a place called Moriah, about half-way; but learning that that village lay within a couple of miles of Sehore, we gave it a wide berth, and passed on to a hamlet called Somlah, where we halted but four hours; and finding that provisions were not procurable there, proceeded five coss further on, to a large town called Eechawur, which we reached at 8 o'clock P.M. on the night of the 11th. Eechawur we found to be a walled city, the gates of which were closed. After some delay, however, we were allowed to enter, and were escorted by its governor, John de Sliva, commonly called 'Jan Sahib,' to his own house. Both we and our cattle were well cared for, and every mark of respect and attention shown towards us: it was fully appreciated; for throughout our wanderings we had been treated with incivility and contempt, and as despicable Feringhees whose reign was over. Every member of that little band of fugitives will long cherish in grateful recollection the worthy ramdar and governor of Eechawur. John de Sliva, or Jan Sahib, was a Portuguese by birth and parentage, a Christian as to creed, and a Mussulman in dress. Easy and affable in manner, deeply versed in the knowledge of drugs and disease, he commanded the respect of all around him as a man of wonderful attainments. He exhibited with honest pride his medicine chest, which contained phials of calomel, laudanum, jalap, essence of cinnamon, and oil of lemon-grass, with which he successfully ministered to the wants of thousands. Several old Frenchmen (Bourbons) resided here; they had emigrated in the days of the revolution. Some had served under our government, and enjoy pensions from it, and each had adopted a Mussulman name. A young man of considerable intelligence, by name Nicholas Reilly, who called himself an Irishman, waited upon us; he too had donned the garb of a native, spoke English fluently, and gave us much information. He was

born at Cawnpore, and had, with a number of other Christians, taken service under the Begum Doolan Sahib, whose jaghire the district of Eechawur is. Her own name, it seems, is 'Lizabeth—a Christian, married to the Hakim Shazad Mussel; both were absent from Eechawur, having been summoned to Bhopal by Secunder Begum. At this place we obtained full particulars of the Indore mutiny, and the slaughter with which it was attended, and with which you doubtless are already familiar. In the afternoon, we had an interview with Kamaloodeen, the ramdar of Larkoe and Peepletoder; he assured us of safety and protection throughout his district, and of a hearty welcome at Larkoe, our next halting-place.

"We reached Larkoe on the morning of the 13th, after a long and fatiguing march, many miles of which lay through dense jungle. Great was our disappointment at finding ourselves badly received, notwithstanding the friendly assurance of Kamaloodeen. We thought ourselves secure from all danger; but scarcely had we sat down in the verandah of a buneah's house, when we were waited on by one Koondun Sing, who represented himself to be a spy in the service of Holkar and Scindia, and who astounded us by stating that his orders were, that no Feringhee should pass alive through that district. He pointed to a hill, some six miles in the distance; and 'there,' said he, 'are 500 horse ready to enforce my commands.' He, however, loved the *sahib log*, and suggested that our safety might be guaranteed for a consideration. Then, in the most circumstantial manner possible, he told us that Colonel Durand, the resident at Indore, had passed through but three days previous, and that from him he had received 500 rupees, together with swords and guns, as the reward for his services. Sorely perplexed by this intelligence, we halted for the night, determining to pursue our journey at daylight. It was with heavy hearts and dark forebodings that we left Larkoe on the morning of the 14th. The lives of all were in the hands of this Koondun Sing; and we were without the means of purchasing his protection. Money we had not; and to part with our arms, as he suggested, would have been an act of insanity. Oh! how I sighed for an interview of five brief minutes by the bank of some lonely nullah, with the ruffian who held our life's blood in his hands; to have rid ourselves of such a scoundrel would have occasioned me no compunction, and gladly would I have taken his life upon my head. We saw the rascal leave in the direction of his men; yet we held on our course, and, shortly afterwards, learned that Koondun Sing was one of three brothers—Dhuleep Sing and Murpul Sing, the jagheerdars of the district, and that they had leagued together to fleece us of everything we possessed. We now continued our course, without interruption, towards Gooraria, which place we reached about eight in the evening, and found it nearly deserted. On the morning of the 15th we resumed our march for Boodhamee Ghat; and reached it about 2 P.M., without molestation, having now before us the land of promise, in pursuit of which we had toiled so long, and endured so much. Deep and fervent were our thanksgivings to a merciful Providence for its guidance and protection throughout our twelve days of wandering, in which we encountered daily peril and hourly vicissitude. We crossed the Nerbudda about 3 P.M., and were received with a hearty welcome by Major Rickards, who had come from Sehore, and by Captain Wood, the commissioner. A large party, fugitives like ourselves, had already arrived from Indore and Sehore. Every house was full; yet the ever kind Madrassees proved themselves true to their reputed hospitality, and in an hour we were all made contented and comfortable. One lady amongst us (and a brave woman she is), whose little infant was but twelve days old the morning of our flight, contrary to all expectation, found herself restored to a husband whom we had all mourned as lost—Captain Harrison, the second in command of the 2nd cavalry, Gwalior contingent. He had been closely pursued, for several days, by Baba Apta and his horsemen, who had also been upon our track, as we now learned, but fortunately missed us through our deviation from the direct line."

AGRA.—Turning northward from the troubled States of our allies, Scindia and Holkar, and the incidents of peril, daring, and suffering connected with the history of each at the period we have referred to, we must again, in the order of time, direct attention to the capital of the North-West Provinces of Bengal, and endeavour briefly to trace the progress of the revolt in the direction of Agra.

The state of European feeling at this

place had never regained its wonted tranquillity since the occurrences in May, which ended in the disarming and dispersion of the 44th and 67th regiments;* and, to add to the many visible causes for disquietude, the gaol guard, that constituted the sole protection of the large central prison of the district, which then contained about 4,000 offenders of various degrees of criminality, had deserted its post during the night of the 23rd of June, with the whole of its arms and ammunition. Two nights afterwards the gaol was discovered to be on fire; but the object of the incendiary was frustrated, as the prisoners were prevented escaping by a strong guard of the 3rd European regiment, which had been posted at the gaol as soon as the desertion of the burkandazes became known; and the damage to the building was inconsiderable. To impart a feeling of confidence in the European inhabitants, a local militia force was now organised by direction of the lieutenant-governor, to assist in the defence of the place, rumours of the approach of mutinous troops being of frequent occurrence. At length the fact was established; the proximity of the insurgent forces from Neemuch and Nusseerabad, who had encamped about twenty miles from the city, was announced; and also that they intended to attack the station. Upon this fact becoming known, no time was lost in preparing for their reception; and the European and Christian residents of the city were summoned into the fort, where arrangements had been made for their accommodation. The fortifications were also placed in as good state of defence as means at hand would allow, there being an abundance of guns and ammunition within the fort, but, unfortunately, very few disciplined gunners.

On the 2nd of July the Kotah contingent, consisting of horse, foot, and artillery, marched into cantonments; and, as great reliance was placed upon its loyalty, a detachment of the force was almost immediately sent to relieve the European guard at the gaol, another being at the same time posted as guard at the residency; but, on its being known on the evening of the 4th, that the enemy was advancing towards the city, the contingent was dispatched from the cantonments to occupy a position that would intercept the line of march. The Kotah troops had no sooner reached the post assigned to them, than, instead of halting, they hastened forward to unite themselves with the rebels they had been sent out to oppose. Just about this time a small body of mounted volunteers from Agra (about forty), which had been previously sent to watch the movements of the Neemuch mutineers, and could have no suspicion of the treachery about to be practised, rode up to the Kotah force, and, to their surprise, found them preparing for an attack. The volunteers halted, and for a time stood facing the traitors. After the lapse of a few minutes, the contingent, fearing, it is supposed, an ambush from the European regiment still in the fort, broke from their ranks, and dispersed in all directions. Observing this, some of the volunteers made a dash for the guns, which they succeeded in taking after cutting down a number of the men in charge of them. The whole of the contingent, without further struggle, abandoned the field, leaving the guns, and about 150 camels laden with ammunition, in the undisputed possession of the gallant volunteers, by whom the whole was escorted back to Agra.

Early on the morning of the 5th of July, the Neemuch and Nusseerabad forces, consisting altogether of 7,500 infantry, 1,500 cavalry, and a train of artillery, numbering twelve guns, were reported to be encamped on a plain in the rear of the village of Shahgunj, about four miles from Agra, on the road to Futtehpore Sikree;† and, shortly after this announcement, the English garrison, consisting of the 3rd European regiment, the civil lines militia, a battery of horse artillery, and the volunteer cavalry, composed of civilians and some unattached officers belonging to various disbanded corps (the whole force numbering little more than 500 men of all arms, under the command of Brigadier Polwhele), marched out to attack the rebel camp. The troops arrived in sight of the village about mid-day,

* See *ante*, p. 168.

† Sikree, or Futtehpore Sikree, is distant from Agra about 19 miles, in a direction W.S.W. of that city: it became a favourite retreat of the emperor Akbar, on account of its proximity to the tomb of the Shah Selim Cheestee, by the efficacy of whose devotion, the empress "Noor Mahal," or "Light of the Harem," after remaining several years without children, became, to the delight of Akbar, a mother. The child was a son, who, in honour of the saint, was named Selim; but on ascending the Monghol throne of Hindostan, he assumed that of Jehanghir, or "Conqueror of the World," by which title his fame spread over regions far more extensive than those under the sway of his illustrious predecessors, Humayoon and Akbar.



and found the enemy strongly posted in its rear, their guns flanking the village, and protected by cavalry. The English advanced in line, with three guns on either flank, the mounted volunteers supporting. When within half a mile of the position, a tremendous fire of grape and canister opened upon them; and the infantry being ordered to lie down, the contest for more than an hour was confined on both sides to the artillery. At length a tumbril of the Agra force blew up, and the stock of ammunition began to fall short. Under such circumstances, the troops, who had gradually advanced to within 200 yards of the enemy's position, were ordered to carry it at the point of the bayonet. The men sprang forward with a cheer, and, after a fierce struggle, gained the village. Pending this, however, the rebel horse had made a wide sweep, and nearly succeeded in getting to the rear of the English force—a feat they would have accomplished but for a most gallant charge upon them by the mounted volunteers. Soon after the village was carried, another tumbril exploded, and it then became absolutely necessary to retire, as no more ammunition remained. The regular troops and their brave auxiliaries, chagrined that victory should be thus wrested from their grasp, sullenly and slowly retraced their steps to the fort, the enemy following them to the very outskirts of the city. The loss sustained on our side was exceedingly severe, as out of little more than 500 actually engaged, the casualties amounted to fifty killed and ninety-two wounded. About the middle of the action, Captain D'Oyley, who commanded the artillery, was struck by a grapeshot in the side. His horse had been killed under him early in the day; and he was stooping to assist in extricating the wheel of one of his guns, when he received the fatal blow. He sank down on a tumbril near him, but continued to give orders until overpowered by the agony of his wound. At length he murmured to an officer who was supporting him—"They have done for me now! put a stone over my grave, and say I died fighting my guns." The gallant D'Oyley was carried alive from the field, but on the following day his noble spirit left its mutilated shrine. During the action, Lieutenant Lamb, of the artillery; Major Thomas, of the 3rd Europeans; and several other officers, were also severely wounded. The cavalry of the enemy followed up the advantage they had gained by galloping into the town and cantonments. Their first act was to liberate the prisoners in the gaol, who, being speedily joined by all the budmashes and rabble of the place, the work of pillage and destruction commenced: bungalows were fired in all directions; and the amount of private property stolen and wantonly destroyed, was afterwards estimated at upwards of ten lacs of rupees. While the havoc was going on in the city, thirty-four native Christians, who had neglected to seek safety in the fort, were savagely murdered.

An official report of the occurrence was transmitted to Sir Henry Lawrence at Lucknow, on the 6th of July, by Mr. H. Muir, civil commissioner at Agra, who stated, "that the Neemuch mutineers had come upon Agra, and that they (the inhabitants) were forced to take refuge in the fort: that the mutineers had halted for a few days at Bena; and it was for some time uncertain whether they were not going to Delhi. On, however, they came, and were at Futtehpore Sikree on the 1st." The report proceeds thus:—"We had 650 European infantry and artillery, besides 200 or 300 volunteers, foot and horse; the Kotah contingent troops, from Ulwar; with a party of Kerowlee horse and foot, headed by Sefula Khan. On Saturday the mutineers being reported half-way to Futtehpore Sikree, an advance was ordered in the early part of the night. The Kotah contingent, as previously arranged, marched out of the station in the afternoon, but at its first halt mutinied, fired at its officers, and killed a sergeant; the volunteers, however, pursued them, and seized and brought back the guns and ammunition. In the morning the Kerowlee horse also left; so they had nothing but the European infantry, artillery, and volunteers to fall back upon. On Sunday forenoon the pickets reported that the enemy were three miles from the station: about midday our troops advanced, and the action began between two and three o'clock, and lasted about two hours. The mutineers had taken up a strong position. We were driving them before us, when our ammunition failed, and we were, therefore, obliged to retreat, but this was executed with all the coolness and steadiness of a parade. The night passed off quietly.

"To-day it is given out that an attack is contemplated; as far as we know, they have little more then 6-pounders. The

militia did well, but they are raw and few. Two or three hundred carabiniers would make us tolerably independent; as it is, we are virtually in a state of siege, and must, I fear, remain so till aid reaches us. It is necessary we should have the earliest possible relief. Mr. Colvin has been for the last two days totally unfit for any public duty, by an attack *of* his head.*

"Monday evening.—No attack to-day. Report says that the enemy has gone off to Furrah and Delhi, not relishing an attack under our fort guns."

The extreme disproportion between the numbers of the mutineers and of the European troops, under the command of Brigadier Polwhele, rendered the offensive movement by the latter one of great hazard; and the danger to which, in the event of failure, the European residents in the fort would have been exposed, was most imminent. No necessity appeared to justify the risk; and the conduct of the officer in command at Agra was severely commented upon for its rashness. That it was viewed with serious displeasure by the government, may be fairly inferred from the subjoined passage in a despatch from the governor-general to the assistant-commissioner at Agra (Mr. Thornhill), on the 26th of the month. After some directions upon other topics, the message proceeds thus:—"It is further ordered by the governor-general in council, that, upon receipt of this message, the command at Agra be assumed by Lieutenant-colonel Cotton, of the 69th native infantry, in place of Brigadier Polwhele, *superseded.*"

The following extracts from the private correspondence of individuals engaged in this spirited, but rash and, as regarded its termination, unfortunate affair, will afford some interesting details respecting the condition of the residents within the fort at Agra, as well as of the battle of Shahgunj.

The first extract says—"The troops that went to meet the enemy on the 5th instant marched out of the station about 11 A.M., and, proceeding along the road in the direction of the village of Shahgunj, which is about six miles from Agra, entered the large sandy plain that lies to the right of the road, where the line of battle was formed, and in that order advanced slowly to meet the enemy, who were then distinctly visible, hovering in large bodies immediately to the right of the village. The British line consisted of a horse field-battery on the extreme right and left, the infantry being in the middle, and the mounted militia somewhat in the rear. When about 600 yards from the village, the insurgents opened fire on our right battery by a furious discharge of round shot, grape, and shell, which was immediately responded to with such excellent effect, that, after two rounds from each gun, they were seen retreating in great numbers. Loud cheering and repeated cries of 'Follow them up, follow them up!' were heard from all parts of the right battery; and there can be little doubt, had a dash been made, the enemy would have been driven from their position into the open field with the loss of their guns, and the action been brought to an end, with less sacrifice of life than eventually was the case. Our guns, however, limbered up, and the line again advanced; but the enemy now stood to their guns, and, having got the range, directed their fire with admirable precision, as the havoc among our men and horses painfully attested: our attack was evidently being confined to a series of deliberate advances (for of such it consisted), until we were within 200 yards of the village, which we then commenced to bombard, and it is to be feared with small loss on the other side. The most unpractised eye could see our shots were being thrown away on high mud walls, which siege guns alone could have touched; whereas, had our right battery moved only fifty yards further to the right, every shot from it must have told on the enemy's two batteries, whence was issuing so destructive a fire upon us. The consequences of this were just what might have been expected—the enemy became emboldened, their cavalry in great numbers harassed our right, and the infantry, spreading themselves over the field in skirmishing order, gave us great annoyance with their rifle firing; whilst we, from the want of cavalry, were powerless to repel them. A large number of their horse had the audacity to sweep round to our rear, and, riding up the centre, endeavoured to reach the main body, which many succeeded in doing. It is true that our mounted militia charged through a body of those hanging to the right of the line, when, after five of them had got cut to pieces, and others severely wounded, they made a precipitate retreat into the battery, and, from the direc-

* *Sic.* orig.

tion they took to reach it, intercepted a fire about being opened from a gun that had been got into position for the purpose, and which would have blown off the field every trooper at whom it was pointed.

"The firing against the village continued for fully one hour, during which time a shower of musketry was being poured on us from behind its walls and the tops of the houses. Two companies of the European regiment then entered it in most gallant style, forcing their way through, and driving out the enemy to the opposite side; and this they would have done at a much earlier stage of the action, had they been permitted. The left battery had ceased firing before the Europeans emerged from the village, though that on the right continued exchanging shot for shot with the enemy; and it was only very shortly before it had succeeded in silencing them, that the lamented Captain D'Oyley received his mortal wound. But a few rounds of ammunition remained in our waggons when that sad event occurred; nevertheless, the wounded man sat on a tumbril, and continued to give the word of command until they were expended. Want of cavalry prevented our following up what we had so dearly gained, and nothing remained for us but to retrace our steps to cantonments, and this we proceeded to do in the most orderly manner possible. Immediately the rebels perceived the movement they advanced with their guns, and nearly the whole way into Agra fired round shot at us, after a fashion peculiarly humiliating to experience, whilst small bodies of their horse threatened us on either side with such activity as to prevent our getting a shot at them.

"The whole force succeeded in reaching the fort by half-past 6 P.M., after being actively engaged for full three hours out of the time it was absent. There is no doubt that our men were fearfully outnumbered; but, despite that, they would have remained masters of the field instead of having to retire after having licked the enemy, had it not been that both men and guns had fired off the whole of the small supply of ammunition they had taken to the field. It is now supposed that the enemy were in the same predicament; and, therefore, had we not moved off, but had waited a short time longer, perhaps they might have gone first. The civil lines infantry militia, having met the tired troops coming in, were formed across the road as a rear-guard, a position they maintained until the whole force reached the fort. But while still two miles from the fort, we had the mortification of seeing the enemy's cavalry galloping towards the defenceless station, and, before we entered, several houses were already on fire. After sunset, we saw, from the bastions, houses burning on every side; and again the next night—so that hardly a house has escaped destruction; and such houses and their contents as were not consumed by fire, have been completely gutted and destroyed by other means. In fact, if we were to leave the fort to-morrow, there are not four houses in the place with roofs remaining under which we could obtain shelter; and, as for household property and other things left outside, we suspect there is not a single article in existence in serviceable order. The very doors and windows are removed, and every bit of wood torn out, so that nothing remains but the bare brick walls. Things are strewn about the roads and streets in every direction; and wherever you move you see broken chairs and tables, carriages broken in bits, crockery, books, and, in fact, every kind of property wantonly destroyed. This has not been done, we are satisfied, by the enemy, but by the budmashes of the city, and the prisoners who were liberated from the gaol.

"The enemy disappeared the day after the action, and proceeded to Bhurtpore, but nothing with certainty is known of their after movements. It is rumoured that we may expect a visit from the mutineers of the Gwalior contingent, but it is doubted by many whether they will venture to come; however, if they do come we are ready to give them a warm welcome. The fort is crowded, but not inconveniently so, and all are in good health and spirits. We are well provided with provisions and ammunition, and, upon the whole, we are pretty comfortable, and have become reconciled to the necessary imprisonment. Only two or three Christians are known to have been massacred outside—namely, Major Jacob, formerly in Scindia's service; and Mr. Hubbard, of the Agra college; but every other Christian inhabitant is supposed to be safe within the fort. The maharajah of Gwalior is said to be exerting himself for our advantage; and we have no one else to fear.

"Before concluding, it is right to mention, that our retiring from the field may be considered an act of necessary prudence; for, had the enemy succeeded in getting into

our rear later in the day, they might have cut us off from the fort, and, by overpowering the small garrison, murdered four or five thousand defenceless men, women, and children. The following is a correct abstract of the casualties that occurred in the action on the 5th. It will be acknowledged that the fighting must have been savere, seeing that a full quarter of the men engaged were placed *hors de combat.* The artillery had two officers wounded—Captain D'Oyley (since dead) and Lieutenant Lamb; three men killed, and fourteen wounded, including six native drivers. The 3rd European regiment had twenty-nine men killed; three officers (Major Thomas and Lieutenants Pond and Fellowes) and sixty-four men wounded, of whom ten have since died. The civil lines infantry militia had six gentlemen killed (Messrs. O'Connor, C. Horn, P. Horn, J. Carleton, R. Smith, and Jourdan); one officer (Major Prendergast) and seven gentlemen—Messrs. White. Ray, Blackburne, Bramley, civil service; Freeze, Outram, civil service; and Oldfield, civil service—wounded. The unattached officers, &c., had six wounded—viz., Captain W. Alexander, 10th light cavalry; Lieutenants Cockburn, Williams, and Bramley, Dr. Watson, and Conductor Hunter. The number killed or since dead is forty-nine, and the number wounded, ninety-two; making a total of 141 killed and wounded, out of a total force of about 500 men engaged."

An officer of the 3rd Europeans writes thus, on July 16th, in reference to the fort and the action:—"We are here now, like rats in a trap; there are at least four or five thousand people in this fort, mixed of course—military and civil, Eurasians, half-castes, &c.; and when we shall get out is a thing to be guessed at. On the morning of the 5th of July the news of the approach of the rebels was confirmed; they were only some five miles away, when it was determined (wisely or not is a question not to be mooted now) to go out and meet them. The old leaven rose within me, and I accompanied them. Our force consisted of about 650 European infantry and one battery of guns, the infantry commanded by Colonel Riddell, and the artillery by the gallant Captain D'Oyley; their force consisted of 4,000 infantry, 1,500 cavalry, and eleven guns—frightful odds. I must also add, that we had on our side many mounted volunteers, gentlemen of the civil service, civilians of the station, and the officers of the 44th and 67th regiments of native infantry—regiments that have been disbanded, and their arms taken away. We left the parade about eleven in the morning, and had not proceeded more than two miles when we heard of the enemy. We arrived on an open plain, and found the enemy in position behind a village, their guns flanking the village, their cavalry again flanking the guns: our little force formed a line with three guns on each flank; those on the right flank commanded by Captain D'Oyley, and the left by Captain Pearson. We advanced thus within half a mile of them, when they opened the ball with a round shot from their left battery; our one regiment, the 3rd Europeans, got the order to lie down, the guns unlimbered, and then the fight commenced in earnest. From my own experience I can say nothing; but, from that of others, it was a hard fight of artillery for at least two hours, when one of the tumbrils of the left battery (ours) blew up; the fiends attempted a cheer, which dissolved itself into a yell. One of our guns was thus disabled. They threatened us then with a charge of cavalry, but they were immediately stopped by a rattling volley from the 3rd Europeans. After a little more artillery practice the line got the word 'advance,' and gallantly they did it, under a heavy fire of artillery and infantry, the mutinied 72nd regiment of native infantry, having their rifle company in the village, picking our poor fellows off; but they paid dearly for it afterwards: a rush was made on the village, and it was carried and surrounded. We were still to be unfortunate, for another tumbril in the left battery was blown up; we therefore had only four guns, and, strange to say, no ammunition; for the artillery, by some—what shall I say? mistake, oversight—well, never mind what—no spare ammunition had been brought out. Thus we had carried the village, driven them from their position, and then no ammunition! Of course, immediately they found their artillery was not answered, they knew there was something wrong with us, and advanced upon their old position. We had to retire under a heavy fire, and threatened on each side by their cavalry; but the fellows had not the pluck to attack us even then; they made several attempts, but a volley always sent them to the right-about. We, however, arrived safely at the fort, and immediately afterwards the work of destruction commenced. The budmashes (Indian thieves) immediately began to plunder.

Bungalows on every side were set on fire; one continual blaze the whole night. I went out the next morning; 'twas a dreadful sight indeed. Agra was destroyed—churches, colleges, dwelling-houses, barracks, everything burnt. I lost everything I possessed in the world; but we are all in the same boat. The enemy were satisfied with their licking, and went quietly off: and here we are; we can't go out—no place to go to—nothing to do but to wait for assistance, which I do trust we shall receive soon. I am sorry to say our casualties were heavy."

An officer of the Gwalior contingent, who had joined the troops at Agra on the morning previous to the engagement, also gives some interesting details of the occurrence; and, at the close of his description of the affair, says—"It was considered prudent our thus going out to give battle to the insurgents, instead of waiting to be attacked and appearing afraid of them; and it was made evident that they had received severe punishment, and thought themselves well beaten, as they went off in another direction. We were obliged to come into the fort immediately after the action, as the instant our backs were turned to go out to give battle to the rebel force at Shahgunj the villains in the city of Agra set fire to nearly every bungalow, barrack, and church in the place; and it would be difficult to give you a correct description of the scene which presented itself at night, the whole place being in a blaze, more nearly resembling a scene in the *Prophète* than anything I can think of. The whole seems a war of extermination of all Europeans in India, and a blessed thing it will be when European regiments come out to assist us. The scene in the fort for the first few days was a trying one. All the servants ran off; I had eleven in the morning, and at night not one. Ladies were seen cooking their own food, officers drawing and carrying water from the well, &c. Many people are ruined, having escaped with only the clothes on their backs. I am one of the less unfortunate, having lost about 4,000 rupees. We are now shut up here—500 fighting-men, with ammunition; and about 4,000 or 5,000 altogether, eagerly awaiting the arrival of European troops. My only prayer now is, that God may protect you all, and be pleased to spare me to see you once again, when I could be content to die in peace."

The following extracts from the letter of a civilian in the fort, also furnish some interesting particulars. The writer says—"On the night of the 3rd of July the enemy were only fifteen miles off, and the Kotahs were sent out to make a demonstration. They had not marched three miles when they shot at their officers and went over to the enemy. The villains! who would have thought it? I was so fond of them; I would have trusted my life in their hands anywhere. The excitement in Agra was immense, and nearly everybody rushed to the fort except the two posts where the militia were stationed. When the news came I was sitting in D——'s balcony, drinking coffee after a hard day's work, packing Mrs. D——'s traps, &c. (for what everybody thought of was saving their property), with J——, P——, and S——; Mrs. D—— and her husband were there also. It was pouring with rain, when a sowar came riding up, saying the enemy were close on us, killing everybody they met. Mrs. D—— rushed for her baby, and I for an umbrella. D—— took the baby, and I held up the former in all the soaking rain, and arrived all safe at one of the fortified houses. Then D—— went back to the city to learn the news, and I to his house to get the carriage. The servants had actually begun to carry off the property. They have always proved themselves the most active in robbing their masters during this row. With pistol in hand I walked to the stables, and never got the syces to 'put-to' so quickly before; and then, after picking up Mrs. D—— and the baby, I took them, with the doctor, to Mr. B——'s house, our deputy collector, just under the guns of the fort, as D—— had on objection to going into the fort. After this I met D—— riding hard to the fortified post; he had been shot at by a Kotah sowar, but had taken him prisoner; and then he sent me three miles out of Agra for news, when I met with an adventure. The reason of my going was this: a Mohammedan, Sefula Khan, had a month previous brought into the Agra district a lot of wild-looking men from Kerowlee, as he said, to help D—— to get in his revenue—about 500 men in all, regular cowards, but good fellows to plunder villages, &c.; and they are a different caste from these sepoys, and all native infantry troops; and, hearing of this Neemuch force so near, and the Kotahs gone against us, they were in a great fright, and wanted to get into the government-

house compound, and fortify themselves for the night, but would not go there, unless D—— sent one of his officers to show them the way and give them admittance. The officers who commanded them had come in, and I thought they only wanted to get me in a trap. However, I went as ordered, and when arrived among them was immediately surrounded, and taken prisoner by their sowars, while their infantry struck their tents to march. They insulted and bullied me, and I had not even a cheroot in my pocket to look serene. I learnt a lesson of patience, but had no fears; for though quite alone, I knew a higher power was guarding me, so for three hours I laughed at them, till all the tents were on camels, and the foot ready to start, when they ordered me to lead the way to government-house. Two sowars were placed in front of me, and two behind: it was dark, and I could hardly find my way, and they would have killed me at once had I led them wrong. The worst of it was, I told Sefula Khan there was no guard at government-house, thinking there were only a few of my police; and to my surprise, when I got there, I found a subahdar and forty men of the Kotah contingent, the very fellows these Kerowlee boys were so frightened of; and I was therefore between two fires. But, to cut a long story short, the subahdar was an old friend of mine, as we used to have long chats together when on a march with the whole contingent. I reproached him with the infidelity and cowardice of the regiment in shooting at their officers and going over to the enemy. He said it was caused by some of the cavalry, who were a bad lot, and created a panic among the infantry, who cut and run anywhere; but he and his forty men were faithful to their salt. So I told him how I had got into the hands of the Kerowlee men; and on a promise that I would, when I returned to Agra, tell the brigadier how they were situated, they opened a way for me, and the Kerowlee cowards slunk away. My horse carried me safe in at 2 A.M., and I gave the subahdar's message. That night I got no bed, for my house was not considered safe. I had forgotten to send my bed and traps to a safe place, and lay down where the militia were assembled. On the morning of the 5th of July, both the 3rd fusiliers, with the battery and militia, went out to give battle to the enemy. I was out of that fun, as the city was my post. The battle began at 2 P.M., and went on till 5 o'clock, with incessant firing, when we fell short of ammunition and had to retreat—our loss tremendous, as they are said to have worked their guns splendidly, and had among them a rifle company of the 72nd native infantry, who picked off lots of our officers. Directly those in the city heard of our retreat, the police ran away, and the prisoners got loose. The rogues then got guns, and shot down all they met. Poor Hubbard was killed getting from his house to the fort. Shot came about me from all the houses, but I was most mercifully preserved. The troops had just time to get under the fort with the poor wounded, and dhoolies-full were carried in. At 7 P.M. we were all in the fort; the big guns frightened the enemy, and they contented themselves with burning all our houses. Such bonfires I never saw. All night long, from the walls of the fort, we were looking at our houses burning sky-high—some hundreds, on all sides; it was most humiliating. Murders and robberies were going on all day and night in the city, and many native Christians were killed. By the papers you will read most of the details, though they won't tell you that I am about as great a beggar as you ever saw. A few shirts and trowsers is all I have with my name, my bed, and my horse. What more can a man want? On the night of the 5th the soldiers shot at every black face that came in sight; so many of our servants who would have come in have been frightened. Among them Raspberry, and the mate-bearer; the former had fever on him some time before the fight. Bengalees are proverbially timid, and I fancy my two were frightened into fits or tumbled down dead. My khitmutgur, the only man who made his appearance, I discovered stealing my rupees, so I kicked him out of the fort; but, fortunately, I had little to look after, and never felt better nor more serene in my life. That Bible I do miss; the one E. C—— bought for me, and you gave me as a boy, and which I have had since I was thirteen years old. I have saved M. A——'s big one, and the Prayer-book you gave me in 1852. May God bless you all, as he has preserved and comforted me lately. I hope you have all been trusting me in the hands of God, and feeling if I am killed it is for good. All the enemy have gone to Delhi, and Agra now is quiet; but we have no houses to go to."

Another letter from the fort, on the 19th of July, says—"Here we are, shut up in this wretched place since the 5th. There are about 4,500 men, women, and children in here now, and they are well packed. I am an assistant executive engineer, under Colonel Glassford. I was appointed by the brigadier on the 28th of June, and have arranged all the quarters in the fort, and put the people in them, and have had great work; but I am sorry that I got the appointment, as it prevented me going to the battle outside. We shelled the fellows from here. Colonel Cotton, of the late 57th, rode my horse, as I was not allowed to keep him here. He got two hits from bullets, but is nearly right now, and will carry me well, I hope, in the next. As soon as we get help we will go out. They have burnt and plundered all the cantonments and civil lines. You never saw such a blaze as it was. They killed a great many trying to come into the fort, stripped them naked, and cut their heads off, and women and children are lying about the roads. We have caught a good many, and hang them up every night; but the authorities are very weak, and do not act half earnestly enough; but when we get a good man, I trust we shall show them that we are not done yet."

A lady, writing from the fort on the 15th of the month, says—"We are all well, thank God! but we have had a great deal of discomfort and fatigue to go through since our arrival here. Some three days after the dispatch of our last letters, all the ladies were warned to leave their rooms and take up their quarters in the fort, in the respective dens assigned for them there; but the gentlemen were still to remain in cantonments in case of an attack from the mutineers outside, who were supposed to be collected in vast numbers near Agra. Well, we obeyed orders, and a few days after our arrival every spare nook in the fort was occupied; and one Sunday (the 5th) the European soldiers and militia were likewise sent in—at least a few of them, the rest remaining on the plain with all the officers fit for duty; and at twelve o'clock that day, on news being received that the mutineers' force was within six miles of Agra, the brigadier determined on our few Europeans of the 3rd and the militia going out to meet the enemy at once. There are numbers of officers here now, fugitives from the different stations, and, of course, they had also to attend. They met the enemy at three o'clock, and oh! it was dreadful to hear the booming of the cannon, and the incessant firing, which continued for upwards of three hours. You may well imagine the state of anxiety we were all in, knowing how many must have fallen during the action. Captain Campbell, who was on duty in the fort, took Mrs. Proctor and myself to the Flagstaff bastion, where we saw a great deal of what was passing below—not the action, but the position of the enemy. At first news was brought that we had been quite victorious; but, alas! this was not true. Two of our tumbrils blew up; and, for want of ammunition, our men had to make a hasty retreat into the fort, with the loss of 130 killed and wounded. Oh! it was a sad sight to see the poor wounded men coming into the fort. We could all see distinctly the retreat of our troops. Then, immediately they were compelled to return, the released prisoners (some 4,000 in number), and all the bad men in the city, besides sowars and sepoys, commenced burning the civil lines; and by one o'clock that morning the whole of the Agra cantonments and civil lines were in flames. It was a most appalling sight. R—— and J—— were, of course, in the action, and our feelings of thankfulness can scarcely be imagined when we saw them return in safety. Officers who had been present during almost all the battles in the Sutlej, do not remember being under heavier firing. That night the enemy left Agra for Muttra, and are still hovering about this; but everything is prepared for a six months' sojourn here; and long before that we hope to have reinforcements of European troops. We are leading a very unsettled, ship-like kind of life; no one is allowed to leave the fort, except bodies of armed men. We are living in a place they call the 'Palace-yard;' it is a square, with a gallery round it, with open arches. Every married couple are allowed two arches; but we have preferred throwing our quarters and M——'s into one. Poor Mrs. Proctor, whose husband was murdered before her in Gwalior, is also living with us. We have just room for our four rope charpoys, and one or two small tables, and find it no easy task to keep the place clean and tidy. We saw Mr. Bannerman for the first time yesterday. I can scarcely write, there is such a noise all day long. When we can leave this none can tell, and when we are able to leave it we have no houses to go to, as there is scarcely a station standing in this part of India."

A letter from the fort, dated the 27th of August, says—"Here we are, still cooped up in the fort. As yet we have not been attacked. The rains are pretty nearly over now; so I presume, unless we speedily get reinforcements, we must expect to be beleaguered by the Gwalior and Indore forces, who are all at Gwalior, about eighty miles from here. I trust that the authorities in England are at last satisfied that it is a serious matter, and not to be quelled by four extra regiments. It is a general rising in or of India, promoted by Mussulmans doubtless, but largely participated in by the Hindoos. The sepoys' plea of religion is 'bosh;' it is a war of race—'Asiatic against European.' Nothing can quell it but deluging the whole land with the blood of these dastardly women-and-children murderers. Hitherto the Hindoos have been equally culpable with the Moslems; but I think they have been much misled by the Mohammedans. I hear that already dissension is rising among them, and they are beginning to see their error (the Hindoos); but they have gone too far in their cowardly atrocities, and no mercy can be shown them. We have about 500 regular soldiers in this fort able for duty, besides some 400 officers, gentlemen, and *kerranies* (*Anglice*, government writers), some 2,500 women and children, and a few hundred native servants, traitors in their hearts, who, in the event of a siege, would require strict watching. We made (about fifty of us) a raid to Futtehpore about three weeks ago, and dislodged about 500 *mewatties* (thieves.) We killed a lot, and only got one of ours wounded, so we returned in great spirits. I have been laid up ever since with cold and liver-complaint from the hardships we endured, sleeping on the ground, &c.; but, thank God, I am all right again, and fit for nigger killing with the best of them. I believe, if we are besieged, we can hold this fort against any number of niggers; but their shells I fear would kill very many women and children. The number of common men (adventurers as they call them in India) who are ruined by this revolution is very great. I think, myself, we shall get compensation from government. At any rate, I'll try hard. I don't possess sixpence in the world at present. Three months ago I consider I represented from £12,000 to £15,000 in timber, cash, &c., besides a good stud, carriage, furniture, &c.; but *nil. desp.* If I live, I feel certain I shall get on somehow. If this country is properly and vigorously handled, no one has any conception of its resources and capabilities. At any rate, I have never seen one equal to it, and I've tried my luck in a good many. Two days ago a detachment went out from this, and killed about 300 niggers. Very satisfactory this. I told you in a former letter about our battle at Futtehpore Sikree. We were under very heavy artillery fire for two hours and a-half. The enemy were ten to one, and intrenched. We killed heaps of them, but suffered much ourselves. I was there as one of the escort to our guns. The brigadier expressed his satisfaction at my conduct in the field."

Whatever might have been the positive inconveniences attending a forced sojourn in the crowded fort for a space of some months, with an enemy incessantly prowling under its walls, and without any immediate prospect of succour, it would seem that, closely packed as our countrymen and their brave defenders must have been, they kept in good heart, and were at no loss for amusement amidst the difficulties that surrounded them. If the reports in some of the letters are entitled to credence, it would appear, that "such, indeed, was at one time the exuberance of their mirth, that it was found necessary to promulgate a general order condemnatory of singing, and playing on flutes and cornopeans."

About 1,500 mutinous sepoys were afterwards known to have been among the insurgents in the action of the 5th of July. The rebel force was commanded by Sirdharee Sing, of Untabeg, recently a subahdar in the 1st light cavalry. The enemy had twelve guns on the ground, and a host of Goojurs followed the troops with the sole object of plundering the city and cantonments, and murdering such Europeans as might fall in their way.

JHELUM.—Among the seats of disaffection that were avowing themselves, about the beginning of July, by acts of decided hostility to the government, the town of Jhelum,* in the Punjab, has a claim to notice. At this place the 14th regiment of native

* Jhelum, or Jhylum, is a small town and military cantonment, situate on the east bank of the river from which it derives its name—the *Hydaspes* of the Greeks; which is a tributary to the Indus, and the most western of the five rivers of the Punjab. The town has no particular claim to notice on the score of its buildings or manufactures; but it is exceptionally clean, although, for the most part, the streets

infantry was in cantonment; and from indications of a mutinous tendency on the part of the corps that could not be mistaken, it was deemed requisite, by the authorities at Lahore, that it should be disarmed; and three companies of her majesty's 24th regiment, with five officers, under the command of Colonel Ellice, were dispatched on the 1st of July, from their quarters at Rawul Pindee (seventy miles distant), for the purpose of effecting the object. The troops arrived at Jhelum on the morning of the 7th, and happened to march into the lines at the time the men of the 14th were drawn up on the parade-ground. The instant the latter observed the approach of the Europeans, they appeared to be seized by an uncontrollable frenzy, and, as by one impulse, loaded their muskets, and having fired at their officers (fortunately without effect), they rushed towards the shelter of their huts. Colonel Ellice instantly gave the order to follow the mutineers; but the latter having gained cover, shot down the troops as they approached, without injury to themselves. They were, however, after a hand-to-hand struggle, driven from their hiding-places, and fled to an adjacent village, where for a time the cover was equally advantageous for them. From this position, also, they were ejected, though with a great sacrifice on the part of the 24th regiment, the sepoys fighting with desperate courage, and disputing every inch of ground. Unfortunately, no cavalry was at hand to pursue the flying rebels, most of whom escaped into the jungle with their arms and ammunition. The loss on our side, in this hasty affair, was—one officer, two sergeants, and twenty-three men killed; and three officers, four corporals, and forty-three men wounded.

A letter from an officer of the 24th, dated from the camp at Goojerat, July 15th, refers to the skirmish thus:—"I regret to say that we lost one officer in this affair, Captain Spring. Colonel Ellice was dangerously wounded through the chest while gallantly leading the charge. Poor young Streathfield, the bravest of the brave, got a bullet through both knees, smashing the right one to atoms, and going through the other. The right leg was amputated at the thigh, and he is now progressing, I hope and trust satisfactorily. Chichester was shot through the left arm, but is doing well. De Montmorency got off with a bullet through his trowsers, another shooting away his scabbard; but he was not hurt himself. Sam Burns has his cheek grazed by a ball. The other officer, Captain Macpherson, got off scot-free. The officers here named were the only ones present at Jhelum at the time. Captain Spring was dâking from Roorkee, and had arrived at Jhelum only on the morning of the mutiny: twenty-four men were buried with him on the 9th. Poor Ellice is dreadfully wounded, having, in addition to the wound through his chest, got a ball through his left leg; he, Streathfield, and Chichester, have been taken to a large house in Jhelum, where they are well taken care of. Government has offered a reward of thirty rupees per head (about £3) for every fugitive sepoy. We had the satisfaction of shooting forty-eight of them on the evening of the 8th; and, the following day, we blew twenty-five away from the cannon's mouth. The odds in numbers were dreadfully against us; the sepoys were 702 in number, and our three companies only mustered 247 men."

Rawul Pindee.—On the same day the above affair occurred at Jhelum, the 58th native infantry were ordered to be disarmed at this place,* and the remaining companies of the 24th regiment, with the horse artillery at the station, were charged with the duty of enforcing the order. The troops were accordingly paraded, having the guns in the centre, and the 58th were marched upon the ground. As soon as the latter became aware of the object of the demonstration, they hesitated for a moment, and then breaking from their ranks, they fled like frightened sheep from the parade-ground; the Europeans being with difficulty restrained by their officers from firing at the disorderly rabble. The sepoys were then surrounded in their lines, and being sensible that resistance would involve their immediate destruction, they made a virtue of necessity, and surrendered their arms. That mischief had been intended, was evi-

are narrow and intricate. The river is here generally fordable, and, on that account, Jhelum is supposed, by Sir A. Burnes, to have been the scene of conflict between Alexander the Great and Porus, and to occupy the site of the city founded by the conqueror.—*Vide* Introduction, p. 17.)

* Rawul Pindee is a large fortified town of the Punjab, forty-seven miles E.S.E. of Attock: it consists chiefly of flat-roofed earthern houses, with the remains of a palace built by Shah Soojah; a bazaar and some mosques, &c. It still possesses a considerable transit trade with Affghanistan, &c.

dent from the fact, that when the muskets were handed over to the magazine officers, 200 of them were found loaded with ball cartridge. Happily, the affair ended without bloodshed on either side.

SAUGOR.—The mutiny of the native troops at this station* appears to have been attended with some peculiar circumstances. The brigade in cantonments, at the beginning of July, consisted of the 31st and 42nd regiments of native infantry, and the 3rd irregular cavalry. From some indications of a mutinous spirit among the troops, Brigadier Sage, commanding the district, considered it advisable to secure the public treasure and magazine, and to call the whole of the European residents within the fort, to which also he summoned the European officers belonging to the three corps. This arrangement was carried into effect on the 28th and 29th of June; and the evil-inclined men of the 42nd, and 3rd cavalry, no sooner found themselves relieved from the presence of their officers, than they began to plunder the cantonments. This outrage was discountenanced by the native officers and men of the 31st regiment, and by some few troopers of the 3rd cavalry, and the result of their interference was a serious quarrel and a fight. On the 11th of the month, the officer commanding at Allahabad telegraphed to the governor-general as follows:—

"Received by dâk letters from Brigadier Sage (Saugor, 3rd instant), that on 29th ultimo, the artillery, with magazine, ladies, and children, moved into the fort where civilians and all were; that while writing, the 3rd irregular cavalry, 41st, and part of 31st, are looting cantonments; that he could not move out to drive them away, having no infantry; that the fort could not hold out if attacked, having only ninety men and officers, and the walls will fall from concussion of guns; asking for a European regiment, or a wing, to be sent sharp to his relief."

It appeared further by the telegram, that no assistance could be sent from Allahabad, and, in fact, none could have arrived in time to prevent the consummation of the mutiny. The greater portion of the 31st regiment were yet loyal, and their comrades were impatient of the check imposed upon them by such fidelity. This, in a short time, led to a second quarrel between the men of the several corps, who, on the 7th and 8th of July, were again engaged in open conflict. The result of the fight was the entire defeat of the mutineers, who were driven from the cantonments with considerable loss of life, but taking with them the signal-gun of the station, and a number of commissariat elephants. On the 9th the 31st pursued the discomfited rebels, who abandoned the gun and elephants; and their flight then became so rapid, that their pursuers were not able to come up with them and inflict further chastisement. During all this fighting between the native troops, it is to be remarked, that no European officers were present with the corps to which they belonged, the whole of them being shut up in the fort, and retained there by the order of Brigadier Sage, as we have already noticed. The intimation of the fact by telegram from Allahabad, was the first communication received by government on the subject, and it naturally excited great astonishment. On the 18th of the month, the secretary to the government addressed the deputy adjutant-general of the forces as follows:—

"Fort William, July 18th, 1857.

"Sir,—I am directed to request that you will move the commander-in-chief to call upon Brigadier Sage, commanding the Saugor district, for an explanation of his conduct in retiring to the fort at Saugor with all the European officers, leaving the native regiments without their officers. I am desired to add, that it appears from messages by telegraph, that the 31st native regiment behaved loyally after the officers had retired to the fort. Brigadier Sage should be called upon to give a full detail of all the circumstances connected with his quitting the cantonments, and of the subsequent proceedings at Saugor.—I am &c.—R. J. H. BIRCH, Colonel."

The following appears to be the explanatory statement of the brigadier, in regard to this extraordinary and isolated case:—

"In all the mutinies that have flooded the military stations with blood, one line of conduct appears to have been pursued; the officers trusting their men against conviction—or rather what ought to have been conviction—and common sense; sleeping in the lines with their men, and sleeping on, until the men had matured their plans, and the officers were shot down, or had their

* Saugor is a town of Central India, about ninety-two miles north-east of Bhopal: it is only important as a military station.

throats cut. I had two regiments of infantry (sepoys) and one regiment of native cavalry, and only sixty-eight European gunners. I had the fort, magazine, and battering train at one end of the cantonments, and what is called the Artillery-hill at the other; distance between the two, three miles and a quarter. I could not keep both; if I kept the hill, in all probability I should lose the fort, the magazine, and the key of the Saugor district. At the hill I had no provisions, and no room to store them, and water had to be brought from below. Things were in this state—the sepoys had the treasury and the fort; in fact, we were all at their mercy; and men of the three regiments met every night, and talked openly of what they intended to do. In this state of affairs an application came from Lullutpore (on the north of Saugor) for assistance. Two guns and ammunition were asked for. I sent one company and one troop of each regiment, and two 9-pounders; and the question was, would they march or not? They did march; and, at the first halt, conspired to murder their officers and return: the 42nd proposed this; the 31st would not agree; so they made a second march. Four men of the 42nd sent a message to the detachment to come back, as a European regiment was coming to punish them. 'It is conscience that makes cowards of us all.' I arrested the messenger and the four sepoys, and tried them by a drum-head court-martial. They were sentenced to imprisonment and hard labour at 6 P.M., and were on their way to Hosungabad gaol, in irons, at twelve at midnight, where they now are. At Lullutpore the troops mutinied, and the rajah of Baudpore took the country. Major G——, who commanded the detachment, wrote for reinforcements. I sent 400 infantry and 100 cavalry. The night before these men were to march was chosen by the mutineers for a strike. I made them march in the day, and kept on the watch. An attempt was now made on Colonel Dalzell's life, who commands the 42nd; his assailant was put fast in gaol. The alarm was great; and there was a hue-and-cry that I took no care of the lives of the Europeans, particularly ladies and children. I waited for an overt act of unmistakable mutiny before I would throw down the gauntlet. It came soon enough. A small fort (Balabet) was stormed, and captured by Major G——'s detachment, and sixteen prisoners were taken; the men of the 31st and 42nd—*i.e.*, portions of them—insisted on Major G—— releasing the prisoners, which he did. The Baudpore rajah, to whom these prisoners belonged, wrote into camp, offering the sepoys twelve rupees a-month if they would leave their officers and go over with their arms and ammunition. Here was no mistake. I might have the rebel rajah and the mutineers of the camp in rear of the artillery, and my sixty-eight Europeans at any hour of the day, as Matthone, where the camp was, is not more than thirty-seven miles from Saugor; then the mutineers of the cantonments would be in our front, and the 3rd irregular cavalry on our flank. The position was compromised, and I began operations. First I removed the treasure into the fort, then emptied the expense magazine, and the artillery magazine; removed the women, children, and baggage of the artillery company into the fort; and then I went down to the fort and relieved the sepoy guard at the gate with a guard of Europeans. Thus by one stroke I won the fort, the magazine, and the treasure. Then I put in all the ladies and children; and the next day, being Sunday, sent in some necessary articles of furniture, clothes, &c. On Monday morning, while the grand guard-mounting was going on, I marched the company of artillery and No. 4 light field-battery into the fort; all Christians had been ordered to come in also; and all was safe. I then sent for all the native officers, and told them of the mutinies that had taken place; that they, being the greater number, and according to their own statement good and loyal men, looked on and did nothing; that if they chose to allow bad men to destroy their honour and ruin their regiments, I would place no confidence in them; and that I would not trust any European officers with men who had forfeited my esteem and my confidence. If they wished to preserve their honour and their regiments, they must seize the mutineers and deliver them up to me. There was a scene. I was firm, and they promised everything. The next day I had a similar conference with the native officers of the 3rd irregular cavalry, and with the same result as to promises; but mark the faith and honour of Mohammedans! The next morning, after muster, Captain Mayne came to me, saying his men had sharpened their swords and gone to pray at the mosque, and he

had been advised to fly for his life. This officer was certain his men were true and loyal, and would stay with them instead of coming into the fort. The 42nd joined the 3rd irregular cavalry; but the 31st held aloof. The bungalows and bazaar were plundered: but having not one company I could trust to flank my guns, I would not risk them. On the 7th a trooper fired at a sepoy of the 31st; the sepoy, in return, shot the trooper dead, and a fight ensued between the 42nd and 3rd on one side, and the 31st on the other. The 31st sent for assistance. I gave the sixty cavalry, who had remained true, and there was a good deal of firing. Forty men of the 1st company of the 31st joined the mutineers. In the evening they sent to me again for two guns. I sent them word it was too late, but in the morning I would send them victory. The mutineers got hold of this, and fled in the night, the 31st and sixty troopers pursuing them for some miles. When the men in camp heard this, they seized the guns, and marched for cantonments; but having the river Dussein to cross, they found a body of infantry and cavalry ready to receive them. On this, the mutineers went off in the night; almost all the cavalry, the native officers and men of the 42nd, and six of the 31st; and here ended the mutiny—at least I hope so. Since then I have had detachments out at Dumah and Benaicka, both of which have been successful, and we are strengthening the fort every day. We have provisions for six months, medical stores, and doctors; but the enemy (the cholera) has visited us for all that. You will observe, I have, with God's blessing, saved all my officers, and made the good men drive out the mutineers."

The result of this explanation does not appear in any subsequent official correspondence, and, therefore, it is reasonable to suppose that it was satisfactory.

SEALKOTE.—The disturbances at this station—a town of the Punjab, about sixty-five miles E.N.E. of Lahore—commenced with a mutinous outbreak of the men of the 46th regiment of native infantry, and of the 9th Bengal light cavalry, on the morning of Thursday, the 9th of July. The first intimation of disorder was given by a number of mounted troopers, who rode furiously into the infantry lines about half-past four in the morning, shouting "Deen! Deen!" and calling upon the soldiers to "get ready." The alarm given in the cantonments soon spread to the town, and the European residents were aroused from their beds by cries of "The force has mutinied!—fly! fly for safety!" Meantime the troops, responding to the call to get ready, rushed to the bells of arms, which they took possession of, and commenced firing at their officers as fast as they came within sight. The fort in the city was the only place to which the terrified women and children of the European families could fly for protection, and thither they proceeded; but many of them, on the way, fell a sacrifice to the mad fury of the soldiers, who thronged the streets, and, in their blind excitement, shot down their officers and any Europeans that came within range, not sparing even their own people whom they suspected were favourable to the *sahib log*. Brigadier-colonel Frederick Brind, of the Bengal artillery, who at this time held the command at Sealkote, was an officer universally esteemed for his soldierly bearing; but, unfortunately, he had too much confidence in the loyalty of the troops under his command, and became himself the first victim of their perfidy. The example afforded by his murderers was quickly imitated; and while one portion of the rebel force was occupied in searching the place for Europeans to massacre, others were busily engaged in the work of plunder and destruction, carrying off whatever was convenient, and burning or otherwise destroying what they could not remove. After spending several hours in riotous excess and wanton mischief, the rebels, sated with their orgies, marched from the station, leaving it a complete ruin, and many of its surviving inhabitants heart-crushed and desolate. Being aware that General Nicholson's movable column was in the neighbourhood of Umritsir, the mutineers proceeded in the direction of Goordaspore, where there was but little to oppose so large a force; most probably feeling confident of carrying with them the 2nd irregular cavalry, and further swelling their numbers by alienating the 4th native infantry, at Noorpoor, from their loyalty. However, in both these they were deceived. General Nicholson, hearing of the mutiny on Friday the 10th, instantly moved his force (consisting of Dawe's troop of horse artillery, Bourchier's battery, her majesty's 52nd light infantry, a detachment of Punjab irregular infantry, and some newly-raised



Sikh cavalry) towards Goordaspore, which place he reached on Saturday, at 2 P.M., having made the march (forty miles) with but one halt, and that for half-an-hour only. The scouts sent out to watch the enemy saw their cavalry all night long endeavouring to ford the Ravee, but in vain; and the boats having previously been sunk, they were prevented crossing in any other way. On Sunday, the 12th, about half-past 8 A.M., it was reported that the force had discovered a ford at Trimmoo, a distance of seven miles from camp, and were crossing. The general at once moved out; and on coming up to the enemy, about a mile and a-half from the river, it was found they had secured an excellent position amongst brushwood and the dry bed of a nullah. About five companies were extended in skirmishing order, the remainder drawn up in column, and the whole flanked by cavalry. Our guns were taken up to within 300 yards, under a most murderous fire, and then opened with grape. In an instant after, the cavalry charged from either flank, and got into the rear of the guns, when there ensued much pistolling and hand-to-hand encounters; till the cavalry, finding they had decidedly got into the wrong place, galloped back again, but not before they had paid for their temerity by heavy loss. The steady and well-directed fire of the old 52nd and the gallant Sikhs, told fearfully amongst the enemy, who came down skirmishing to within thirty yards of the guns, kneeled, and fired; many of them, whilst in the act of firing, were laid low by the shower of grape poured into them. This considerably disconcerted them, and they fled, closely pursued; many were bayoneted, and more were drowned in recrossing the river. On coming up to the river's bank, the mutineers opened on their pursuers from the opposite side with a 12-pounder gun; this, however, did not save their camp. It was painfully amusing to see the things they had brought with them in the shape of plunder: amongst other matters were ladies' lace collars, Bibles, eau-de-cologne, lockets with hair, and an overland letter. The loss on the English side was but small—five killed and fifty wounded; the latter chiefly native troops. The enemy's loss was about 400 killed. Thus ended the 12th, and with it the hopes of the mutineers—in the morning a strong force, confident of success; at night, a broken and dispirited rabble, flying for safety. The 13th and 14th passed quietly, bands of mutineers being brought in by the villagers, having previously thrown away their arms and accoutrements to expedite their flight, and render capture less certain. On the 15th, the general, hearing that some 300 of them had taken possession of an island in the Ravee, about five miles in length, and had placed their guns in an intrenched position, moved a portion of the force, and effected a landing on the island. After exchanging a few shots with those about the gun, the men gave a cheer and rushed on, and, in a moment, the gun was taken. Then commenced a disorderly flight, the 52nd and Sikhs close in pursuit, bayoneting them down to the water's edge. All who could took to the water, where many were shot, whilst more were drowned in attempting to cross. Their discomfiture was complete. About 200 who fled after the action of the 12th, made their way into the territories of the Maharajah Gholab Sing, where they were captured, and delivered over to the authorities.

The following graphic detail of this affair is from a civil officer of rank with General Nicholson's force:—

"Goordaspore, 16th July, 11.30 A.M.

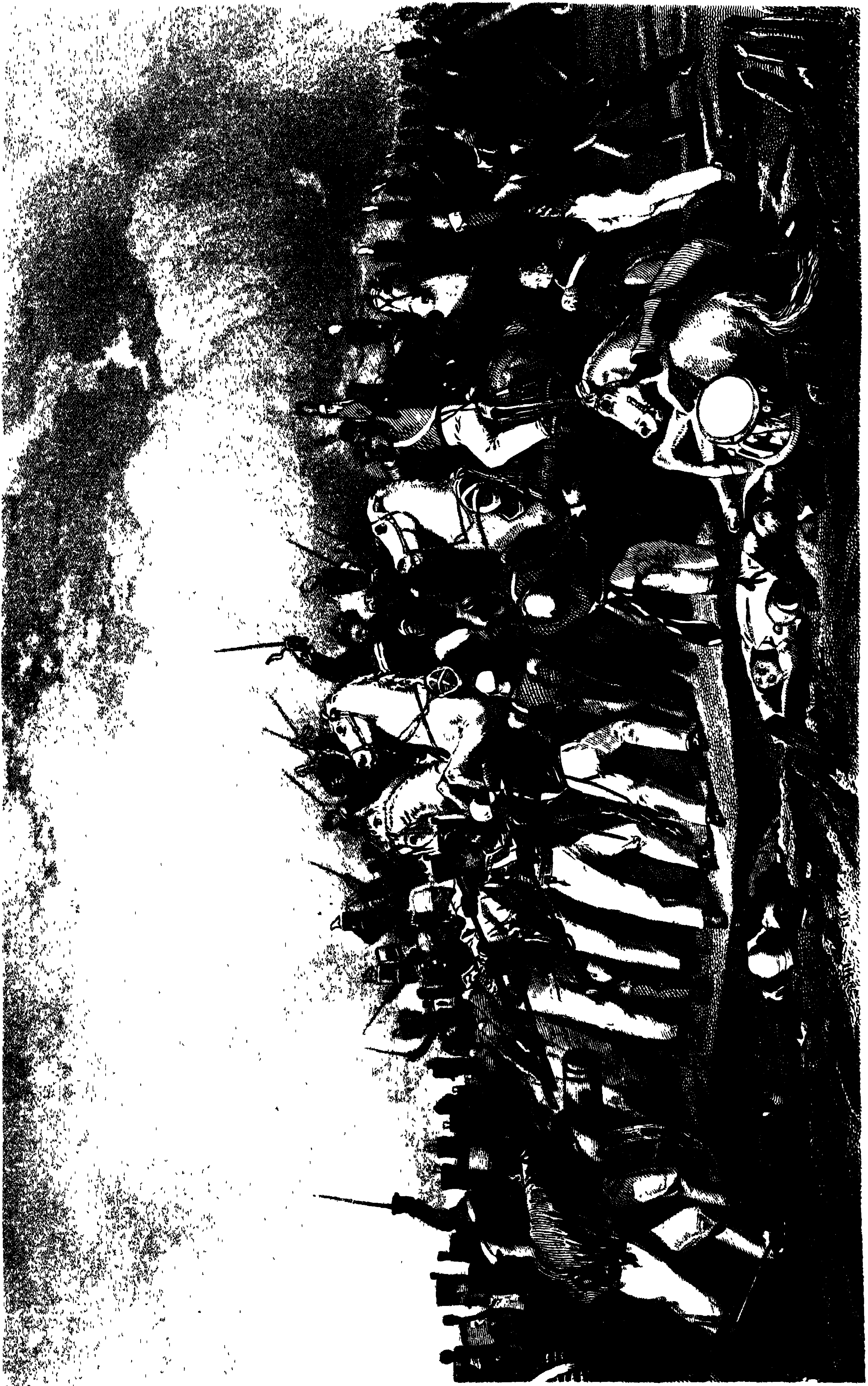
"I have this moment galloped in from Trimmoo, after witnessing the complete discomfiture of the remnant of the Sealkote mutineers, the capture of their gun, and their dispersion into the Ravee. The mutineers had their gun in a breastwork on the very margin of the island; Bourchier's howitzer and two 9-pounders were placed on the very margin of the mainland on this side, the intervening distance being at least 1,150 yards.

"At daybreak, this morning, the 52nd began to be crossed over to the island, about three-quarters of a mile below, where the rebel gun was. There being only two small boats, the operation was a tedious one. While this was going on, Bourchier had some very pretty practice with round shot and shrapnel at the enemy's gun, which replied very well indeed with round shot, but only indifferently with grape. One round shot knocked over four of Bourchier's horses. Not a man was touched. About seven o'clock, when the greater portion of the infantry had crossed, Nicholson himself went over and advanced, attended by half-a-dozen sowars, only to reconnoitre the enemy's position. He then went back and brought up the infantry. The skirmishers of her majesty's 52nd led, and I think there

were two lines of the 52nd in support. It was uncommonly pretty to watch the advance from this side. Poor Brigadier Brind's khansumah, who is said to have been the chief artilleryist of the enemy, now turned his big gun round to bear upon the approaching infantry. Bourchier and Colonel Dawe, who now brought two of their horse artillery guns to bear, plied the enemy with round shot and shrapnel: he heeded it not, but gave our infantry two, if not three, rounds of grape. The skirmishers doubled, and in a minute had taken the gun. It was helter-skelter with the mutineers. A few stood at the gun, or were under the bank near it; these were speedily disposed of. The rest ran to the head of the island, were followed up by our fellows, and took to the water; many must have been drowned; numbers were like mudlarks on sand-banks and small islands; and how *poor* Pandy is to get out of it, I know not. There is deep water on the other side, and the villagers are up. There are only one or two places on this side where they can cross; these are watched, and the zemindars are all alive. I rode about two miles up the left bank with Boswell's Shere Dhils. The congratulations of the people were sincere. 'Moobaruk-bad' was said heartily. Lots more of carriages and buggies, camp equipage, &c., were found on the island. Nicholson left Adams to collect everything. The accounts vary as to the number of fighting-men on the island. There were a great number of camp-followers. All agree that at least eighty mutineers were killed this morning. Our loss is, I rejoice to say, not more than four men of the 52nd wounded. The thing was right-well planned, and right-well executed. My first and very brief campaign is over. It is more exciting and interesting a good deal than hearing appeals. But I must get back to the old dry work. I will see that all is kept going for securing the runaways, and then purpose making the best of my way back to Lahore. The Sealkote mutineers have indeed been frustrated in their plan. They fully believed that we had nothing but a few irregulars and police to meet them, and they were confident of breaking through. Their discomfiture is complete."

The subjoined extracts from correspondence referring to the outrages at Sealkote, afford vivid reminiscences of the tragedy enacted at that station. The letters from which the passages have been selected appear to be well authenticated. Dr. J. H. Butler, 9th light cavalry, in a letter dated from Sealcote, July 13th, says—"We had hoped that all was right with our brigade. But, alas! on the night of the 8th of July they laid their plans to rise in mutiny on the following morning, the 9th. At a quarter past 4 A.M. I was called up to see the sowars, who were in open mutiny, riding about the cantonments, shooting all they could of the male sex having a European garb. No intimation from any of the authorities was given us, but we had previously arranged with Mr. and Mrs. Saunders to have our carriages in readiness in case of an outbreak, and a few things in carpet bags to take with us: this was all done, and we were about to start, when a trooper, with his carbine pointed, came into the compound and cleared it of our servants and carriages, and brought up the sepoys of the 46th native infantry, to surround the house and massacre us. We were now a party of sixteen—fourteen Europeans and two natives (female servants.) We bolted and barred the doors, and silently awaited the approach of the murderers. Of the fourteen Europeans three only were men, all congregated in the drawing-room, whence the ladies retreated to the bathing-room, and then into a small lumber-room (in a private part of the house, to which is attached a side-door); in this room there were fortunately two small windows, one open; and in the door some grating, which afforded ventilation.

"The party of sepoys brought to the house by the sound of the bugle were now within the house, and had followed us to the bathing-room, but, seeing my pistol presented at them, they went off. This enabled us to make good our retreat to the lumber-room, into which we got, and fastened the door with a strong bar of wood. No sooner had we done this than one of the villains came and fired into the room, but missed hitting any one; they then began to plunder, after firing promiscuously into every room they came to, with the hope of killing every one in the house. We were for nearly six hours kept in a terrible state of suspense and alarm, expecting every moment would be our last. At 11 A.M. the *chowkedar* (or watchman) came and brought us some water, and said our only security was in keeping quiet—that the house was being plundered. The yells were frightful. We



heard the sowars, from time to time, riding about the compound, anxious to get hold of us, but the chowkedar told them we were gone. When the mutineers blew up the magazine, we thought they were blowing up the side of our hiding-place, to induce us to come out, to massacre us. One thief tried to break-in our door, and looked in at the grating; I took a steady aim and shot him dead: this saved us from further molestation from the plunderers, deterring others from approaching our hiding-place. The watchman came again at two o'clock, and told us the troops were going away, and that in the evening it would be safe to make our way to the fort, a distance of a mile and a quarter. We were reported killed. At one time, thinking there was no hope, we made over our youngest boy, an infant at the breast, to the native nurse, and she promised to screen him. She took him out under the charge of the watchman, but was unable to leave the compound till we ourselves left. She did not come to the fort that night; but I sent for her the next day, and she brought our babe to us in safety. We are anxiously looking for assistance from home. Public news you will see in the papers. We have been plundered of everything; property of every description lost—houses, carriages, furniture, and wearing apparel."

The next extract is from the letter of a clergyman, who dates from the fort Sealkote, July 14th:—"On the morning of the 8th of July I rode to the post-office, where many of us assembled every day for tidings from Delhi. The mail brought no news, but an order from Sir John Lawrence for me to join the movable column. I also received a friendly note from Mr. Jones, assistant-commissioner, to go out to Mr. Moncton's (civil service) to breakfast, and dine at Inglis's house (civil lines.) I did not go to breakfast, but returned to my bungalow, packed up, and arranged my affairs; settled everything as far as I could for my departure next day, which was to have been at 3 A.M., in company with a missionary and his wife and child (now, alas! no more.) With them I was to have gone as far as Goojeranwalla, and then to strike off for Umritsir. At two I drove out to Moncton's, and dined; and when rising to come away at eight o'clock, Jones said to me, 'You are not to return to-night; you must sleep here.' I remonstrated, having yet so much to do. 'No matter; here you must stay!' I asked, why? 'The brigadier has bound us to secrecy.' Of course, I at once saw something was wrong, so settled to stay. The brigadier, from the first, has made wonderful mistakes. He never disarmed the force, and for two months we have been as it were waiting the pleasure of these brutal devils to put us to death. When the brigadier heard of the mutiny at Jhelum, and of the escape of the survivors of the 14th, he became alarmed, but not before having miraculously maintained confidence in the sepoys. When the danger was hinted at, I could no longer contain myself. 'The brigadier's policy, from the first,' said I, 'was wrong. He has put too much faith in the villains. He ought to have made a stand against all the Queen's troops being taken away from us by the authorities. Before they went, the sepoys should at least have been disarmed. I was aware,' I said, 'he did not approve; but that was not enough; he ought to have made a stand; and I now assert, and if he and I live shall repeat it, that he alone will be responsible for all the blood that, in my opinion, will be shed to-morrow.' After thinking and cooling down as became, I hope, my clerical character, I said to Jones, 'Good God! are the women and children to be butchered; are the valuable lives of God's creatures to be lost—lost without one word of caution? Must no hint be given? Cannot they be brought away in the night to the fort?' 'No; the suspicions of the sepoys are not to be raised, and the brigadier wishes all to be kept quiet.' Oh! my dear wife, I could fill sheets were I to tell you of the awful doings all around us. I remained and took my watch on guard from midnight to 3 A.M., when I was relieved by Mr. M'Mahon. About four o'clock Mr. M'Mahon roused me—'Get up; it is all up; the row has begun. Let us shut ourselves up here—Inglis's house' (one mile and a-half from cantonment, and about two miles from the fort.) 'No,' said I; 'here there can be no hope; let us off to the fort.' I must here tell you the missionary and his family had been warned to get away. They were in Raikes's house, where our Edward was ill; so I ran down with Moncton to send them to the fort. Our, or rather the, civil guard (Punjabees), I believe capital fellows, were roused up by Jones and Mr. M'Mahon, and they all made for the fort together. We afterwards found the poor missionary and his wife and child had been brutally mur-

dered near the Cutcherry. I outran Moncton, and after looking through Raikes's house, was left by myself among trees in the grounds, peeping out to see how near the wretches came: after staying and occasionally moving and again hiding, I made up my mind to take to my heels across the plain. How I got to the fort I hardly know even now, but I did overtake Jones and the guard, more dead than alive. It was truly a run for dear life, for you, and our children. God supported me, and I marched into the fort, after what everybody calls a most miraculous escape, for I was less than a quarter of a mile from the troopers, riding hither and thither; I saw them, and if they had seen me I should have been a dead man. I have nothing but the clothes on my back. Our house was plundered: the walls remain, but all is gone. Your doctor (Graham), on hearing the disturbance, flew with his daughter to their buggy; and, unfortunately, they took the public road to the fort. The cavalry met them, and shot him dead. She was brought to the fort, and her anguish on that awful day is past an attempt even to describe. Staff Graham, wife, and two ladies, also made their escape in their carriage to the fort; he was shot down; the ladies got away in the carriage to the fort, taking the public road. Bishop was killed, the ladies unharmed. Brigadier Brind met with a mortal wound, and has since died here. The deeds of blood ceased with the brigadier's death; but then began those of destruction. Cutcherries, magazines, all burnt. I stood on the north bastion of the fort for hours, watching all they did; and when the artillery magazine blew up, it was grand and fearful. They then collected all our carriages, horses, buggies, and loaded them with the spoils of our bungalows. They then mustered the government camels, and loaded them; and at four o'clock, the hour we were to have started, they took the road I was to have taken for Goojeranwalla, passing along by the fort, and so affording us a full view. They took away our dear Edward's pony, and my only companion, the dog Charlie.

"I went yesterday to the house; the walls and rooms are uninjured; but a sad scene met my eye: windows broken, furniture toppled over and damaged, papers torn and scattered about, books in all directions, but not a stitch of clothing to be found: yet we have suffered less than others; for in some houses not even a scrap of furniture was left, or anything that was not literally smashed to pieces, and the houses ruined; and why they suffered ours to escape differently I know not. Our servants decamped, of course. The communion plate is gone with our own. I have not one single article left, not even a steel fork; but no matter; by God's providence I am saved. The movable-column has met the rascals, and thrashed them. In the midst of all this anxiety, discomfort, dirt, and alarm, I am, thank God, quite well. Miss Graham is quite calm. She is entirely and completely my charge now, and is, poor girl, bearing her loss well. Make my little ones join you in offering thanks to Almighty God for their father's delivery and safety, whose life, under God, he owes to Moncton."

A young officer (lieutenant), of the 9th cavalry, writes thus from Goojeranwalla, July 14th:—"On Wednesday night it was my turn for duty at the guard, and accordingly I went down after mess, went through the lines, and, having found all quiet, took off my jacket, and lighted a cheroot. I had a long talk with the native officer and troopers on guard, who were all very cheerful; after which I turned-in and went to sleep. I was called at 4 o'clock A.M. on Thursday, the 9th; got on my horse—went home and took off my uniform, intending to go for my morning ride. When I was half-dressed I went into ——'s room to ask him to accompany me, but did not find him. I went into the verandah to ask his bearer where he was; his bearer seemed much excited, and said that the brigadier had sent for him urgently. I waited outside to find out what it was about, and presently B—— came running into the compound, and told me to put on my uniform immediately, while he did the same, as there was a row in the lines. When I was dressed and armed, I came out and asked him what I was to do. He said that there was a disturbance in the lines—the sergeant-major had been shot; and that I was to go at once and see what it was about, while he went to the brigadier's. I jumped upon my own horse, and galloped down and went close by the 3rd troop lines. I met a trooper, who told me for God's sake not to go down alone; that the men were saddling their horses, and that if I went further I should be shot. I looked about: seeing this was true, and that a trooper was



loading his pistol, eyeing me, I thought I'd bolt and tell the brigadier.

"I galloped up, and meeting B—— at the brigadier's gate, told him, and that the only chance of our saving our troop was his proceeding down there immediately. He said, 'The brigadier has ordered me not; but never mind, come along.' We went down, intending to go to the stables; but as we passed the men's houses some rushed out, and said, 'Come in here, Sahibs; come in here.' We went in, and found some six men with a native officer, who said that all the rest had gone, and that if we did not go into their house we should be killed immediately. B—— returned to inform the brigadier, while I stayed some minutes longer. In the meantime I heard shots fired right and left; and the few men remaining not seeming much inclined to protect me, I thought it time to go too. I was then mounted on a troop-horse with my parade saddle. I galloped back to my bungalow, to try to get some powder to load my revolver from B——'s servants, having none of my own; but they said it was all locked up. I found a few grains in an old flask of mine, and loaded one of the chambers. I then went to join the brigadier, but he had already gone down to the fort in the city. I followed, and met one of his servants, who was crying and wringing his hands, saying, 'They are killing the brigadier.' I asked which way he had gone, and, putting spurs to my horse, dashed after him. About half-way between fort and cantonments, I saw six troopers drawn up on the side of the road. I drew my revolver, though of no use, and there being no other escape, proposed to run the gauntlet with my horse at full speed. I came opposite the first, who fired his pistol; the rest did likewise as I came opposite them, but without effect. The last gave chase, drawing his second pistol. I covered him with my revolver, which kept him off for some time; but suddenly closing within two yards, he took a steady aim at my head and fired. I felt as if I had been hit a severe blow with a stick on the right arm, having covered myself as well as possible with it. He gave a shout and closed; I thought it was all up with me; but finding I could draw my sword, began to feel rather jolly again. When he came alongside, I rammed it into him; but having no strength, could only get it in about two inches into his side. He knocked it out with his pistol. I struck him again, but with like effect. He then shot ahead. I put spurs to my nag, and, as I came up, banged at him. He bent forward to avoid, and I only got about one inch into him; but he almost lost his seat, and pulled up. I had almost done so too; but pushed along, and he fell behind. I now thought I should reach the fort, but was disappointed. Seeing some more men ahead of me, I turned to the right, and took a pull at my horse. I now saw that my wound was bleeding, and having lost my shako, must have been a pretty figure. I went across the khets for some half a mile, to get rid of the city, when I came upon a road. I asked a villager where it went to? He said to Lahore; but it turned out to be to Wuzeerabad. I pushed along at a hand-gallop some five miles, when, the sun getting warm, I pulled up. I tried to persuade some one to give me a turban; they all said they had but one, and were not fools enough to give it to me, so I pushed along again. On passing a village, an old man rushed out, and began potting at me with a pellet-bow. I did not mind this; but on looking back, thought I saw two troopers coming after me. This was rather a nuisance, as my right arm was now quite stiff, utterly useless, and painful. So having been sparing of my horse, I put him out again, and did not draw rein for some eight miles. I then went on more slowly, all pursuit having stopped. Some sixteen miles from Sealkote, coming on a police thanah, pulled up to get water, and have my wound looked at, as it was now very painful. I got off, and the men mustered round me, and were as kind as could be. I found, now, the bullet had entered about two inches below, and gone about an inch above the elbow-joint. How it escaped the bone I don't know. Having been bound up as well as it could be, and having drank some water and washed my horse's mouth out, I went on to Wuzeerabad, accompanied by the headman, who had made me a sling, and given me a turban. I pushed along, and, after a good deal of pain, managed to reach Wuzeerabad at 11 A.M., having started from Sealkote at half-past four. My nag was completely done up, having come a good thirty miles. I went into the dâk bungalow (travelling station), and sent for the native tehseeldar (there being no European), to consult with him what to do. I drank four cups of tea,

and some brandy and water, and felt pretty well. He (the tehseeldar) brought with him the banker, who offered me his buggy and horse, and any amount of money. I took twenty rupees; and after about an hour's rest, started for Goojraucowla in his buggy, with two bottles of soda-water. After an awfully hot drive of twenty miles, I got in here about five o'clock. My wound at this time hurt me very much. Here I found three officers of the 46th native infantry, and M—— and the assistant-commissioner (Mr. Blackall), who received me most kindly. I lay down and had my jacket cut off, when I found I had had a most narrow escape, a pistol bullet having ripped open my jacket just over my spine. A doctor looked at my wound, and told me that it was only a flesh one, and that I should be all right in a month. Not a week has passed, and I am able to get about. Everybody here has been most kind; and I had no idea that there were so many Miss Nightingales in the world. I am clothed from head to foot by Blackall, and don't know how to thank him. I am going into Lahore to-night. Everything I have has been plundered, and I am beginning again with a sword, and a jacket cut up the back; even my revolver I dropped on the road. I am not able to write, but shall be, I hope, by the next mail. You will be pleased to hear that I have not suffered in the least in health. Beyond my wound, I am as well as ever I was."

An officer of the 46th regiment writes thus from Sealkote on the 15th:—"My regiment (the 46th native infantry) has mutinied, but I got off safe, thanks to hard riding. I have lost everything I possessed. I have nothing in the world now but a night-shirt, pair of trowsers, hat, one pair of socks, and a pair of old boots; one sword, one pistol. Everything was plundered, and my house destroyed by the mutineers. I have not a *pice* (penny) in the world. I saved one horse and saddle and bridle; but I rode him so hard for forty miles that I nearly killed him, and he will never be of much use again. Pray send me some clothes of any sort. I have nothing in the world; my rings, studs, watch, &c., all gone. I barely got off with my life. I will give you a short account. About 4 o'clock A.M. I was awakened by a servant, who told me there was a great disturbance in the lines among the sepoys. I got up immediately, and put on the first clothes that came to hand. I went towards the lines, and before I got clear of my compound a cavalry sowar came out of our lines. Boyle immediately pursued him. I galloped after Boyle till I stopped him, for we were both unarmed. On looking round I saw three more sowars, one of whom chased me. I galloped back to my bungalow, seized my sword and pistol, and went down to the quarter-guard of my regiment. In a short time I was joined by some more officers and the colonel. We tried to reassure the men, and gave them the order to take their arms and fire on the cavalry; instead of firing on the cavalry, they fired on us. A sepoy of my regiment seized the bridle of a brother-officer's (Smith's) horse, and led him under shelter, telling him to gallop for his life; he started off immediately, followed by Horsford, another of ours, and I came last. In passing a side street I was fired at, but most providentially missed; the ball passed close to my nose. We three then made our way across country, swimming and wading rivers, &c., for about forty miles, till we got to another station in safety; one lady escaped with me; she was very ill—her husband drove her in his buggy with us. There were seven people killed—Brigadier Brind, Captain Bishop, 46th native infantry; Dr. Graham, and Dr. Graham, jun.; and a Rev. Mr. Hunter, wife and child. Everybody else escaped to the fort at Sealkote, and I came back from Goojeranwalla (where I had escaped to) yesterday, and am now in the fort, living in a stable in the very hottest season without a change of clothes. The whole station is plundered; our mess, in which we had about 8,000 rupees' worth of plate, is sacked; some of the plate has been found strewn over the country, in ditches, &c. Not one of my things has been recovered. The officers of my regiment will have to pay among us the mess debts—a very large sum; and it will go a long way towards entirely ruining us, for we have none of us a single thing in the world but the clothes on our backs. I am thankful to say that the villains of my regiment and the 9th cavalry, who mutinied at the same time, have been nearly destroyed; they have been pursued and cut up by the 52nd, and twelve guns, and I most sincerely hope none have escaped. My boxes were all broken to pieces, and my clothes torn up and strewn about the country; books all destroyed. No city was ever more completely sacked than the station of Sealkote."

Again we extract from a letter of a cavalry officer, who writes from Lahore on the 19th. He says—"On the morning of the 9th I was fast asleep in my house at Sealkote, when I was awoke by a woman running in screaming. This was the wife of our sergeant-major, who was followed shortly after by her husband, with a wound in his forehead. He said that he had five or six shots fired at him by our men. By the time I had dressed and got my pistols and sword on, the havildar-major came and said that early that morning the Mussulmans of the 1st troop began saddling their horses, and as there was no parade ordered, he asked them what they were doing, when they told him to mind his own business. I rode to the brigadier's, and in a short time he came out with Chambers, the joint magistrate. Balmain just then rode up, and said that when he went down to the lines the Hindoos told him to go and remain in his house, or he would certainly be killed. We heard, too, that some of our men had ridden to the 46th native infantry lines to raise them, and then we knew it was all up with Sealkote, for so many instances have occurred of the cavalry riding down to the infantry lines; and the latter invariably join them. Brigadier Brind, Balmain, Chambers, and I rode out of the compound, and then we perceived a large body of our men posted so as to cut us off from the fort in the city, who, immediately they saw us, commenced chasing and firing at us. We first of all made straight for the cantonments, so as to bring them after us, and then on a sudden we turned off to the right, and rode for a bridge which was between the cantonments and the city. By this manœuvre I found myself leading, and being mounted on a good horse I could have gone off without coming into collision with the rascals again. As I was nearing the bridge, Balmain, who was close behind me, called out, 'Stop and make a stand, or the brigadier is lost!' We both turned on the bridge, and I then saw the brigadier trying to get across the nullah, with a number of our men after him. The foremost of them, who was a little in advance of the others, as soon as he saw me stop, turned from following the brigadier, and came at us. I had just time to draw and cock my pistol, when down he came on me at full gallop, with carbine levelled. I could have almost touched him when he fired, and the bullet whizzed past me. At the same moment I fired; but, owing to the pace he was coming, I missed. I was perfectly cool, and made up my mind not to fire until he had done so and was close on me. If I had used my sword instead of my pistol I must have killed him. Balmain had two shots at him, but also missed. All this did not take half a minute; but it gave time for the brigadier to cross the nullah, and we then rode on to the fort without interruption. It was not till we got there that I discovered that the brigadier had been wounded badly, and it was with great difficulty he got along; but he bore up bravely; he has since, I am sorry to say, died of his wounds. I thought it best to trust to my horse, so I rode on to Goojeranwalla, a distance of thirty miles, where I arrived at about 9 A.M., more dead than alive. My horse could hardly walk in the last five miles, and once dropped with me. In an hour or two more two infantry officers came in who had made a long detour across country. This was the account they gave: four of our men rode down to their lines and began exciting the men to mutiny; most of the officers were at parade at the time. The men asked permission to get to their arms to keep our troopers off. As soon as they obtained it they rushed to their lines, instead of to the places where the arms are usually kept, and then came out and began firing at their officers. Those that were mounted made off at once. The whole business was evidently preconcerted, although we were quite unprepared for it. Besides the brigadier, the following people are known to be killed:—Captain Bishop, 46th native infantry; Dr. Graham, superintending surgeon; Dr. Graham, junior, medical storekeeper; and a missionary and his wife. Bushby is supposed to be in the hands of the mutineers; and Prinsep, after running the gauntlet of six or seven of our men, escaped with a shot in his arm. The mutineers, after plundering and burning the whole station, made off at 2 P.M. in the direction of Goordnapore; besides which, they let all the prisoners out of the gaol; so you may guess the condition of the place. On the evening of the 9th I came on here by mail-cart; and as I was crossing the bridge over the Ravee, I met three gentlemen in a buggy, one of whom, Mr. Roberts, the commissioner of Lahore, on hearing that I knew no one here, offered me a room in his house. He is, indeed, most kind, as I am a perfect stranger to him."

An officer in the civil service gives more

circumstantial details in the following passages, from Sealkote, July 23rd:—

"The mutiny broke out by some of the cavalry riding into the infantry lines, about half-past four in the morning. The row then began, and the troopers behaved most murderously, pursuing every European they saw, even up to the walls of the fort, where Captain Bishop, one of the infantry officers, was pistolled. They also killed several natives, against whom they had a spite. The escapes that people had are past romance. Captain Saunders, Dr. Butler, and Dr. Garrad, with thirteen of their children, and their wives, lay hid in a coal-hole a few feet square, from 5 A.M. till 6 P.M. This hole was one of three adjoining outhouses, two of which the murderers broke open as they went about the compound looking for them. They had to gag their children to prevent noise. The heat nearly killed them, and we all gave them up till they came down to the fort in the evening. The troopers asking where they were, one man, who peeped in at the keyhole, they shot with a revolver through the head. A signal-gun had been left in the station; this the wretches got hold of, and mounted on a carriage drawn by sixteen bullocks, and coolly fired it at twelve o'clock, just as if nothing had happened. When the row began, the grenadier company took their captain (Caulfield) and the colonel of the regiment (Farquharson), and pushed them into one of their native huts, and stood guard over the door, talking to them, and promising to protect them and take them to the fort in the evening. After some time, nearly the whole regiment got about them, and asked them to lead them, promising them respectively 2,000 and 1,000 rupees per month; promising to march to pleasant stations, and to go to the hills in the hot weather. This one fact ought to be enough for those who lay the blame of these affairs on the officers; no one does out here. The cause is to be found in the annexation of Oude, which set all the high Mussulman families bitterly against us, in certain small grievances about pensions, the introduction of Ghoorkas and Sikhs, &c., into our regiments, and the general antipathy which exists more or less among the higher orders against a white face.

"In the fort we mustered a pretty large number of Europeans, with loads of ladies and children. For aid we had some of our foot police corps and 300 new Sikh levies. We threw up an earthwork on the approach to the gate, to prevent its being blown open by the guns; served out muskets and ammunition, and manned the bastions; no time to eat, and a burning sun over us. We then awaited anything the rebels might please to do. Presently we saw detachments of infantry and cavalry release 350 ruffians from the gaol, who immediately set to work plundering and murdering, commencing their operations by setting fire to our beautiful Cutcherry, which is destroyed, with all the valuable documents there were in it. Then they plundered our treasury of 14,000 rupees, the mounted police-guards in the place readily joining them. The native commanders of the horse and foot had both been talked over. The troops next divided out 32,000 rupees which had been committed to them to keep, then burnt down the market-place and town, blew up two large magazines, and finally set to work plundering houses. At 4 P.M. they got all the horses, buggies, and carriages they could find, and put their plunder into them, and moved slowly off, marching about nine miles that night towards the Ravee river. We kept watch all night, being told-off to each bastion. I was not the least affected by the sleeping in the open air and watch, beyond a little cold; indeed, the relief of having the thing over, and the removal of the suspense, made me feel wonderfully well. When the troops went, villagers poured by thousands into cantonments, and destroyed or plundered everything that had been left. The damage done to this beautiful station is inconceivable. Next day a party of our levies marched up, and bayoneted and shot fourteen or fifteen on the spot, and drove the rest out. The mischief, however, had been done. We did not relax our guarding measures, as they might return at any moment; and 200 men from the Jhelum district were known to have escaped. They are now imprisoned—caught by Gholab Sing's people in Cashmere. He thus far seems to stand with us. Our foot police stood by us all through the affair, except the wretch in command of them. The mounted police all went bad, and instead of aiding to escort us to the fort, helped to plunder, and did not strike a blow."

Another gentleman, belonging to the civil service at Sealkote, after describing some of the preceding events, says—"Myself and Lieutenant M'Mahon, my

fellow-assistant-commissioner, were staying at Moncton's house, where we lived and messed together during these times of disturbance and trouble. On the 8th, we had invited a clergyman here from cantonments, fearing what was coming, and made him stay the night. We had, as a guard for the house, about thirty or thirty-five of our new levies, and something over thirty mounted police. On the morning of the 9th, I was on watch from four to six (we had taken turns about), and fell asleep at my post. At half-past five, M'Mahon came into my room, saying, 'There's a row at the gaol.' I offered to go down with him; but he said, 'Do not trouble.' Two minutes after, he came in, saying, 'Well, J——, it has come at last.' Forty troopers were now at the gate of the gaol, trying to get the prisoners out; and, though we could not see it, a wing of the native infantry was there too. I jumped up, already half-dressed, got my pistol, and looking out, we saw other cavalry galloping up towards the house. We went outside, gave the alarm, and our foot-guard turned out very nimbly. Mr. Boyle and Mr. Moncton were to go down under the guard of the thirty mounted police, whom we expected out every moment, taking up Mr. Hunter, his wife and child, on their way to the fort. They, however, had gone before, and were all murdered on their way to the fort. I and M'Mahon walked off at the head of our raw recruits, going slowly for the rest to come up; and then having to stop and make them load, and see that they did it well, as it was the first time many of them had put a cartridge into a musket. We then went slowly across the plain, till two or three cavalry rode up very close, calling to our men to come with them; and, at first, taken in by the *ruse*, they moved a few paces towards them. We told them they were mutineers, who wanted to take away their bread from them; and, patting one or two of them, told them that this was a time when we and they were going to be brothers. They then marched on as pluckily as possible, laughing and joking with us, though we felt in anything but a laughing humour. Twice, as we moved along, bodies of cavalry came very near. We made our men face round to them; and telling them that Punjabees were not to be alarmed at the sight of such cowards, they showed so bold a front, that the wretches went off, though they might with ease have cut us all up. Our horses were led after us; but we thought it best not to mount, lest it might discourage our men. After getting past the gaol, we found no difficulty in reaching the fort, where we found numbers of officers had preceded us. We then got in a few provisions, and prepared for an assault. The mutineers, however, did not try us; but they blew up the magazines, plundered houses, let out 350 prisoners, burnt the Cutcherry with all its records, and took 14,000 rupees from the Cutcherry treasury. After ruining every house in the cantonments, they left in buggies, carriages, &c., which they had taken. The cavalry broke out first, and went shooting every European they saw. The brigadier is dead of his wounds; Dr. Graham was pistolled in his carriage with his daughter sitting by him. One officer had his brains blown out, and several others were pursued and wounded. The only redeeming point was, that the women and children were not attacked."

On the departure of the insurgents from Sealkote, Captain Lawrence was deputed to that station, with full powers, as assistant-commissioner, to arrest and bring to trial the miscreants of the town, who, in concert with the mutinous sepoys, had plundered and destroyed it. Captain Cripps, an Indian officer of great experience, was associated with him in the commission; and, after a very brief inquiry, the work of retribution commenced by hanging the *darogah* (superintendent of the gaol), and the commanders of the horse and foot police. The affair was attended with some hazard, as the three offenders were Sikhs, and the only troops then at the station were a portion of the Sikh levies. Great alarm was occasioned during the execution, through the breaking of the ropes by which the prisoners were suspended; in consequence of which the Sikh guards were ordered to shoot the half-hung men! Three or four volleys of musketry were discharged, and the Europeans at a distance immediately conjectured that the guard had broken into revolt, and that the destruction of all at the station was the least evil to be expected. The accidental disturbance was, however, soon explained, and the alarm subsided. Eventually a large proportion of the plunder from Sealkote was recovered, and a fine of 7,500 rupees was imposed on the surrounding villages, to reimburse in some measure the sufferers in the town.

CHAPTER XXV.

STATE OF PUBLIC OPINION AT CALCUTTA; UNPOPULARITY OF LORD CANNING; LAW FOR RESTRICTING THE PRESS; EFFECT OF THE MEASURE ON SOCIETY; SPECIMEN OF NATIVE JOURNALISM; FIRST WARNINGS AND PROSECUTIONS UNDER THE ACT; IMPROVED TONE OF THE NATIVE REGIMENTS; PETITION OF THE 32ND; SERIOUS APPREHENSIONS AT CALCUTTA; A VOLUNTEER FORCE ORGANISED; NATIVE REGIMENTS DISARMED AT BARRACKPORE; A PANIC; ALLEGED TREASON AND ARREST OF THE KING OF OUDE; CAPTURE OF SUSPECTED INDIVIDUALS IN CALCUTTA; ARRIVAL OF SIR PATRICK GRANT, ACTING COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF; CORRESPONDENCE WITH THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL; PRESENTMENT OF THE GRAND JURY; CONDITION OF THE PRESIDENCY OF BENGAL; PETITION TO THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL; REWARDS OFFERED FOR MUTINEERS AND DESERTERS; ARRIVAL OF EUROPEAN TROOPS; INSTRUCTIONS TO THE LOCAL AUTHORITIES FOR THE TREATMENT OF REBELS; UNFAVOURABLE IMPRESSION ON THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY OF BENGAL; PETITIONS TO THE QUEEN AND TO PARLIAMENT; AN INDIAN REFORM LEAGUE FOUNDED IN CALCUTTA; ARRIVAL OF SIR COLIN CAMPBELL; HIS ADDRESS TO THE ARMY; DELAY IN RECOGNISING HIM BY THE GOVERNMENT; NOTIFICATION BY THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL; REMARKS OF THE PRESS; STATE OF THE PRESIDENCIES OF MADRAS AND BOMBAY; MUTINY OF THE 3RD MADRAS LIGHT CAVALRY.

After the promulgation of the special act of the legislative council for punishment of offenders against the state,* Calcutta enjoyed for a short time a state of comparative tranquillity, although misgivings were occasionally entertained of impending mischief in consequence of the approaching festival of the Mohurrum, usually a period of great excitement among the Mohammedan population of India; but as precautions were openly taken to repress any efforts to create disturbance in the capital, European society generally felt assured that no serious cause for alarm really existed. A better tone of feeling, as it was supposed, on the part of the native troops, was also apparent in the reports that daily reached the seat of government from many of the distant stations, and it was hoped that, by the adoption of a conciliatory yet firm tone on the part of the authorities, the disorders that had given so rude a shock to society would speedily disappear. Unfortunately, however, there were at this time in active operation, other and more insidious elements of popular disquiet than the mere spirit of military insubordination, as it was developed in remote localities; and amongst the most influential and dangerous of those agencies, was the tone adopted by a large portion of the native and English press of Bengal. The popularity of Lord Canning, at this juncture, was not of a description at all satisfactory to those who desired to support his administration upon personal grounds, and it became yet more seriously affected in general opinion through the measure he found it expedient to adopt in regard to the newspaper press, by a portion of which the policy and acts of his government were criticised with unsparing license, while the *prestige* of his administration was sought to be damaged by an unceasing torrent of vituperation and calumny. It had at length become imperative, for the conservation of social order and the efficiency of the executive government, that a curb should be placed upon the unseemly latitude indulged in by the conductors of the press; and the means by which it was sought to accomplish the necessary and wholesome restraint, were explained by the governor-general at a sitting of the legislative council for India, on the 13th of June, 1857, in the following language:—"Before the council proceeds to the orders of the day, I ask permission to bring before it a subject of pressing and paramount importance. Those whom I have the honour to address are well acquainted with the present aspect of public affairs in the northern parts of India. The general disaffection of the Bengal army in the North-Western Provinces; the lawlessness and violence of the evil-minded part of the population, to which this disaffection has given opportunity and encouragement; the reckless pillage, the heartrending sacrifice of life, and the uprooting of all order in that part of the country, are painfully notorious. I will not dwell upon them. Neither will I trace the causes which have led to these calamitous results, or describe the means by which the government is meeting and repressing them. But there is one quarter to which I desire to direct the attention of the council—a quarter from which the evil influences which now pervade so many

* See *ante*, p. 161.

minds have been industriously put in motion, and to which a large portion of the discontent instilled into our troops and our ordinary harmless and peaceable community, is attributable. I doubt whether it is fully understood, or known, to what an audacious extent sedition has been poured into the hearts of the native population of India within the last few weeks, under the guise of intelligence supplied to them by the native newspapers. It has been done sedulously, cleverly, artfully. Facts have been grossly misrepresented—so grossly, that with educated and informed minds, the very extravagance of the misrepresentations must compel discredit. But to native readers of all classes scattered through the country, imperfectly acquainted with the proceedings of the government, and not well instructed as to what is passing even immediately around them, these misrepresentations come uncontradicted, and are readily credited.

"In addition to perversion of facts, there are constant vilifications of the government, false assertions of its purposes, and unceasing attempts to sow discontent and hatred between it and its subjects.

"Again, opportunities have been taken to parade before the eyes of the inhabitants of the capital, and of our soldiery and subjects elsewhere, a traitorous proclamation, put forth by those who are in arms against the government in the North-Western Provinces, crying for the blood of Europeans, offering rewards for rebellion, and denouncing all who shall continue faithful to the government.

"I am speaking to a body whose members have more experience of the native character, and of the working of the native mind, than I possess; but it needs little of this to see, that it is impossible that all this mischief can be a-foot and unrestrained, without producing wide-spread disaffection, lamentable outbreaks, and permanent injury to the authority of government.

"Against such poisoned weapons I now ask the legislative council to give to the executive government the means of protecting itself, its army, and its subjects; and I know no means by which this can be effectually accomplished, other than a law which shall give to the executive government a more absolute and summary control over the press than it now has in its hands. With this view I propose to introduce a bill this day; and, as a preliminary step, I move that the standing orders be suspended, in order that the bill may be carried through its several stages, and passed forthwith.

"The several provisions of the bill will be read *in extenso* by the clerk of the council. The measure is framed upon the principle that no press shall exist without a licence from the government; that the licence shall be granted by the governor-general in council, under such conditions as he may think fit: on the infraction of any of those conditions, it shall be in the power of the governor-general in council, and, in distant parts of the empire, of local governments to whom he may delegate the authority, to withhold such licence, or, if one has been already granted, to recall it.

"One of the sections provides that the bill shall have effect for one year, and for one year only. At the end of that period, the subject will again be submitted to the legislative council, and the legislative council will know how to deal with it according to the circumstances of the moment.

"It is also provided, that the bill shall be applicable not only to Bengal, but to all India. The question involved is one which, in my opinion, deserves not only at the present juncture, but at all times, to be treated as an imperial one. It is a question in regard to which India should be ruled by one authority. I also propose that the act shall extend to all periodical and other publications, European as well as native, whatever their condition or character.

"The remarks which I have taken occasion to make with reference to the native press, I do not direct to the European press. But I see no solid standing-ground upon which a line can be drawn marking off one from the other, when the question is to prevent matter calculated to work mischief at a crisis like this. For, whilst I am glad to give credit to the conductors of the European press for the loyalty and intelligence which mark their labours, I am bound in sincerity to say, that I have seen passages in some of the papers under their management, which, though perfectly innocuous so far as European readers are concerned, may, in times like the present, be turned to the most mischievous purposes in the hands of persons capable of dressing them up for the native ear. I am glad to admit that the bill is not specially levelled at the European press; but I do not see any reason, nor do I consider it possible in justice, to draw a line of demarcation be-

tween European and native publications. The bill, accordingly, applies to every kind of publication, whatever the language in which it may be printed, or the nation of the persons who are responsible for what is put forth in it.

"I cannot conceal from the council that I have proposed this measure with extreme reluctance. It is one which no man, bred in the atmosphere of English public life, can propose to those who are vested with the high authority of legislating for English dominions, without some feelings of compunction and hesitation. But there are times in the existence of every state, in which something of the liberties and rights which it jealously cherishes, and scrupulously guards in ordinary seasons, must be sacrificed for the public welfare. Such is the state of India at this moment. Such a time has come upon us. The liberty of the press is no exception. And now, upon my responsibility at the head of the government of India, and with the unanimous support of the colleagues with whom I have the honour and satisfaction to act, I ask the legislative council to strengthen the hand of the executive government, by investing it with the powers which will be given by the bill which I here lay on the table."

The bill so introduced consisted of eleven clauses; it was immediately carried through the several stages, and became a law at one sitting of the council. By it, the use of any printing or lithographic press was prohibited without licence from the government. Full powers were vested in the magistrates and justices of the peace of every jurisdiction, to issue warrants for the search and suppression of clandestine presses; and no licences were to be issued without the sanction of the executive government. All licensed publications, such as books, papers, or the like, were to be forwarded to the magistrates; and power was given to the executive to prohibit the circulation of such as might be disapproved, and to revoke all licences as well. The penalties for possession of unlicensed presses, neglect in forwarding copies of publications, or publication after prohibition, were fine and imprisonment.

By the act, it was further declared that power should be given to each of the presidencies to enforce the several clauses; and that it should be at the option of all the governments to prohibit the importation or circulation of any newspaper, book, or other printed paper, whether printed within the English territories or elsewhere. This provision was designed to exclude obnoxious publications printed at Goa and Pondicherry—the Portuguese and French settlements in India: it also had the effect of giving a discretionary power that could be extended to the stoppage of English or other European papers or books in the ports of India; and thus the voice of the press of Europe, as well as that of India, could be effectually silenced in that part of the British dominions.

Upon the adoption of the above measure by the legislative council, the governor-general, under the authority of the new law, declared that the conditions upon which licences to keep or use any printing-press or types, or other materials or articles for printing, would be granted, were as follows:—

"1. That no book, pamphlet, or newspaper, or other work printed at such press, or with such materials or articles, shall contain any observations or statements *impugning the motives or designs of the British government*, either in England or in India, or in any way tending to bring the said government into hatred or contempt, to excite disaffection or unlawful resistance to its orders, or to weaken its lawful authority, or the lawful authority of its civil or military servants. 2. That no such book, pamphlet, newspaper, or other work shall contain observations or statements having a tendency to create alarm or suspicion among the native population, of any intended interference by government with their religious opinions and observances. 3. That no such book, pamphlet, newspaper, or other work, shall contain observations having a tendency to weaken the friendship towards the British government of native princes, chiefs, or states in dependence upon or alliance with it.

"The above conditions apply equally to original matter and to matter copied from other publications. His lordship in council resolves, that a copy of every book, pamphlet, newspaper, or other work printed or published, shall be immediately forwarded to the commissioner of police, by whom all such copies will be immediately transmitted to the chief secretary to government."

The announcement of the restrictions upon the liberty of the press, as proposed by the governor-general, and sanctioned by the unanimous voice of the legislative

council, brought down upon the executive government a perfect hurricane of indignant remonstrance and severe rebuke. The government was, however, firm in its purpose; and it was hoped, that by compelling a more guarded tone of expression amongst those who desired to influence and guide public opinion through the media of the press, much of the suggestive evil that had hitherto agitated the native mind, and imperilled society, would be prevented. That the European portion of the press of India was not ignorant of the dangerous propensity of native journalists to excite disaffection, is evident from the fact, that for some months previous to the actual outbreak of the revolt, many of the English newspapers in the three presidencies had repeatedly and earnestly discussed the question of a necessity for suppressing the vernacular press of India, on the ground that it was deliberately and continuously seeking to inflame the minds of the native troops, and to incite them to rebellion.* To a certain extent, therefore, the obnoxious measure may be considered to have originated from suggestions of the press itself; and a necessity for restriction once admitted, exceptions in favour of a class or country were out of the question.

The act, it will be seen, passed into a law on the 13th of June, and its restrictive powers did not long lie dormant, although their first application was directed to a quarter altogether unexpected. On the 25th of the same month, an article entitled "The Centenary of Plassy" appeared in *The Friend of India*—a paper which had been long recognised as the demi-official organ of the government. Of this article, the "two last paragraphs" were, in the judgment of the governor-general in council, "fraught with mischief, and calculated at the present time to spread disaffection towards the British government, both among its native subjects and among dependent and allied states." The publisher of the newspaper was therefore *warned*, that a repetition of remarks of such dangerous tendency would be followed by the withdrawal of his licence.

As the ostensible cause of the first blow aimed at the liberty of the press in the Anglo-Indian empire, the article referred to becomes a matter of history, and will not be out of place in a record of incidents connected with the rebellion of 1857. The following is a transcript of the whole production:—

"*The Centenary of Plassy.*—We have glided into the second centenary of English rule in India, and Hindoos and Mussulmans who study the mysteries of fate are well nigh in despair. The stars and scriptures told them that on Monday last we had completed our allotted term of mastership, when the strength which had hitherto been resistless, the courage that never faltered, would pass away, and we should become in turn the easy prey of our vassals.

* The subjoined extract from the *Bombay Telegraph*, contains a specimen of the tone and spirit of a portion of the native press at this crisis. The passage is headed "Native Treason in India," and proceeds thus:—"We have just seen a translation of one of the most infamous articles against the British raj, that we have yet had published. It is a tissue of treason and blasphemy from beginning to end, and should be dealt with summarily. The article we allude to is one which appeared in the *Parsee Reformer*, edited by a Parsee, named Sorabjee Dorabjee. Government will not be doing their duty should they neglect to proceed against the miscreant criminally. It breathes treason in every line; and the writer, with a sort of demoniac howl, points to the ruthless deeds perpetrated at Delhi and Meerut, with a ferocity which is only eclipsed by that of the actual assassins. Alluding to the mutinies, the writer blasphemously apostrophises the Almighty in these words:—'Oh! Lord, the English have now seen a specimen of thy power! To-day they were in a state of high command; to-morrow they wrapped themselves in blood, and began to fly. Notwithstanding that their forces were about three lacs strong in India, they began to yield up life like cowards. Forgetting their palanquins and carriages, they fled to the jungles without either boots or hats. Leaving their houses, they asked shelter from the meanest of men, and, abandoning their power, they fell into the hands of marauders.' He then again appeals to the Deity, and winds up his wretched fulmination in the following strain:—'O! Englishmen, you little dreamt that the present king would ever mount the throne of Delhi with all the pomp of Nadir Shah, Baber, or Tamerlane!' If this is not an *Io Pæan* over our anticipated downfall we do not know what is. It ought also to be remembered, that the article is written, not by a fanatic Mussulman, not by a high-caste Hindoo sepoy brooding over fancied wrongs, but by a Parsee, who, were it not for our power, our vigilance, and the *prestige* of our bravery, would at the present moment be himself a hewer of wood and drawer of water, and the female members of his family probably the inmates of a Moslem harem. The article is not only blasphemous and treasonable, as we have before stated, but it is filled with the basest ingratitude. It is, moreover, a gross libel upon the Parsee character in general; and we are quite sure that there is not a single member of that community who will not join with us in demanding that this disgrace to their caste be at once brought to justice. In any other place but India, and at a crisis like the present, the traitor would have long ago been hanging to a lamp-post."—With such language as that quoted, interference was unavoidable.

The favour of the gods is not a perpetual gift; and though sire and son have witnessed so often what must to them appear supernatural results, it was but reasonable to suppose that our store of miracles would be exhausted at last. We share with them the belief in hidden influences; only what they look upon as being natural and common-place is to us the domain of the marvellous. It is easy to understand how we gained power, and wealth, and glory at the commencement of the cycle; but hard, beyond measure, to find out how we have lost all three at its close. When you can succeed in realising to the imagination the most foolish thing, the most improbable thing, and the most timid thing; and have blended all these together, and multiplied them, and worked them into what is called a policy, you may perhaps get some clue to the solution of the problem.

"The qualities of mind which enable a man to accumulate wealth are often those which hinder him from making a proper use of it. It was necessary for the conquest of Hindostan that the East India Company should exist; for it is only the intense greediness of traders that could have won for us the sovereignty of the country. The enemies of the Company's rule assert that they made and broke treaties, planned and fought battles, for the mere love of gain. Whatever degree of interference with private or public rights was needful for the purpose of collecting revenue, received instant and eager sanction; whatever concerned merely the welfare of Asiatic souls, or the social interests of the great body of Englishmen and Hindoos, was either coldly ignored, or bitterly assailed. They imported for their own use the might of civilisation; but never cared to exhibit to the nations its beneficent features. Wealth embodied all the attributes of their good deity, to whom was rendered with cheerful devotion the homage of heart and brain. The evil principle was symbolised by power; and where they failed to vanquish, they fell down and worshipped. Without a spark of patriotic feeling, they set on the brow of England a gem of priceless value; without care for Christianity, they paved the way for the overthrow of idolatry. Be it so; but the evil which they wrought has well nigh passed away; the good, of which they have been the not unconscious instruments, will go on multiplying for ever.

"A hundred years is but a small point in the lifetime of a nation. It may be a period of sowing or of reaping the harvest, of giant labours, such as shall influence the destiny of remote generations, or of utter folding of the hands to sleep. We found India destitute of invention and enterprise; ignorant of liberty, and of the blessings of peace. We have placed her face to face with the forces of our civilisation, and have yet to see if there are no subtle invigorating influences that can be transmitted through her aged frame. We have given her liberty such as she has not enjoyed for centuries, and never, save by brief and long interrupted snatches. The Hindoo stands upon the same platform with the Englishman, shares equal privileges with him, and challenges for himself as great a measure of the protection and immunities accorded by the state. He has no political enemies, and his grievances are all social. There is much to be remedied within; but without all is quiet and secure. If he has a new part to play in the world's history, the stage is clear for him, and there is an audience ready to sympathise and applaud. Whatever he has in him of creative ability may find easy vent and ready acceptance. We have swept away the obstacles which stood in the path of intellect and courage; it rests only with Nature and himself whether he achieves success or otherwise. A second Sevajee is happily impossible; but another Luther would find an easier task than that which was imposed upon the monk of Wittenberg. The inventor, the author, the man of science will meet ready welcome and sure reward. We spread out before the dormant Asiatic soul, all the mental treasures of the West, and feel only too happy in being allowed to distribute them.

"It is a great crime, in some instances, to trample out a nationality; to strangle in infancy what might have grown up to be one of the fairest births of time; but except in the case of the Sikhs, there is no example of the kind to be alleged against our countrymen. The Mussulman power was effete long before the battle of Plassy, and such as Clive found the Mohammedans in the days of Surajah Dowlah, we encounter them in the time of the deposed king of Oude. Cruel, sensual, and intolerant, they are unfit to rule and unwilling to serve. Claiming to exercise sway as of divine right, and yet destitute of every

gift with which Nature has endowed the races meant by destiny to dominate over the world, they fell by necessity under the power of a nation replete with energy and resolution, and loathe with all the bitterness of hate the infidels who have subdued them. They will never tolerate our gifts or forgive our supremacy. We may load them with blessings, but the reward will be curses. We stand between them and a fancied earthly paradise, and are not classed in their list of good angels.

"The Mahrattas have none of the elements of greatness in their character; and speaking in the interests of the dusky millions, we do not regret Assaye, Deeg, and Maharajpore; but it is otherwise with regard to the Sikhs, who, had they flourished as we have seen them two centuries back, or never come in contact with the might of England, would perhaps have uprooted the tenets of Hindoo and Mussulman, and breathed a new spirit into the followers of Mohammed and Brahma. Humanity, however, will be content with their overthrow. The Bible is a better book than the Grunth, and Christianity is superior to the Khalsa. Regenerated Hindooism might have obtained a new lease of existence, but it would have gained nothing in morals, and effected but little for human happiness. Its sole gain would have been power, and the example of universal destruction."

The following are the two paragraphs upon which the necessity for "the first warning" was grounded:—"It may also be alleged against us that we have deposed the kings and ruined the nobles of India; but why should the world sigh over that result? Monarchs who always took the wages, but seldom performed the work of government, and aristocrats who looked upon authority as a personal right, and have never been able to comprehend what is meant by the sovereignty of the people, are surely better out of the way. No Englishman in these days deplores the wars of the Roses, and would like to see the Cliffords and Warwicks restored again to life. France bears with calmness the loss of her old nobility; Europe at large makes steady contributions to the list of kings out of employment. Had princes and râjahs in Hindostan been worth conserving, they would have retained their titles and power. The class speedily die out in the natural course of mortality, and it is not for the benefit of society that it should be renewed.

"Array the evil against the acknowledged good; weigh the broken pledges, the ruined families, the impoverished ryots, the imperfect justice, against the missionary and the schoolmaster, the railway and the steam-engine, the abolition of suttee, and the destruction of the Thugs, and declare in which scale the balance lies! For every anna that we have taken from the noble we have returned a rupee to the trader. We have saved more lives in peace than we have sacrificed in war. We have committed many blunders and crimes; wrought evil by premeditation, and good by instinct; but when all is summed up, the award must be in our favour. And with the passing away of the present cloud, there will dawn a brighter day both for England and India. We shall strengthen at the same time our hold upon the soil and upon the hearts of the people; tighten the bonds of conquest and of mutual interest. The land must be thrown open to the capital and enterprise of Europe; the ryot lifted by degrees out of his misery, and made to feel that he is a man if not a brother, and everywhere heaven's gifts of climate and circumstance made the most of. The first centenary of Plassy was ushered in by the revolt of the native army; the second may be celebrated in Bengal by a respected government and a Christian population."

It must be confessed, that had we to seek a pretext for interference with the press, on the score of the sentiments expressed in the above article, we should more readily have found it, if anywhere, in the *second* paragraph, than in those specially indicated as offensive and dangerous. A second warning to the *Friend of India* was speedily followed by the suspension of the licence of the *Hurkaru*, the oldest and not the least able or respectable of the Calcutta journals, and by the prosecution of the editors of four native papers—the *Bhaskhur*, the *Sultuni ul Akhbar*, the *Dhoorbin*, and the *Sundurchar Soodarbhassur*, for treasonable publications. A fifth journal, entitled the *Hindoo Intelligencer*, was altogether suppressed.

The *Hurkaru*, in some remarks consequent upon the interference with its privileges of free discussion, expressed itself thus:—"It is a curious fact, that the two papers which, until the arrival of Lord Canning, were always supposed to represent more or less the views and wishes of the government—the *Friend of India* and the

Hurkaru—have been the first to feel the iron heel of despotic and irresponsible authority. For ourselves, we frankly confess, that we considered the press-gagging act virtually as a breach of contract between one estate and another; we thought it unfair, impolitic, and uncalled-for; and we did not hesitate, in consequence, to express our opinion of men and measures in language which we did not care to guard. We had that confidence in our countrymen, that we believed no body of Englishmen—men born in the land of free discussion, and educated with the same liberal ideas as ourselves—would ever combine to stop the free expression of opinion. We can only now admit that we were mistaken; and although our sentiments regarding the great line of policy to be maintained at the present crisis remain unchanged, and are, humanly speaking, unchangeable, we shall in future, of necessity, guard against the use of any expression that might be converted into an engine against ourselves." The licence of the *Hurkaru* was restored after a suspension of six days' duration.

The "gagging act," as it was now indignantly termed, certainly did not tend to increase the popularity of Lord Canning, or to improve the loyalty of such portion of the native or European populations as had been accustomed to look to the impassioned language of the persecuted journals for inspiration and guidance. Comparisons by no means flattering to the statesmanship of the individual, were freely made between the governor-general and those of his predecessors by whom the press of India was first liberated from its bondage. The policy initiated by Lord William Bentinck, and consummated by his immediate successor, Sir Charles Metcalfe, during his brief interval of government in 1835,* became a popular theme for discussion among all classes of society, and the deductions were far from advantageous to the present government; but it is only fair to observe, the fact was kept out of sight—that between the circumstances that influenced Sir Charles Metcalfe in 1835, and those which pressed upon Lord Canning in 1857, there was no analogy; and that the *liberty* of the one period had expanded into dangerous *license* in the other.

While dissatisfaction was thus acquiring strength in the capital, there were not unfrequent indications of an improved tone of military feeling at many of the stations of the presidency, and petitions were occasionally transmitted to government from the men of native corps, protesting unshaken loyalty and attachment, and praying to be allowed to prove their fidelity by active service against their rebellious brethren in arms. To most of these applications, favourable but evasive replies were given, it being deemed more politic to temporise, than to meet such offers with positive denial, although compliance would have been an act of madness. Among other petitions of the kind, that of the sepoys of the 32nd regiment may be cited as an example.

This document, addressed to Colonel Burney, the commandant, is stated to be "the respectful petition of the native commissioned and non-commissioned officers and sepoys of the 32nd regiment of native infantry;" and the petitioners enter into details respecting their tried fidelity, their attachment to their European officers, and their perfect willingness to use the new cartridges. They refer to an offer previously made through their havildar-major, to serve the government against the insurgents; and then proceed to say—"We have also heard that several European regiments are about to be sent to Delhi, and other places, in order to quell the disturbances. We the commissioned, non-commissioned officers and sepoys of the 32nd regiment of native infantry, are solicitous to accompany the European troops, and with them fight against the mutineers, and manifest our bravery and loyalty, and establish a good name as faithful soldiers, and prove to government who are really good soldiers. From the time of our entering the service, we have implored our God to give us an opportunity of showing our faith and bravery to our masters; and we therefore trust you will attend to our petition, and make us pleased and contented by forwarding the same for the consideration of

* Lord William Bentinck, having been compelled to resign the viceroyalty of India in 1835, on account of ill-health, was temporarily succeeded in office by Sir Charles Metcalfe, who administered the government of the three presidencies, until relieved in the course of the same year by the appointment of Lord Auckland as governor-general. According to Montgomery Martin, the historian of India, who has specially referred to the subject, "the brief provisional sway of Sir Charles Metcalfe was distinguished by a measure which procured him much exaggerated applause, and equally indiscriminate censure. This act was the removal of the restrictions on the public press of India, which, though rarely enforced, were still in existence."—(Martin's *History of India*, p. 431.)

the governor-general in council, whom we petition for some notice in reply." The petition was dated "Camp, Bowsee, June 8th, 1857," and was signed by the whole of the native commissioned and non-commissioned officers, on behalf of the regiment. The loyal document was forwarded, by Colonel Burney, for submission to the governor-general, on the 9th of June; and, on the 27th of the same month, Major-general Lloyd, commanding the division in which the regiment was stationed, was requested to convey to the officers and men of the corps, an assurance of the confidence of the government in their fidelity, and the thanks of the governor-general in council for their loyal expression of the same. (The 32nd regiment proved its fidelity and attachment, on the 9th of the following October, by rising in mutiny and murdering its European officers at Deoghur, in the Sonthal district.)

Notwithstanding occasional gleams of sunshine from isolated military stations, the progress of revolt had now become sufficiently serious to awaken well-grounded fears for the safety of Calcutta itself, in the event of any sudden outbreak in its vicinity; and the European residents, undeterred by their previous failures, once more pressed upon the government an offer of their services as a volunteer corps, to assist in the preservation of order and the protection of the capital; and at length, in reply to the reiterated loyal offer, the following notification, by order of the governor-general, was issued on the 12th of June, 1857:—

"The governor-general in council has received from the inhabitants of Calcutta many offers to serve as volunteers, in aid of the authority of government, and for the preservation of the security and order of the city should any attempt at disturbance take place therein.

"The governor-general in council accepts these offers; and in doing so, he desires to express the warm acknowledgments of the government to those who have so zealously tendered to it their support.

"Accordingly, all persons willing to serve in the corps of volunteer guards of Calcutta, either as horsemen or on foot, and to place themselves as members of that force at the disposal of the government, are hereby invited to enrol their names and places of residence at the office of the town major, in Fort William.

"The governor in council has been pleased to appoint Lieutenant-colonel Orfeur Cavenagh to the command of the volunteer guards. Arms, accoutrements, and a plain uniform will be provided for each person enrolled.—R. J. H. BIRCH, Colonel,

"Secretary to the Government of India."

This notification was responded to with much alacrity and spirit by the English and other European residents of Calcutta, who were formed into regiments of horse and foot volunteers, the former consisting of 200 well-mounted cavaliers, and the latter numbering between seven and eight hundred persons, armed with fusils and bayonets. The duties assigned to this valuable auxiliary to the regular force, consisted in nightly patrolling the streets of the capital by the cavalry, while the infantry was employed as pickets, and kept ready to act upon any emergency, and at any point. A compulsory enrolment of the native Christians, as a military force, was also contemplated; but it met with such strenuous objection from the classes intended to be affected by it, that the expediency of the measure became questionable, either as a means to prevent disorder, or as a protection from threatened danger.

It may be remembered, that on the 25th of May, little more than a fortnight previous to the events last referred to, the chief secretary to the government had been instructed to inform the French residents at Calcutta, in reply to an offer of their services in aid of the state, "that the mischief caused by a passing and groundless panic had been arrested, and that tranquillity was about to be restored:* but it happened that, on the night of Saturday, the 13th of June, the inhabitants of Serampore (a fashionable suburb of Calcutta, on the opposite side of the Hooghly) were warned that the 70th† and 2nd native regiments, with the portions of the 34th and

* See *ante*, p. 156.

† It is worthy of remark, that on the 5th of the same month, the men of the 70th regiment had submitted the following petition to their commanding officer, Colonel Kennedy, for presentation to the governor-general:—

"Barrackpore, June 5th, 1857.

"From the day on which his lordship, the governor-general, condescended to come in person to answer our petition [*see* p. 160], on which occasion General Hearsey translated to us his address, and which was fully explained to us by our colonel, interpreter, adjutant, and all the other officers of the regiment, our honour and name have been raised amongst our countrymen. We have thought over the subject; and as we are now going up country,

43rd regiments brigaded at Barrackpore, were to rise at 4 A.M. of the 14th, and murder their officers, and then proceed to Calcutta for the purpose of massacring all the Europeans, and plundering the town. An express was instantly forwarded to Major-general Hearsey, in command at Barrackpore, who determined upon disarming the whole of the native troops without a moment's delay; and the opportune arrival of her majesty's 78th highland regiment enabled him to accomplish his purpose. On the morning of the 14th, a strong detachment of highlanders marched into the cantonments at Barrackpore, weary and footsore from having been purposely led four miles out of their road by a treacherous guide. Something had occurred to prevent the outbreak at the hour originally appointed, or the troops would only have been in time to avenge a massacre instead of to prevent it. As it was, the conspirators found they had been suspected, and resolved to wait another opportunity. The chance, however, was not allowed them. At four o'clock in the afternoon the native troops were suddenly warned for parade. Her majesty's 78th and 35th loaded their muskets before leaving their quarters, and, in a few minutes, the suspected sepoys found themselves drawn up in the centre of a square, with six 12-pounders, loaded with grape, in their front, and the Queen's two regiments on each flank, every man of whom was audibly praying that they might offer resistance. But here, as on the battlefield, when face to face with the dreaded English, the heart of the sepoy failed him, and the order to pile arms was silently obeyed. The guards meanwhile were relieved and disarmed; and, in a little more than an hour, the muskets of the whole native brigade were on the way to Calcutta, which at the time was in a state of intense consternation, it having been reported that mutiny and murder were triumphant at Barrackpore and the neighbouring stations; and, moreover, that a strong body of the rebel force was marching towards the city from Delhi. The infection of terror pervaded all ranks of society, and Chowringhee and Garden-reach (the European quarters of Calcutta) were abandoned for the vessels in the river and the fort. The shipping was literally crowded with fugitives; and in houses which were not likely to be attacked, hundreds of people gladly thronged together to share the feeling of security which the locality imparted. The public buildings and hotels were fortified; bands of armed sailors marched joyously through the streets, anticipating the possible pleasure of a fight, and the certain assurance of a double allowance of grog. Every group of natives was scanned with suspicion, and required to disperse. The churches and the course were alike abandoned; and a rising of Hindoos or Mussulmans, or perhaps of both, was looked upon as certain to occur in the course of the night. From Chandernagore (another suburb) the whole body of European and East Indian inhabitants emigrated into Calcutta; the *personnel* of government, the staff of the army—all, in short, who had anything to lose, prepared to risk its loss rather than stay to encounter the unknown danger. The night of Sunday, the 14th of June, 1857, was one of painful anxiety to the inhabitants of Calcutta; and years will pass away before the excitement of that night can be forgotten. The alarm was not altogether groundless; for, in the course of subsequent investigations, a map of the city was discovered, on which the place was divided into sections for massacre and pillage by bands of Mohammedan insurgents, under specified leaders. The rising was fixed for the 23rd of June, in commemoration of the battle of Plassy; and it was resolved, that if it should be successful, no Feringhee should be alive in Calcutta on the following day.*

we beg that the new rifles, about which there has been so much said in the army and all over the country, may be served out to us. By using them in its service, we hope to prove beyond a doubt our fidelity to government; and we will explain to all we meet that there is nothing objectionable in them; otherwise why should we have taken them? Are we not as careful of our caste and religion as any of them?" The petition was signed, on behalf of the regiment, by the subahdar-major, five subahdars, and six jemadars. The application, fortunately, was not acceded to, on account of the very small supply of the new rifles that had yet arrived. The 43rd and 34th regiments, also at Barrackpore, made similar applications, and with a similar result.

* At that time, however, if the plot had not been previously discovered, and the rising had actually occurred, the chance of success would have been very problematical, and under no circumstances could it have been achieved without a tremendous struggle. Many of the European residents would, doubtless, have been murdered in their sleep at the first onset; but the English troops upon the spot were then amply sufficient, in numerical strength, to trample down the entire Mohammedan population; as, independent of the armed sailors on the river,

As soon as it became known that the native regiments at Barrackpore were to be deprived of their arms, several of the European officers belonging to the 70th regiment, who still entertained a very decided opinion as to the loyalty of their men, were solicitous to obtain for them an exemption from the disgraceful ordeal; and on the morning of the 14th of June, a few hours previous to the order being carried into effect, Captain Greene, a veteran officer of the corps, addressed the major-general commanding the presidency division thus:—

"My dear General,—Is it any use my interceding with you on behalf of my old corps, which for nigh twenty-five years has been my pride and my home? I cannot express to you the pain with which I have just heard that they are this evening to be subjected to the indignity of being disarmed. Had the men misbehaved, I should have felt no sympathy for them; but they have not committed themselves in any way; and surely, after the governor-general's laudatory order and expression of confidence, it would not be too much to expect that a fair test of their sincerity should be afforded them. I know you will not be angr, with me for speaking my mind so plainly; but having passed the greater part of my life in the regiment, and knowing the men thoroughly, as I do, I feel it a sacred duty to come forwar' and say, that I have the fullest trust in the fidelity and loyalty of the men, and that I am perfectly satisfied they do not contemplate any act of violence, either against myself or against any European officer, whether in or out of the regiment.

"Moreover, I firmly believe, that had a disturbance taken place last night, you would have found our men in direct antagonism to the mutineers, and doing their duty as good soldiers to the state. In giving expression to these sentiments, and in making known to you the sorrow for the measure in contemplation, it is a pleasure to myself (and may perhaps have some weight with you) to reflect, that I simply enunciate the opinions and feelings of the European officers of the corps generally: if, therefore, you could stay proceedings, we should all appreciate the kindness and justice of the act.—Believe m , &c.,

"GEORGE N. GREENE."

On the following day, Captain Greene further wrote as follows:—

"June 15th, 1857.

"My dear General,—In the absence of the commanding officer, perhaps it is only right that I should tell you that I have just returned from our lines, where (together with some other officers) I have been for upwards of an hour, endeavouring to allay the excited feelings of our men, who were in such a state of depression, that many were crying bitterly, and none could cook their food. Some, too, had sold their cooking utensils for a mere trifle in the bazaar; and a large number were, I was informed, about to desert to-night. The banyans had, in some instances, refused to give them further credit; and an impression had seized them that they were retained only for a short time, when they were to be paid up and discharged altogether. Some scoundrels in the bazaar had also been working on their feelings by telling them that handcuffs and manacles had been sent for. The proceeding, on the whole, was a most painful one to officers and men. I explained to them that yesterday's measure was simply a precautionary one, and not intended to bring disgrace upon them; but I had a difficult argument to sustain, and conviction, I fear, has not reached the minds of many. I told them that in you they had a firm and stanch friend; that this morning you had spoken favourably of them to me (in addition to what you had yourself said to them on parade last evening), and that you would see them all righted without any delay. They promised, at my earnest request, to await for a few days the result of my assurances; but yesterday's blow fell so heavily and unexpectedly upon them, that in my opinion, unless something be speedily done to reassure them, the influence of their European officers will cease to exist, and a good regiment will crumble away before hopelessness and desertion.

"All of us, black and white, would be so thankful to you if you would get us back our arms and sent away from this at once.—Yours, &c.—GEORGE N. GREENE.

"P.S.—On the 9th, a sepoy (Mussulman) of the regiment came to see me, and in course of conversation said, there was one thing he particularly wanted to tell me—

the fort was occupied by her majesty's 53rd regiment, 900 strong; 500 men of the 37th regiment were encamped on the glacis; an immense park of artillery was at hand; and a strong volunteer corps of Europeans, mustering nearly 1.000 rank and file, had advanced far towards efficiency.

'Whatever you do, do not take your lady with you.' I asked him why? He said, 'Because the mind of the natives, *kala admi* (soldiers), was now in a state of inquietude, and it would be better to let the lady remain here till everything was settled in the country, as there was no knowing what might happen.' On my asking him if he had any reason to doubt the loyalty of the regiment, he replied, 'Who can tell the hearts of a thousand men?' He said that he believed the greater portion of the men of the regiment were sound and in favour of our rule; but that a few evil men might persuade a number of good men to do an evil deed.

"I then asked him the meaning of all this about the cartridges: he said, 'That when first the report was spread about, it was generally believed by the men; but that subsequently it had been a well-understood thing that the cartridge question was merely raised for the sake of exciting the men, with the view of getting the whole army to mutiny, and thereby upset the English government; that they argued, that as we were turned out of Cabul, and had never returned to that place, so, if once we were entirely turned out of India, our rule would cease, and we should never return.' Such is the opinion of a great bulk of the people. A native officer also warned me, that it would be better not to take up Mr. ——. He said, that if I went, he would sleep by my bed, and protect me with his own life. Several have individually said they would do all they could to protect me in case of need. I was also told, that the Mussulmans generally, in all regiments, were in the habit of talking to the effect that their 'raj' was coming round again; but this I was told by a Hindoo."

The above notes were at once forwarded by Major-general Hearsey to the secretary to the government of India, with the subjoined letter.

"Barrackpore, June, 15th, 1857.

"My dear Birch,—I have just received the inclosed notes from Captain Greene, 70th native infantry. He solemnly states, that the 70th is true to its salt, and ready to go anywhere; that the speech about, 'Let us go beyond Pultah, and then you will hear what we will do,' as reported to me by Colonel Kennedy, must have been made by some budmash. But if so, why do not they find him out, and give him up for punishment?

"Captain Greene and officers declare that Colonel Kennedy, who is new to the regiment, does not and cannot know the real and devoted sentiments of the native officers and men with respect to their fealty. I spoke very, very kindly to them, when I deprived them of their arms. Captain Greene says, all the officers would be only too happy to proceed with the regiment up country, and would willingly risk their lives, that this disgrace (as they persist in calling it) might be wiped from them. If government should think it proper, especially as Lord Canning in person spoke to them, they could be sent up river in country boats round by the Sonderbunds, and that would give plenty of time for us to have news from the north-west, and more troops to come from Singapore, &c., so that their hoormut would be saved, and we should be rid of them. They harp upon Lord Canning's word, that they should be sent up the country.—Ever yours, &c.,

"J. B. HEARSEY.

"P.S.—Please send an early reply to this question regarding the 70th native infantry. You could serve out the Enfield rifles, and tell them the ammunition for it would be sent by steamers after them, and this could be done when they had got to Monghir, or beyond that place. Time would be gained.—J. B. H."

The reply to this application was transmitted by the secretary to the government as follows:—

"Fort William, June 19th, 1857.

"Sir,—I am desired to acknowledge the receipt of your demi-official letter of the 15th instant, enclosing two notes from Captain Greene, of the 70th regiment native infantry, expressing, on behalf of himself and the European officers of that corps, their perfect confidence in the loyalty and fidelity of their men, the great pain which the disarming of the regiment has caused them, and their earnest solicitation that the men may receive back their arms, and be sent away from Barrackpore. In reply, I am desired to observe, that independently of the causes which more immediately led to the disarming of the brigade at Barrackpore, government have been credibly informed, that very respectable men of the 70th regiment have been heard to allude to the unquiet state of mind of the native soldiery, and that there was no knowing what might happen; and they have earnestly recommended that ladies be not allowed to

accompany the corps on its march. These men were heard to say that the greater portion of the regiment was sound, and in favour of the British rule; but that a few evil men might persuade a number of good men to do an evil deed; and that the Mussulmans generally in the 70th, as well as in other corps, were in the habit of talking to the effect, that their 'raj' was coming round again. It was also stated by the same men of this regiment, that when the report was first spread about the cartridges, it was generally believed; but that, subsequently, it was a well-understood thing that the cartridge question was merely raised to excite the men, in order to induce the whole army to mutiny, and thereby upset the British government.

"Captain Greene also states, that the remark, 'Let us go beyond Pultah, and then you will hear what we will do, &c.,' must have been made by a '*budmash*,' or man of bad character. Upon this, the governor-general in council observes, that if the 70th regiment are really and truly loyal, they will give up the men who, in their ranks, utter these mutinous expressions. Under these circumstances, the governor-general in council sees no reason to make any distinction as regards that corps, and his lordship in council is unable, therefore, to accede to the solicitations made.—I am, &c,

"R. J. H. Birch, Colonel."

Contemporaneously with the progress of the measures thus resorted to by government for the safety of the capital, intelligence had accidentally reached the authorities, which seriously implicated the king of Oude (who then resided at Garden-reach, in the vicinity of Calcutta) in the treasonable designs of the revolted soldiery. From an early period of the outbreak, popular opinion had connected the deposed ruler with the purposes of the leaders of the movement. It was notorious that the bulk of the sepoy element in the army of Bengal, was supplied by, and recruited from, Oude, where, under native monarchs, the Brahmin or Mohammedan soldiers enjoyed privileges which, since the annexation of the kingdom, had been totally denied them. Their *status* as soldiers in the service of the then independent power, gave them an importance which they did not fail to avail themselves of whenever they had a law-suit on hand, or chose to press claims on the notice of their superiors. Their relatives were spread over the country in the ranks of the king's army, or otherwise in his employment; and thus almost every sepoy had a direct interest in the maintenance of the ancient order of things; but still, in the face of these facts, the authorities at Calcutta persistently opposed themselves to the theory, that either the deposed king their pensioner, his courtiers, or his father-in-law and chief adviser, the Nawab Alee Knuckee Khan, could have any interest in common with the mutinous sepoys of the Bengal army, and they consequently permitted him to reside in semi-regal state and perfect liberty, with a retinue of about 1,000 armed followers, within a stone's-cast of the seat of government. At length, however, under the following circumstances, their eyes were opened.

In the course of Saturday, the 13th of June, a sepoy of the 43rd regiment quartered at Fort William, informed the European officer of his company, that a Brahmin, in the service of the king of Oude, had been talking with the sepoys on duty, and had endeavoured to prevail upon them to admit some of the armed retainers of that personage into the fort, and to assist them in some subsequent operations, the nature of which were to be divulged at the proper time: the informant stated himself to be one of the men so applied to, and that the emissary from Garden-reach had promised to return on the following night, and bring with him further information, and a reward for such as should fall in with his project. The soldier, as yet "true to his salt," lost no time before he revealed the transaction to his officer, and measures were at once quietly taken, as well for the security of the fort, as for the apprehension of the Brahmin when he again presented himself. He came, as he had promised, and was arrested; and from the revelations made by him while under fear of immediate death, it was considered prudent to resort to instant and decisive action in reference to his royal master. Accordingly, at daybreak on the morning of the 15th of June, a detachment of her majesty's 37th regiment, which had just arrived from Ceylon, was marched down to Garden-reach, and, before its approach was observed, had surrounded the residence of the king. The officer in command then presented himself to his majesty, and announced his mission, at the same time delivering an autograph from the governor-general, couched in the following terms:—

"Fort William, June 15th.

"Sir,—It is with pain that I find myself compelled to require that your majesty's person should for a season be removed to within the precincts of Fort William. The name of your majesty, and the authority of your court, are used by persons who seek to excite resistance to the British government, and it is necessary that this should cease. Your majesty knows that from the day when it pleased you to fix your residence near Calcutta, to the present time, yourself, and those about your majesty, have been entirely free and uncontrolled. Your majesty may be assured, then, that it is not the desire of the governor-general in council to interfere needlessly with your movements and actions. Your majesty may be equally certain, that the respect due to your majesty's high position will never be forgotten by the government or its officers, and that every possible provision will be made for your majesty's convenience and comfort.—CANNING."

The officer further announced, that he had orders to conduct his majesty to the fort, with a limited number of his immediate personal attendants. The surprise was so perfect, and the object so quietly accomplished, that not the slightest effort at resistance was offered; and at seven in the morning, the king, accompanied by two commissioned officers, was safely conveyed a prisoner to Fort William.* A rigorous search was then made at the royal residence for papers and correspondence, and some documents of importance were found which left little doubt of the fact that the king was aware of a meditated revolt against the English government, although, with the exception of an unusual quantity of arms of all descriptions, that had been secretly conveyed to his residence, no evidence appeared to show that he had personally engaged in the conspiracy, or expected to benefit by its results if successful.

In Calcutta, numerous arrests followed the excitement of the 14th of June, and the government thereby became possessed of most important information connected with the intended outbreak on the 23rd. Among other implicated individuals, afterwards secured and lodged in Fort William, was a moonshee, named Gholam Hossain Khan, who, it was alleged, was one of the most active and influential of the conspirators against the state, but who had contrived to escape from the city when the king of Oude was transferred to the fort, and had proceeded to Lucknow, where it was known his presence had infused courage and determination among the rebels. He had again returned secretly to Calcutta, to prosecute his dangerous mission, and after many successful efforts to avoid capture, he was at last found at the residence of a wealthy Mohammedan in Wellesley-square, in the disguise of a burkandaze. After securing the moonshee, the *zenana* of the master of the house was rigorously searched for papers, and several important documents were obtained, the agent employed for the search being a European woman, that the prejudices of the native females might not be offended by the intrusion of male police. Other arrests also were made at Entelly and at Garden-reach; and in the first named place, the secretary to a club of conspirators was secured, with all his papers. At the last-mentioned, the person arrested was a eunuch belonging to the establishment of the king of Oude, charged with complicity in the alleged design of his master to overthrow the British government in India, and to re-establish a Mohammedan empire upon its ruins. From documents that came into the possession of the authorities through these arrests, it appeared that the labour of arousing the country, and organising forces in the different provinces of Hindostan, was shared by two executive native councils; Calcutta being the seat of one, to which the organisation of the revolt in the provinces between that city and Lucknow was entrusted; while at Delhi, another council, presided over by the king, directed measures for ensuring the successful progress of the insurrection in all other parts of the country.

Sir Patrick Grant, who had been appointed to the chief military command in

* The authority under which this arrest was made, is given by Regulation III. of the province of Bengal; which sets forth, that "whereas reasons of state, embracing the due maintenance of the alliances formed by the British government with foreign powers, the preservation of tranquillity in the territories of native princes entitled to its protection, and the security of the British dominions from foreign hostility and from internal commotion, occasionally render it necessary to place under personal restraint individuals against whom there may not be sufficient ground to institute any judicial proceeding, or when such proceeding may not be adapted to the nature of the case, or may, for other reasons, be unadvisable or improper." There could be no doubt as to the necessity in this case.

India on the death of General Anson,* left Madras to assume the functions of the high charge temporarily confided to him on the 13th of June, and on the 17th, issued, at Calcutta, his first "General Order." In this document, General Grant reminded the troops that "he had been attached to the Bengal army for upwards of six-and-thirty years; that he had served with it in quarters and in the field, and had fought and bled in its ranks;" and he proceeded to say, that "he had ever" cherished a heartfelt pride in believing it to be second only to the unequalled British army in every soldierlike quality, and inferior to none in its loyalty and devotion to the state, and attachment to its officers. "But," said the gallant general, "these illusions have now been most painfully dispelled. Many regiments have broken into open and defiant mutiny, and, forgetful of their oath of fealty to the state and their former well-won high reputation, they have steeped themselves in crime, and committed a series of cowardly murders and cold-blooded atrocities, so cruel and ruffianly as to be almost beyond belief. A heavy retribution awaits those miscreant traitors. Many of them have already paid the penalty, and all will ere long have it made manifest that the government, which treats its good and faithful servants with unexampled liberality and unbounded consideration, is all-powerful to punish as well as to reward."

The arrival of the acting commander-in-chief was a source of much gratification to the European residents of the capital, as they looked much to the energetic spirit he had displayed in his past career, and anticipated great results from his active exertions at the head of the Bengal army. Sir Patrick, however, did not consider the time had arrived for active personal interference; and shortly after his arrival at the seat of government, his excellency submitted his views upon the subject to the governor-general in council by the following memorandum:—

"Calcutta, June 22nd, 1857.

"I beg to submit the following observations regarding my own position:—

"If the present disturbances were confined to a particular locality, and we had an army in hand and under control, a few concise general instructions would answer every purpose. As it is, however, we have no native army; and the very limited European force available must operate on many distinct and separate points, each body under its own commandant; the whole being properly subject to the general control and guidance of the commander-in-chief.

"I think the commander-in-chief can most efficiently, and assuredly most expeditiously, control and direct all general military arrangements and movements now, and the reorganisation and regeneration of the army hereafter, if he has the advantage of being in personal communication with the head of the government; if he learns the views of government with respect to the innumerable questions which must constantly arise; and, which is highly important, if he is made acquainted with the mass of intelligence which may be expected to reach the government from every quarter of the empire.

"If the commander-in-chief is at the seat of government, he can readily direct and guide the military arrangements of every description of the whole army; if he attaches himself to one of the small isolated bodies of troops moving about the country, he can only direct its proceedings, and the general conduct of matters connected with the entire army must be altogether neglected and put aside for the time.

"I may also observe, that it is quite impossible to conduct the multifarious duties of this large army without a numerous staff and extensive office establishment, requiring, when moving about the country, a complete regiment as an escort, and a large amount of carriage for their transport, neither the one nor the other of which can be supplied under present circumstances.

"On the whole, therefore, I entertain a decided opinion, that the duties of the commander-in-chief can be most efficiently and most usefully discharged at the seat of government; but if the governor-general thinks otherwise, and considers that my presence at some other point would be more beneficial to the public service, I am prepared to start at once for any destination to which it may be desired I should repair.

"PATRICK GRANT, Lieutenant-general,
"Commander-in-chief."

The view taken by the acting commander-in-chief, of his duties and proper sphere of action, met with the concurrence of the governor-general and his council, and the former recorded his opinion of the proposal in the following minute:—

* See *ante*, p. 191.

"I agree with Lieutenant-general Sir Patrick Grant, that the duties of the commander-in-chief can, at present, be most efficiently and usefully discharged at the seat of government."

This opinion was endorsed by the members of council, Messrs. Dorin, Low, J. P. Grant, and Peacock; and the secretary to the government accordingly apprised Sir Patrick Grant of their adoption of his views, by the following letter to the deputy adjutant-general of the army in India:—

"Fort William, June 23rd, 1857.

"I am directed to acquaint you, for the information of Sir Patrick Grant, K.C.B., that the governor-general in council concurs with his excellency, that the duties of the commander-in-chief can at present be most efficiently and usefully discharged at the seat of government. When the course of events shall tend to allay the general disquiet, and to show to what points our force should be mainly directed with the view of crushing the heart of the rebellion, it will, in the opinion of his lordship in council, be proper for his excellency to consider anew the question of his movements. His excellency's experience and high authority will then, in all probability, be most usefully employed in the disturbed districts or their neighbourhood.

"For the present, the governor-general in council thinks there will be the greatest advantage in his excellency remaining at the seat of government.—I am, &c.,

"R. J. H. Birch, Colonel."

Shortly after the panic that had unsettled society at Calcutta had subsided, the grand jury of the city, having a wholesome dread of the Mohurrum before them, made a presentment to the judge of the supreme court, recommending that the native population of Calcutta and the suburbs should be disarmed, and that the unrestricted sale of arms and ammunition should be prohibited. It was represented, that the measure was proposed "with a view to allay apprehension of danger on the part of the public, to preserve the peace, and to prevent crime, with reference especially to the then approaching Mohammedan festival. The recommendation of the grand jury did not, however, obtain the sanction of government; and the secretary, in reply to the presentment, stated, by command of the governor-general in council, that the subject had already been pressed on his attention by other parties, and that it had received his most careful consideration; but his lordship was of opinion, that the important object the grand jury had in view could be more effectually provided for by other means. The secretary further stated, that the several places in Calcutta where arms could be procured, and the quantity in store at each, were well known, and effectual measures would be taken to prevent any of them being used for mischievous purposes.

A memorial, similar in purport to that of the grand jury, but signed by about 300 of the most influential European residents of Calcutta, was also transmitted to the governor-general in council; who, in reply, assured the memorialists that a general measure for the registration of arms throughout the presidencies, and for prohibiting the possession of them except under certain restrictions, was then under the consideration of government. The continuous details of accumulating horrors and outrages that now reached the capital by every dâk, coupled with an apparent inertness on the part of the executive authorities, had at length the natural effect of impressing the European population with a painful sense of insecurity. It was known that the revolt was no longer confined to the native army, and that it was now spreading among the inhabitants of the towns and villages, who were incited to rebellion by the example around them; and it was felt, also, that as yet no salutary and really efficient check had yet been interposed to the progress of the calamity. The frightful massacres at Meerut and Delhi had inspired dread of extermination among European society, and its apprehensions were not lessened by the fact, that the government had practically ceased to derive revenue from the provinces of Upper India, and had put a peremptory stop to all public works not of a military character. In the capital trade was paralysed, and the markets were crammed to repletion with accumulating stores of British and European manufactures and productions, for which no returns could be made; the native banks having suspended operations, and being occupied in converting their available wealth into specie, and holding it for a crisis. Added to these sources of disquietude, agriculture had been neglected in large districts; and with the prolongation and spread of the revolt, it was certain the crops already in the ground would suffer, from the want of necessary hands to gather

them in. Thus a dread of eventual famine became added to the other forebodings that depressed the public mind of Calcutta, and, by many of the people, its dread indications were already shadowed forth.

Stimulated, partly by real, partly by imaginary dangers, the inhabitants of Calcutta again joined in petitioning the governor-general. They impressed upon his attention the total inefficiency of the existing police force for the preservation of the peace of the city, and the urgent necessity that, in their opinions, had become daily apparent for a more vigorous arm on which to rely for protection; and they called upon the government to supply that arm by proclaiming martial law. To this application the secretary to the government was instructed to reply, "that, in the opinion of the governor-general, the substitution of courts-martial for those of the ordinary courts of justice, would be accompanied with much private inconvenience, uncertainty, and hardship; and his lordship was not aware of any commensurate public gain that could be derived from compliance with the prayer of the petition."

On the 10th of July, a proclamation was issued by command of the governor-general, offering a reward of fifty rupees for the apprehension of mutineers and deserters, and of persons inciting others to mutiny and desertion, if the offenders should be found with arms; and of thirty rupees, if without arms. It was also declared, that all persons delivering up arms and other property belonging to government, should be rewarded in proportion to the value of such property. The result of the proclamation did not justify the expectations upon which it was founded. About the same time, Major-general Hewitt, commanding the Meerut division of the Bengal army, was removed from divisional command,* Major-general Penny, C.B., being appointed to succeed him. Until the arrival of the latter at Meerut, Brigadier Wilson, commandant of artillery, held temporary command with the rank of brigadier-general, which that distinguished officer continued to hold until appointed major-general a short time before his successful assault upon Delhi.

At length the arrival, in quick succession, of the troops originally destined for China, infused a feeling of security among the Europeans at the seat of government; and, before the end of July, the clouds that had loomed so gloomily over society, had, in a great measure, disappeared. An idea, however, still prevailed, that in the measures adopted towards the mutinous and murderous soldiers of the Bengal army, a far too lenient disposition was manifest on the part of the governor-general; and the impression became strengthened by the publication of the following official instructions to the local authorities of the North-Western Provinces of Bengal, on the 31st of July, 1857. This document, it may be observed, has subsequently acquired peculiar importance from circumstances in connection with the subject, that will be hereafter referred to;† and it is, therefore, given *in extenso*.

"*Resolution* 1.—The governor-general of India in council has observed with approbation the zealous exertions of the local civil authorities for the apprehension and condign punishment of the mutineers and deserters concerned in the present revolt. It was necessary, by the severe and prompt punishment of such of these criminals as found their way into the districts in our possession, where the minds of the native troops could not but be in a very unsettled state (though the men for the most part had abstained from open mutiny), to show that the just fate of the mutineer is death, and that the British government was powerful to inflict the penalty. It was necessary, also, by the offer of rewards for the apprehension of all deserters, to check the crime of desertion, which was becoming rife in some of these regiments, and to prevent the possible escape of men who, apparently mere deserters, had been concerned in such terrible atrocities, that their apprehension and condign punishment was an imperative duty.

"2. But lest measures of extreme severity should be too hastily resorted to, or carried too far, his lordship in council thinks it right to issue detailed instructions on this subject, by which all civil officers will be guided in the exercise of their powers in the cases of mutineers, deserters, and rebels.

"3. There is reason to believe, that in some even of those native regiments whose revolt has been stained by the most sanguine atrocities, some men may have distinguished themselves from the mass by protecting an officer. In some such cases, men of very guilty regiments possess certificates in their

* See *ante*, p. 56.

† *Vide* Lord Ellenborough's despatch of April, 1858.

favour from officers of their regiments; but there may be others, equally deserving of clemency, who are without any such ready means of clearing themselves from the presumptive evidence of their deep guilt.

"4. Where the number of men guilty of what it is impossible to pardon is so great, the government will gladly seize every opportunity of reducing the work of retribution before it, by giving a free pardon to all who can show that they have a claim to mercy on this ground, provided they have not been guilty of any heinous crime against person or property, or aided or abetted others in the commission of any such crime.

"5. It is understood, that in regiments which mutinied, and for the most part went over to the rebels, without murdering their officers, or committing any other sanguinary outrage, there were men who appeared to have had no heart in the revolt, though they failed in their duty as soldiers, and who have evinced their peaceable disposition and their want of sympathy with those who are now armed in open rebellion against the government, by dispersing to their villages when the regiment broke up, and mixing quietly with the rural population. It is desirable to treat such men with all reasonable leniency.

"6. The governor-general in council, therefore, deems it necessary to lay down the following rules for the guidance of civil authorities in exercising the powers vested in them by recent legislation for the punishment of native officers and soldiers charged with mutiny or desertion:—

"No native officer or soldier belonging to a regiment which has not mutinied is to be punished by the civil power as a mere deserter, unless he be found or apprehended with arms in his possession. Such men, when taken before or apprehended by the civil power, are to be sent back to their regiments whenever that can be done, there to be dealt with by the military authorities. When such men cannot be sent back to their regiments immediately, they should be detained in prison pending the orders of government, to whom a report is to be made, addressed to the secretary to government in the military department.

"Native officers and soldiers, being mutineers or deserters, taken before or apprehended by the civil power, not found or apprehended with arms in their possession, not charged with any specific act of rebellion, and belonging to a regiment which has mutinied, but has not been guilty of the murder of its officers, or of any other sanguinary crime, are to be sent to Allahabad, or to such other place as government may hereafter order, and are there to be made over to the commandant, to be dealt with by the military authorities. Should any difficulty arise in sending the offender to Allahabad, either by reason of its distance from the place of arrest or otherwise, the offender should be imprisoned until the orders of government can be obtained, unless for special reasons it may be necessary to punish the offender forthwith; a report being made to the government.

"Every mutineer or deserter who may be taken before or apprehended by the civil authorities, and who may be found to belong to a regiment which killed any European officer or other European, or committed any other sanguinary outrage, may be tried and punished by the civil power. If the prisoner can show that he was not present at the murder or other outrage, or, if present, that he did his utmost to prevent it, full particulars of the case should be reported to government in the military department, before the sentence, whatever it be, is carried into effect, otherwise the sentence should be carried into effect forthwith.

"If it cannot be ascertained to what regiment a mutineer or deserter taken before or apprehended by the civil authorities belonged, he is to be dealt with as provided by the second rule.

"7. Lists showing the several regiments and detachments which have mutinied, will be prepared with all practicable dispatch in the military department, stating, in each case, all known particulars of the mutiny, and accompanied by nominal rolls, with appropriate remarks opposite to the names of those native officers and men who are known to have been absent from their regiment at the time of the mutiny, and of those who, if present, are known to have taken an active part either in promoting or suppressing the mutiny, or to have simply joined or abstained from joining it. These nominal rolls, as soon as prepared, will be printed and circulated to all civil officers and to military officers in command.

"8. The governor-general in council is anxious to prevent measures of extreme severity being unnecessarily resorted to, or carried to excess, or applied without due discrimination, in regard to acts of rebellion committed by persons not mutineers.

"9. It is unquestionably necessary, in the first attempt to restore order in a district in which the civil authority has been entirely overthrown, to administer the law with such promptitude and severity as will strike terror into the minds of the evil-disposed among the people, and will induce them by the fear of death to abstain from plunder, to restore stolen property, and return to peaceful occupations. But this object once in a great degree attained, the punishment of crimes should be regulated with discrimination.

"10. The continued administration of the law in its utmost severity, after the requisite impression has been made upon the rebellious and disorderly, and after order has been partially restored, would have the effect of exasperating the people, and would probably induce them to band together in large numbers for the protection of their lives, and with a view to retaliation—a result much to be deprecated. It would greatly add to the difficulties of settling the country hereafter. If a spirit of animosity against their rulers were engendered in the minds of the people, and if their feelings were embittered by the remembrance of needless bloodshed, the civil officers in every district should endeavour, without cannoning any heinous offences or making any promises of pardon for such offences, to encourage all persons to return to their usual occupations, and, punishing only such of the principal offenders as can be apprehended, to postpone as far as possible all minute inquiry into political offences until such time as the government are in a position to deal with them in strength after thorough investigation. It may be necessary, however, even after a district is partially restored to order, to make examples from time to time of such persons, of any who may be guilty of serious outrages against person or property, or who, by stopping the dâk, or injuring the electric telegraph or otherwise, may endeavour to promote the designs of those who are waging war against the state.

"11. Another point to be noticed in connexion with this subject is the general burning of villages, which the governor-general in council has reason to fear may have been carried too far by some of the civil officers employed in restoring order.

"12. A severe measure of this sort is doubtless necessary, as an example in some cases, where the mass of the inhabitants of a village have committed a grave outrage, and the perpetrators cannot be punished in their persons; but any approach to a wholesale destruction of property by the officers of government, without due regard to the guilt or innocence of those who are affected by it, must be strongly reprehended. Apart from the effect which such a practice would have upon the feelings and disposition of the country people, there can be no doubt that it would prevent them from returning to their villages and resuming the cultivation of their fields—a point at this season of vital importance, inasmuch as if the lands remain much longer unsown, distress and even famine may be added to the other difficulties with which the government will have to contend.—(True copy.)

"C. BEADON,

"Secretary to the Government of India.

"Fort William, July 31st, 1857."

The publication of this order revived the sleeping energies of all who were opposed to Lord Canning's policy in the treatment of persons connected with the revolt; and while few were found to disagree with the general principles enunciated, it was objected to as offensively implying that unreasonable rigour had been employed in the suppression of the revolt. Lord Canning had from the first been suspected of entertaining an unwarrantable sympathy with the insurgents, and of shrinking from measures of severity that were essential to control a turbulent and ill-disposed population. It was observed with some truth, that in the very midst of harrowing and convulsive struggles, a wrong opportunity had been selected for launching this series of instructions; and certainly, when the relative positions of the parties concerned are considered, there appears great force in the objection. Beyond a line drawn across Bengal, at a distance of between 300 and 400 miles from Calcutta, every European was at the time struggling for bare life. The co-operation of all, for the safety of all, was needed; and not a hand, not an eye, not a moment could be spared for superfluous duty; whereas, in the capital, the governor-general and his colleagues, who inhabited strongly-built and well-guarded palaces, had leisure for calm and dispassionate consideration, and were exempt from apprehension of personal danger. That, under such circumstances, his lordship should take occasion, from reports that had reached him from the upper provinces, to

pass deprecatory remarks upon the acts of those who, in the defence of order, had avenged the wrongs of humanity and of European society, was felt to be ungracious and unjust. It was feared, moreover, that the effect of these orders would be, to render the most energetic officers reluctant to act upon bold suggestions, and might tempt them, in the spirit of the instructions, to exhibit a dangerous and mistaken lenity. People considered, that after Delhi and Lucknow had been effectually relieved from rebel domination, and when the struggle had finally been determined, it might be judicious to check the ardour of our troops, and to temper the just severity of the civil authorities before whom the savage perpetrators of unparalleled atrocities might be brought for trial and punishment. But while results were yet trembling in the scale; while it was still possible that English blood might once more convert a palace into a slaughterhouse in Oude, as it already had done at Delhi, it was felt to be premature and unseemly to cast this mixture of reproof and caution in the faces of those who were straining every effort to prevent the British power from being trampled under foot by surging hosts of rebels and assassins. So long as such a state of things existed, the great object, it was averred, should be to strike terror—to retaliate blow for blow—to bear down the mutiny by irresistible violence, and to crush the disaffected under an iron heel. The proclamation was in every sense considered unnecessary and ill-timed; and it was felt that the governor-general might have displayed a more generous appreciation of the inborn humanity of British soldiers and civilians, and if it was necessary to speak at all upon the subject, that he would first have recognised the imperative demand that existed for the infliction of a great example of power and of justice, in avenging the devastation of the country it was his high mission to govern and protect.

Public feeling had now worked itself up to fever heat; and the unpopularity of Lord Canning at his seat of government, at length found expression in a petition to the Queen for his immediate recall. The document is valuable as tracing some of the more important events of the period in connection with his lordship's administration; and it was as follows:—

"*To the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty.*

"The humble petition of the undersigned Christian inhabitants of Calcutta, and of the presidency of Fort William, in Bengal, most humbly showeth:—

"That your majesty's petitioners humbly solicit your gracious consideration to the present deplorable state of this country, and of your majesty's most loyal Christian subjects, residents in this presidency. It is not unknown to your majesty, that now nearly all Behar, one of the first, and all Oude, the last, acquired of the territories of the East India Company in India, are in the possession of the rebels; that in every district, Englishmen, women, and children have been foully and treacherously murdered with every circumstance of horror; that almost all the British and Christian population is mourning; the English name and reputation are lowered; commerce and trade are paralysed; agriculture is interrupted; ruin and famine are impending over those who have escaped massacre; the treasuries of the East India Company are pillaged and exhausted, their credit is wholly gone, and their securities are so depreciated as to be almost unsaleable at any rate of discount. It is the deliberate conviction of your majesty's petitioners, that all these calamities, the results of the spread of the mutiny, are directly attributable to the blindness, weakness, and incapacity of the local government of India, of which the present governor-general is the responsible head; and in support of this charge your majesty's petitioners submit the following facts:—

"It is now clear, from the papers relating to the mutiny, produced in both houses of parliament by your majesty's command in the last session of parliament, that the government of India had sufficient warning, in the months of January and February of this year, that the four sepoy regiments stationed at Barrackpore had formed the design of murdering their officers, and marching on Calcutta—distant only sixteen miles from Barrackpore—for the purpose of massacring all Christians, and pillaging the treasuries and city, and that they were in treasonable communication with the disaffected regiments at Berhampore. It is also now well-known that the government had numerous other clear intimations given them of the spirit and mutinous designs of their native army in other parts of India, both by their officers and by the incendiary fires which were nightly breaking out at Umballah and other stations. And it is

further a fact, that certain of the officers who gave such warnings were reprimanded for having so done. Not the slightest preparations were then made by the governor-general to meet the impending danger; nor was any warning given to the inhabitants of Calcutta, who were thus left nightly in the danger of being surprised by a massacre, which, in magnitude and horror, would have surpassed all in the annals of this country, against which any such warning would have enabled them instantly to have protected themselves, and which nothing, humanly speaking, but the indecision of the mutineers and accident preserved them. The only European force which there then was in Calcutta to oppose to these four sepoy regiments, to the Calcutta native militia, who were equally disaffected, to the bazaar rabble, who, out of a native population of about 600,000, would have joined the mutineers by thousands, and to the hordes of Dacoits and other professional robbers, who would have crowded from all sides to the plunder of so wealthy a city, was one wing of your majesty's 53rd regiment, stationed in Fort William, a fort which requires upwards of 10,000 men for its full garrison, and where they would have had to protect themselves against as well the attack from without, as the treachery of the native garrison within, and so could have afforded no assistance whatever to the inhabitants of a city extended over several miles.

"The design of the mutineers, as has since been ascertained, was to seize the fort and turn its guns on the shipping in the port, so as to sink them, and take away all means of flight. Had this succeeded, not one Christian could have escaped massacre. Symptoms of spreading disaffection continued; the sepoys, determined on a pretext for revolt, refused explanation or satisfaction on the subject of the cartridges; the 19th native infantry, at Berhampore, on the 26th of February, broke into open mutiny, seized their arms, menaced their officers, and were subsequently marched to Barrackpore; where, on the 31st of March, having been paid in full, together with the hire of their carts, cattle, and boats, they were disbanded and sent to swell the ranks of your majesty's enemies in the upper provinces.

"On the 30th of March, a private of the 34th native infantry at Barrackpore fired at and wounded the adjutant, and also the European sergeant-major of that regiment, in the presence of a guard and native officer, and of a number of the other sepoys of the same regiment. With one single exception, none moved to save their officers or arrest the culprit. As the punishment of this offence, the assassin and the native officer were executed, and their accessories, who stood by, were with the other men of the seven companies then at Barrackpore, paid off and dismissed in like manner as had been the 19th regiment. Your majesty's government and the court of directors were then informed by the governor-general 'that discipline was restored throughout the Bengal army,' and your majesty's 84th regiment, which had been brought up from Pegu to assist at the disbanding of the 19th regiment of native infantry, was ordered to re-embark for Rangoon. After this, and until the seizure of Delhi, with the exception of issuing certain proclamations, calculated to encourage the mutineers by proving to them the blindness and weakness of the government, nothing whatever was done to arrest the mutiny, and its existence was consistently ignored in the face of every evidence.

"On the 10th of May, the massacre took place at Meerut, and, on the 11th, that at Delhi, the horrors of which it is unnecessary to dwell on to your majesty. Delhi was seized by a number of regiments of native infantry and the 3rd native cavalry. In Oude, on the 19th of May, three native regiments went over to the mutineers at Delhi; the whole of that country was clearly on the brink of revolt, and Sir Henry Lawrence was fortifying himself in Lucknow, to meet the siege in which he has since fallen.

"On the 21st of May, while matters stood thus, the British and other residents of Calcutta forming the trades' association, the Masonic fraternity, and also the French inhabitants, presented their several addresses to the governor-general, offering their services generally. The governor-general, in his reply, informed them that he had no apprehension whatever of any disturbance in Calcutta, and expressed his regret that, in the address of the trades' association, they should have assumed the existence of disaffection in the sepoy army generally, and so done an injustice to the army of Bengal, as well as those of the other presidencies.

"On the 25th of May, the European inhabitants generally came forward, and ten-

dered their services as volunteers to the government; but this offer was also ungraciously declined, and the secretary for the home department of the government of India, was directed by the governor-general to inform them, that 'the mischief caused by a passing and groundless panic had been arrested, and that there was every reason to hope that in the course of a few days tranquillity and confidence would be restored throughout the presidency.' At this time, rebellion and mutiny were breaking out openly on every side, Christian men and women were being murdered and mangled on every road and in all parts throughout India. The villagers and other marauders were joining the mutineers in their work of pillage and bloodshed. The three remaining sepoy regiments at Barrackpore, of whose murderous designs the government had for months been possessed, were allowed still to retain their arms, and were only waiting their opportunity. In consequence of the governor-general's replies to those addresses, no volunteer force was then enrolled. In the following month, the inhabitants of Calcutta formed voluntary associations for their defence, and these were afterwards embodied into the volunteer guard, to whom the safety of the city has been since entrusted and owing: had the government accepted the first offer, the number enrolled would have been from three to four thousand. In consequence of the discouragement offered by the government, the volunteer guard numbers about 800.

"On the deposition of the king of Oude, in last year, his army, numbering about 50,000 men, was disbanded, with the exception of about 12,000, who were taken into the service of the East India Company, and retained in the kingdom of Oude. The population of that kingdom is notoriously among the most turbulent in India, and all habitually carry arms. The country is studded with the forts and jungle fastnesses of the zemindars and chiefs. In consequence of the Crimean campaign, there was then remaining of your majesty's troops for the garrisons of Lucknow and Cawnpore, and for the maintenance of the East India Company's rule against the wide-spread discontent of a newly-annexed province of such character and extent, against the intrigues of the deposed royal family, the disbanded soldiery, and the possible mutiny of those who had been lately transferred, only your majesty's 32nd regiment.

"Your majesty's petitioners submit, that the continuance of such a state of things was an invitation to, and a main cause of revolt, and that it was the clear duty of the governor-general to have provided against it, by representing to your majesty's government the imminent risk of such a position, and the absolute necessity there was for sending more of your majesty's troops thither on the conclusion of the Russian war, and in the meantime to have removed the Oude troops from that kingdom, and supplied their place by regiments raised in other districts, and having no sympathies with the royal family and people of Oude. This course had been adopted on the annexation of the Punjab, and that precedent could have been followed without difficulty in Oude. Various suggestions to that effect were made at the time to the government of India; but, so far as your majesty's petitioners are aware, no precaution whatever was taken for the security of Oude.

"On the 4th of June, the native regiments at Cawnpore mutinied. The siege of the barracks containing a small body of European soldiers and the Christian population of the place—men, women, and children—was carried on till the 26th, when they surrendered on terms, having exhausted their food, water, and ammunition. The men were massacred then, and the women and children, to the number of upwards of 140, on the 15th of July. During the whole duration of the siege, though the danger of the garrison of Cawnpore was well known, no attempt was made to relieve it—the government of India had not any force to send, the troops at their disposal being merely sufficient for the protection of Calcutta, Benares, Allahabad, and the other river stations. If the governor-general had, in the month of May, armed and embodied the Christian inhabitants of Calcutta, for the protection of that city, it would have placed at his disposal, for the relief of Cawnpore, the whole, or nearly all, of the European force in Calcutta. That such a volunteer force would have been fully equal to the protection of Calcutta, has been proved by the effectual manner in which its peace has been since assured by a far smaller number. And that the relief of Cawnpore might have been effected by a small force, has been shown by the relief of Arrah by a body of English soldiers numbering less than 200: had a further force seemed necessary,

the government could have embodied the British sailors in the port, to the number of from two to three thousand.

"After the seizure of Delhi, the aid of a body of Ghoorkas was offered to the governor-general by Jung Bahadoor, the minister of the Nepaul government, and at first accepted. The advanced guard was sent forward, and had nearly reached Lucknow about the end of May, when a despatch from Calcutta, informing them there was no need of their services, sent them back home, which they had no sooner reached than they were asked to return. They again started, but arrived too late. Had this force remained in the first instance, before all Oude had risen, it would have been sufficient to have relieved Cawnpore, checked revolt in Oude, and so prevented the siege of Lucknow. To the weakness and vacillation of the government of India and its council are due the massacre of Cawnpore, and the sufferings of the garrison of Lucknow, and of its Christian population, comprising among them hundreds of women and children. In the months of June and July, mutinies and massacres took place at Futteghur, Sealkote, Jhansie, Gwalior, Neemuch, Sultanpore, Sasnee, Hattras, Shahjehanpore, and other places: and that which at first appeared to be a military mutiny, was on all sides assuming the dimensions of a general native insurrection.

"On the 20th of July, a deputation of British merchants, and others interested in the safety of Behar, waited on the governor-general, and having represented to his lordship the fatal consequences which would ensue in case of the mutiny of the sepoy regiments stationed at the river station of Dinapore, prayed that orders should be issued for the disarming of those regiments. It was suggested to his lordship, that your majesty's 10th regiment, also stationed at Dinapore, should be employed for that purpose, and that such further force as should be considered necessary might be supplied from your majesty's 5th regiment, which was then on its way up the country by the river, and would thus have been detained for this purpose but a few hours. The governor-general refused to do so, and stated as his reasons, that one of those sepoy regiments—the 40th native infantry—had always had a high reputation, and that he would not consent to delay, even for an hour, the progress of any of your majesty's troops.

"On the 25th day of July, those three native regiments mutinied, and went away with their arms. The result of this mutiny was the revolt of Behar, the siege of Arrah, and the almost total destruction of a detachment of your majesty's troops. These additional calamities had not occurred, if the still-continuing confidence of the governor-general in the native army had not prevented him from listening to the warnings given him, and disarming these troops.

"On the 13th of June, the governor-general personally introduced into council, where it was at once read three times and passed, an act placing the press of India, English and native, wholly at the mercy of government. The governor-general then stated, that he had received, up to that time, every support from the English press, and that it was not his intention to use the act to prevent fair discussion or curtail the liberty of the British press. The passing of that act caused great alarm and offence in the English and Christian community, of whom many were desirous of protesting strongly against it. They were, however, induced, by reliance on the assurance of the governor-general, and their desire not to embarrass the government at such a crisis, not then to do so. That act has been since so systematically used by the governor-general and his council for the intimidation of the press, the suppression of the truth, and of every discussion or expression of opinion unfavourable or unpleasant to government, and even for the prevention of all criticism on the conduct or misconduct of government officials, that there is not now remaining one newspaper in this presidency which dares to publish here that which is the opinion of all British India as to the conduct of its government and various of its officers.

"Your majesty's petitioners submit that such a proceeding was uncalled-for, despotic, repugnant to British feeling, and most mischievous in a country where, as here, the free expression of opinion through a public press is the only check on a narrowly constituted and arbitrary government; and in many instances, as has been often acknowledged by the most eminent English statesmen that have ruled this country, has proved a most valuable guide and source of information to them. The only excuse for such severity, viz., seditious writing, was not pretended to exist as regarded the English press, though it was charged against the native press. Your

majesty's petitioners submit that they were entitled to have the distinction drawn between loyalty and sedition; that the act, if necessary for the native press, should have been applied and confined to it; and that whatever aggravation so hateful an invasion of the liberty of the press is capable of, it has received from the weak and wanton confounding of your majesty's loyal subjects with the seditious and rebels. And it is further the belief of your majesty's petitioners, that if there has since appeared anything offensive to government in the press of this presidency, it has been in a great measure owing to the passing of the said act.

"On the 12th day of September a bill was passed for the registration and licensing of arms and ammunition. Notwithstanding the broad line of distinction which was afforded to the legislature, by the fact of the present movement being avowedly one of race and religion, the governor-general and his council refused to draw any such distinction, and the act was made applicable to the Christian as well as native races. A numerously signed protest against this act, as both highly offensive and dangerous, has been sent in by the Christian population of Calcutta, to the governor-general in council, and similar protests from other parts of India are being now signed.

"The governor-general in council (who had censured and repudiated the proclamation of Mr. Colvin, the governor of the North-Western Provinces, issued in the month of May, when the extent of the mutiny was not so clearly known, by which he had offered pardon to all mutineers who should lay down their arms) issued circular orders on the 31st of July, addressed to all the civil authorities of the presidency, and containing directions as to the mode of dealing with mutineers who should be brought before them for trial, which amount, in fact, to the declaration of an amnesty to all mutineers, except those who should have taken an actual and active part in the murder of their officers or others.

"If it be borne in mind that the mutineers, to whom this almost indiscriminate forgiveness is to be extended, had of their own free will entered the service of the East India Company, with which their connection was of an hereditary nature; that they were highly paid and pensioned, pampered and indulged to a degree known to no other army in the world; that they had in mere wantonness, and lust of blood and plunder, mutinied without a grievance; had banded in one general conspiracy, massacred their officers and their wives and families with every circumstance of outrage and dishonour, and declared a war of extermination against all Christians in India—then your petitioners submit to your majesty, that such lenity towards any portion of those conspirators is misplaced, impolitic, and iniquitous, and is calculated to excite contempt, and invite attack on every side, by showing to the world the government of India so powerless to punish mutiny, or so indifferent to the sufferings which have been endured by the victims of the rebellion, that it allows the blood of your majesty's English and Christian subjects to flow in torrents, and their wives, sisters, and daughters to be outraged and dishonoured, without adequate retribution. And your majesty's petitioners submit further, that the publication of these orders at such a time, while still the mutiny and rebellion were raging, could have no other effect than to produce a prolongation of the struggle, by holding out to the mutineers the prospect of being received into mercy, whenever they shall please to desist from fighting against the government.

"Notwithstanding the numerous well-known instances of treachery on the part of Mohammedan officers of the East India Company during the present insurrection, of which your majesty's petitioners may here instance the case of Mr. Tucker, judge of Futtehpore, betrayed to death by the Mohammedan deputy-collector of that station, and Mr. Robertson, judge of Bareilly, betrayed in like manner by another Mohammedan official, the governor-general has continued to display his confidence in that class of men, by lately sanctioning the appointment of one Ameer Ali, a Mohammedan, to be deputy-commissioner of Patna, a place of great importance and trust, and also the appointments of other Mohammedans to other places of trust, to the great offence and discouragement of the Christian population of this presidency. The governor-general and his council have taken numerous occasions to express their sympathy with the native races, to the disparagement of your majesty's loyal Christian subjects. Lately, on the approach of the Mohammedan festival of the Mohurrum, the governor-general in council permitted the commissioner of police for the

town of Calcutta to offer to its Christian inhabitants the gratuitous insult of having conspicuously inserted for several days an advertisement in the Calcutta papers, warning them that any of them who interfered with the native religious ceremonies would render himself liable to punishment. There was not at that time the slightest ground for apprehending the existence of any such intention; and, notwithstanding those advertisements, not the least disturbance took place.

"In the month of February last, a memorial was presented to the governor-general in council by a number of the principal holders of the four per cent. promissory notes of the East India Company, praying that the government would allow subscriptions to the then recently opened five per cent. loan to be paid, one-half in cash, and the remainder in the four per cent. promissory notes. By granting this prayer, any sum of money could have been then procured. It was refused. In July following, the government issued a notification that subscriptions to that loan would be received in that manner. But their vacillation had so destroyed their credit that hardly any subscriptions were received, and they could now hardly obtain the required amount at any rate.

"The governor-general, by pertinaciously refusing at first to acknowledge the existence of mutiny, by the subsequent feebleness and vacillation of his measures, when it could no longer be denied, by pursuing an ill-timed and hopeless policy of conciliation towards the rebels and mutineers, and by his wanton attacks on the most valued rights of your majesty's British and Christian subjects in this country, has, as your majesty's petitioners believe, been a principal cause of the great calamities which have desolated this land, has strengthened the hands of the enemy, weakened or destroyed the respect before entertained for the name of Englishman in the East, imperilled British rule, exposed the capital of British India to massacre and pillage, excited the contempt of all parties, estranged from the government of India a large and loyal body of Christians, and in every way proved himself unfit to be further continued in his high trust.

"Your majesty's petitioners submit, that the only policy by which British rule and the lives, honour, and properties of your majesty's Christian subjects in this country can in future be secured, is a policy of such vigorous repression and punishment as shall convince the native races of India, who can be influenced effectually by power and fear alone, of the hopelessness of insurrection against British rule, even when aided by every circumstance of treachery, surprise, and cruelty, and may teach them henceforward to respect the inviolability of English and Christian men and women by the recollection of the just retribution for foul and horrid murder and outrage that their countrymen have exacted. And it is the firm conviction of your majesty's petitioners, that the adoption of any milder policy will be regarded as springing wholly from conscious weakness, and will lead at no distant day to the repetition of the same scenes, and endanger British India.

"Your majesty's petitioners, who, wholly unrepresented as they are in the government of this country, have no other refuge or resource against the dangers which threaten them except in the gracious interference of your majesty in their behalf, humbly solicit your majesty's consideration to the facts which they have ventured to bring before your majesty in this their petition, and pray that if, on investigation, the same shall appear to your majesty's wisdom to be true and sufficient, your majesty would be graciously pleased to recall the present governor-general of India, Viscount Canning, and thereby mark your majesty's disapproval of the policy hitherto pursued by that nobleman, and give assurance in the future of the stability of British rule, and of the security of life, honour, and property, to your majesty's most loyal Christian subjects in this country.

"And your majesty's petitioners will ever pray, &c."

The preceding document was accompanied by the following appeal to the British parliament:—

"The humble petition of the undersigned British inhabitants of Calcutta most humbly showeth—

"That your petitioners view with daily increasing anxiety and alarm the condition and prospects of British India. They do not despair of its speedy reconquest by the forces of her majesty; but it is undeniable that, with the exception of three or four places of strength, the whole of the North-West Provinces, as well as the newly-acquired kingdom of Oude, is lost for the present. In addition to which, Tirhoot, Behar, and

Chota Nagpore are in danger. Throughout India the native belief in the *prestige* of British power has been destroyed, and where the Asiatic has no dread of physical force he has no respect for moral influence. Over thousands of square miles, where, three months since, Englishmen travelled in security unarmed, at this moment European women, for themselves and their children, court speedy death as a blessing. On every highway lie the dishonoured and mutilated remains of our countrywomen and their children, and the bodies of British soldiers and unarmed men foully murdered.

"The government of the East India Company, to whose care the interests of Great Britain in the East have been confided, possess from their constitution absolute power. They have a perpetual majority in the legislative council, which is composed entirely of official persons. They have the sole appointment to all offices, with the exception only of those of the governor-general, the commander-in-chief, and the judges of the supreme court. There are no private or corporate rights that can be effectually opposed to them, nor is there any representation of public opinion.

"In the country, desolated by the rebels, there are hundreds of civil servants, judges, magistrates, and collectors; village chowkedars and policemen in tens of thousands, and more than two thousand commissioned military officers, European and native; and yet, if we may believe the government, there was not, in all this vast establishment, to be found one person to acquaint the authorities of the existence of a conspiracy spread over countries many times larger than the area of the British isles, and in which upwards of one hundred thousand soldiers have joined.

"The rebellion broke out and found the government totally unprepared. No efficient commissariat, no organised means of procuring intelligence, and, with a few brilliant exceptions, no men of sufficient capacity for the emergency. At the commencement of the outbreak, Delhi, the largest arsenal of ordnance in the north-west of India, the important military depôt of Cawnpore, and the fortress and arsenal of Allahabad, the key of the lower provinces, were without a single European soldier to defend them. The two former fell into the hands of the insurgents.

"On the 25th of May last, when a number of regiments were in open revolt, when many treasuries had been plundered, and various important stations fallen into the hands of the rebels, the secretary to the home department officially notified, in reply to a loyal address from the French residents of Calcutta, proffering aid to the government, 'that the mischief caused by a passing and groundless panic had already been arrested, and there was every reason to hope, that in the course of a few days tranquillity and confidence would be restored throughout the presidency.'*

"From that moment to the present the policy of government has not undergone the slightest change. In the teeth of events the most startling, in defiance of warnings the most emphatic, they steadily persisted in ignoring the fact of danger for which they had made no preparation.

"On the 13th of June, they passed a law which destroyed the liberty of the press, and placed every journal in India at the absolute feet of the executive authority.

"Your petitioners refrain from here commenting on this act of the government, uncalled-for by the occasion, repugnant to British feeling, and subversive of the principles of the British constitution. This was done at a time when the government were receiving universal support from the English portion of the press.

"Your petitioners felt themselves bitterly aggrieved by the attempted imposition of what is known as the 'black act;' but their feelings in that respect never hindered them for a moment in coming forward to assist the government with heart and hand. Their offers were coldly declined, though ultimately accepted when danger was too apparent. At the present moment, not only does Calcutta owe its chief security to European volunteers, but government have invited the enrolment of paid corps for service in the interior. The whole trade of the presidency has suffered more or less; many branches of it are ruined entirely. The sale of imports is almost nominal; the cotton goods of England are not to be disposed of, even at great sacrifices. The export of silk, indigo, sugar, and other articles of export, will suffer considerable diminution for some seasons to come, in consequence of the destruction of many factories, and the loss of much capital. In the train of the revolt, it is more than probable, that famine, with all its Indian horrors, will follow. To remedy all these

* See *ante*, p. 156.

evils, and to fix on a firmer basis the British power in the East, your petitioners can alone appeal to the British nation.

"Your petitioners can look for no redress to the powers to whom the government of this great country is delegated, they having shown themselves unequal to the task. The government of the East India Company have neither men, money, nor credit; what credit they had was destroyed by their conduct in the late financial operations. The army has dissolved itself, the treasuries have either been plundered by the rebels, or exhausted by the public service; and a loan, even at six per cent., would scarcely find subscribers.

"When tranquillity is once restored, her majesty's ministers will find that many millions sterling have been added to the Indian debt, and that the annual deficits of the Indian budget will be materially increased; but, under good government, your petitioners have the fullest confidence that the boundless resources of this vast country are sufficient to meet all the necessary demands of the state. The system under which the country has been hitherto governed—utterly antagonistic as it has ever been to the encouragement of British settlement and enterprise in India—has entirely failed to preserve the power of the Queen, to win the affections of the natives, or to secure the confidence of the British in India.

"Your petitioners, therefore, humbly pray that your honourable house will adopt such measures as may be necessary for removing the government of this country from the East India Company, and substituting in its place the direct government of her majesty the Queen, with an open legislative council, suitable to the requirements of the country, and compatible with the British supremacy; Queen's courts presided over by trained lawyers; and with the English language as official court language. And your petitioners shall ever pray, &c.

"Calcutta, August 3rd, 1857."

Here, probably, are to be found the rudiments from which a system of government for the vast territory and numerous races comprehended under British domination in the East Indies might be beneficially constructed. At any rate, there were truths enunciated in the two petitions that it was impossible to deny, and it had become hazardous to neglect the consideration of.

Similar petitions were also forwarded from Bombay, Madras, Singapore, Moulmein, Rangoon, and other ports in the territories of the Company. And the movement was deemed the more necessary, as, in the language of those interested in the welfare of India, "the statements made at home, in and out of parliament, by the representatives and friends of the East India Company, were generally not only opposed to fact, but calculated to mislead and divert the attention of the country from that remedy which only could restore the *prestige* and power of England in the East—such remedy being the transfer of the government from the Company to the crown; an open legislative council composed of Englishmen alone; Queen's courts presided over by trained lawyers; and the use of the English language as the official language of India."

On the 26th of August, a public meeting of European residents in Calcutta was held, for the purpose of organising and establishing an Indian reform league, founded upon the principle of the English corn-law league; the objects of the proposed association being to promote the improvement of the political condition and government of India in connection with British interests, and to encourage British enterprise and the employment of British capital; and the primary object of the league was declared to be, to urge upon the attention of the parliament and people of England, by all legitimate and constitutional means, the advantages that would accrue to Great Britain and India by the placing of British India under the direct government of the crown, independent of the colonial-office; and the constitution of a legislative council, to be composed of independent persons chosen from the British community of India, in place of the then existing council, composed of nominees of the court of directors, and other official persons. The meeting was attended by a large portion of the influential European society of Calcutta; and resolutions approving the objects declared, and confirmatory of the allegations in the petitions to the Queen and the two houses of parliament, were unanimously carried. At this period, Calcutta was at war both within and without its boundaries, and society was convulsed through every grade of its varied populations. Most opportunely at this time, the arrival of Sir Colin Campbell, as commander-in-chief of the armies of India, had the effect of reassuring society, and imparting new strength and

energy to the government. The qualifications of Sir Patrick Grant for the post he had been temporarily called upon to occupy were not doubted; but he laboured under the disadvantage of holding his military appointments from the Company, and, consequently, could do nothing without the sanction and approval of the governor-general in council. His hands were thus tied. Sir Colin, on the contrary, was free to act upon his own responsibility as an officer of the British crown; and the brightest anticipations were indulged as to the conduct of the war in his hands. The new commander-in-chief, who left England in July, at some twenty-four hours' notice, in order to carry out the wishes of his sovereign in her Eastern empire, is a scion of one of the many branches of the Scottish clan of Campbell. He was born near Glasgow in 1792, and entered the army in 1808, as an ensign in the 9th regiment of foot. His first campaign was amidst the swamps and fetid miasma of Walcheren, and he afterwards participated in the glories of the Peninsular campaigns, being present, among other engagements, at the battles of Vimiera, Corunna, Barossa, and Vittoria, and also at the siege of San Sebastian, where he received two severe wounds, adding to them a third at the passage of the Bidassoa. He then proceeded to North America, and served there during 1814 and 1815. He was subsequently employed in the West Indies; and, in 1823, was engaged as brigade-major in quelling a formidable insurrection in Demerara. In 1842 he embarked for China, in command of the 98th regiment of foot, which he headed during the storming of Chin-kiang-foo, and the operations in the Yang-tze-Kiang, which led to the signing of the peace of Nankin. His next field of service was India, where he greatly distinguished himself in the second Punjab campaign, under Lord Gough, in 1848-'49. Throughout that period of his military career he commanded a division of infantry, and distinguished himself at Ramnuggur, the Chenab, at Sadoolapore, at Chillianwallah (where he received his fourth wound), and at Goojerat; and took an active part, after the battle at the last-mentioned place, in the pursuit of Dost Mohammed, and the occupation of Peshawur. In consideration of his gallant services in the last-named campaign, and of his wounds, he was, in 1849, appointed a knight commander of the Bath, and received the thanks of parliament and of the East India Company. In 1851 and the following year, while brigadier-general, in command of the Peshawur districts, he was constantly engaged in most difficult operations against the hill tribes surrounding the valley, including the forcing of the Kohat Pass, under the late General Sir Charles J. Napier, and the repeated affairs against the Momunds, who were glad to come to terms after their defeat at Punj Pao by a small detachment of cavalry and horse artillery, under Sir Colin Campbell's immediate command, the combined tribes numbering upwards of 8,000 men. Returning to England in the early part of 1853, he was appointed, on the breaking out of the war with Russia, to the command of a brigade of infantry in Turkey, whence he proceeded to the Crimea, where he commanded the highland division. His services during the Crimean campaign were rewarded by promotion to the rank of lieutenant-general; and the grand crosses of the Bath, the Legion of Honour, and the Sardinian order of Maurice and St. Lazare, were conferred upon him. On his return home, he was presented with the freedom of the city of London, and the honorary degree of D.C.L. was conferred upon him by the university of Oxford. The important charge of inspector-general of infantry was subsequently held by Sir Colin; and at the time of his departure for India, he was also one of her majesty's aides-de-camp.

Sir Colin Campbell arrived at Calcutta on the 14th of August, 1857; and on the 17th of the same month he announced his assumption of the chief command of the troops in India by the following notification:—

"*By the Commander-in-Chief.*—Her majesty having been graciously pleased to appoint me commander-in-chief of the forces in India, in the room of the late lamented General the Hon. George Anson, and her majesty having also been graciously pleased to confer upon me the rank of general in the East Indies, I now assume the command of the army in India. In doing so, it affords me the highest satisfaction to find under my orders troops who have so fully proved themselves, in the recent arduous operations in the field, to be what I have ever known British soldiers in every quarter of the globe—courageous, faithful, obedient, and enduring.

its effects would be ruinous. We must have one man who is able to direct military operations, and in whom implicit confidence can be placed. So long as the civil and military authorities pull together, all is well; but if there be knowledge on the one side and power on the other, things are apt to become very unpleasant. We suppose that Lord Canning was chosen by the government at home not on account of any military abilities which his lordship may happen to possess, but simply for his administrative capacity. On that account so able a soldier as Sir Colin Campbell was selected to assume the command of her majesty's and the honourable Company's forces in India, so soon as the crisis arrived which would render military talents of more value than the exercise of any of those qualities by which a settled government is established and improved. Such being the case, the powers of the commander-in-chief could hardly have been too extensive: not, indeed, his offensive powers, but his capabilities of resistance, which would enable him to persevere in any line of conduct which he might deem it expedient to pursue. But the silence of Lord Granville upon this point in the House of Lords was ominous; and the mere fact that Sir Colin Campbell has only assumed his seat as an extraordinary member of council fourteen days after his arrival, wears an ugly aspect, though not with reference to himself. We suppose that the governor-general had ample powers to permit Sir Colin Campbell to assume his seat even without any authorisation from home. But perhaps the latter chose the more independent plan, and thought that as he had been appointed from England, so his position in the legislative council should come from thence."*

From the arrival of Sir Colin Campbell at Calcutta, on the 13th of August, to his departure for the field at the end of October, a period of nearly ten weeks elapsed, during which the public mind was left in total ignorance of his movements; and the silence that prevailed upon the subject, at length produced a considerable degree of animadversion; but when the veil that had shrouded his proceedings from general view was lifted, it was perceived that this very period of supposed inactivity, was that in which ceaseless energy and marvellous activity had been most displayed, and in which he had laid the foundations whereon his subsequent successes were based. When the commander-in-chief first set foot on the soil of India, nothing could be more disastrous than the intelligence that awaited him. Oude in arms—Rohilcund revolted—the Doab in the hands of the enemy—all Central India in confusion. One great magazine had been lost at Delhi; the gun manufactory at Futteghur was destroyed; all communication with the Punjab cut off; a small British force was struggling to hold a position of observation, not of siege, before Delhi; Lucknow and Agra were tottering amidst the surrounding surge of rebellion that threatened every moment to engulph them; the heroic Havelock, with matchless skill and courage, was maintaining himself in the neighbourhood of Cawnpore, against overpowering numbers and the ravages of a deadly epidemic; while in Calcutta, itself full of anxiety and dread, he found a small European garrison, scarcely sufficient to overawe the loose native population, and watch the three disarmed sepoy regiments in its vicinity: in short, at that moment, he had the mutinous army of Bengal (100,000 strong) and the revolted populations of Oude and the North-Western Provinces to contend against; while the whole force under his direct orders, as commander-in-chief, amounted to something less than 7,000 English bayonets, with only about 2,000 native troops that could be relied on; and this force not concentrated, but scattered over a vast extent of territory between Calcutta and Cawnpore. Yet, with this inadequate means, he had in the first place to secure and hold the river line of communication to Allahabad, 800 miles in length; to keep open the land route to the same point, 498 miles of road; to maintain an imposing force under Havelock at Cawnpore, 200 miles yet further in advance; and, at the same time, to hold down with giant grasp the excited populations of the great cities of Benares, Patna, and Calcutta. In addition to these causes of anxiety, a fall in the Ganges had at this period rendered the river route to Allaha-

* Among the *on dits* of Calcutta society at the time, it was currently reported, that at first government for some time positively refused to recognise Sir Colin Campbell as commander-in-chief. With his usual promptitude, Sir Colin gave them a day to make up their minds and arrive at a decision, as, in the event of further non-recognition, it was his intention to return to England by the next steamer. The notification appeared within the time limited, and the return voyage was for the present averted.

had tedious and uncertain, and it became necessary to organise another and surer method of forwarding reinforcements to the front. This Sir Colin did by establishing along the Great Trunk-road a mode of transport, by which 200 men a-day were regularly forwarded in covered carts, drawn by bullocks, and relieved at regular stages; and so perfect was the system he established for this purpose, that when the troops arrived at their halting-places, they found their meals regularly prepared for them, as would be the case at regular quarters, the whole line of road being meanwhile kept clear of rebels by movable columns of infantry and artillery, which marched along it at irregular intervals, and so completely protected the route, that not a detachment or a man was cut off through the entire march. It was in maturing these arrangements, and in settling the plans for future operations in the field, that the time passed by the commander-in-chief in Calcutta was occupied; and to the indefatigable exertions and ceaseless care of Sir Colin Campbell during this period of supposed inaction, much of the success of the ensuing campaign may justly be attributed.

While the capital of Bengal was agitated by continual alternations from a state of comparative tranquillity to the wild excitement of sudden panic—its population alike discontented with itself and with the government upon which it depended for safety and importance—the chief cities of the sister presidencies were not exempt from causes for disquietude, though happily such were of insignificant extent and brief duration. Thus, at Madras, although it was generally believed that the troops were perfectly stanch and without the slightest sympathy for the Bengal mutineers, it was known, by some intercepted treasonable correspondence, that a spirit of discontent existed among the Mussulmans there, and it was consequently deemed expedient to bring into the city a strong force of horse artillery, and to patrol the streets of the Black Town with mounted guards of volunteer cavalry. The occasional arrival of disbanded mutineers from the Bengal stations, did not diminish the anxiety inseparable from their presence; but happily, although upon several occasions much consternation and confusion prevailed among the European population, no serious grounds had appeared for disquietude until the 18th of August, when it was reported in the city, that the 8th regiment of Madras light cavalry had mutinied while on the way from Bangalore, to embark at Madras for Calcutta. As the affair occurred not more than twenty-six miles from the former city, and was repeated on a nearer approach, it naturally occasioned intense alarm among the European inhabitants, as well as excitement among the native population. The circumstances were as follows:—The regiment had volunteered for foreign service, and was on its march down from Bangalore for the purpose of embarking at Madras. But on its arrival at Streepormutore, twenty-six miles from Madras, it put forward a claim for the rates of pay, batta, and pension which existed before 1837, and were more favourable to the sepoy than the present rates. Such a claim, put forward at such a moment, was most distressing and perplexing. Nevertheless, some of the officers started by train at once for Madras, to represent the difficulty to the government, which, under the pressure of circumstances, agreed to guarantee the concession of the terms demanded; and the officers returned to Streepormutore, to inform the sepoys that their requests were complied with. The corps then proceeded to Poonamallee, thirteen miles from Madras, and, having halted, declared, "They would march on no terms whatsoever; they would not make war upon their countrymen." Fortunately two guns and some artillerymen had just arrived at Poonamallee. The sowars were speedily deprived of their horses, pistols, &c., and left only with their swords. The corps submitted quietly to being disarmed, and were soon after disbanded.

Upon intelligence of this affair reaching Madras, the volunteers were instantly warned for duty; patrols traversed the thoroughfares of the town by day and night; the government compound, in an incredibly short time, became filled with artillery, and its banqueting-hall with soldiers; mortars were placed on the fort facing the Mussulman quarter of Triplicane, the inhabitants of which were known to be of dubious fidelity, as were those also of Arcot and Vellore; and it was felt that, as the plague-spot had now touched Madras, it would be impossible to predict how far and how fatally it might spread. Fortunately for the city and its inhabitants, the mutiny of the 3rd light cavalry was the beginning and the end of rebellion in Madras.

With regard to the sister presidency of Bombay, all had remained quiet in its capital up to the middle of August; but at some of the military stations on the northern border, the mutinous spirit that raged with devastating effect, and had saturated the earth with European blood throughout Bengal, had crossed the boundaries and infected the army. Thus at Ahmedabad, Deesa, and Punderpore, attempts were made to incite the troops to revolt and murder their officers; but in the first-named place, the instigators to mischief were seized by the men to whom they applied, and given over to the authorities for condign punishment; and in the other stations, a show of firm resistance on the part of the civil officers, and the total indifference of the troops generally to the arguments of stray incendiaries from the Bengal stations, speedily restored the presidency to its accustomed serenity.

CHAPTER XXVI.

ERRONEOUS IMPRESSIONS IN ENGLAND; LORD ELLENBOROUGH AND THE MUTINIES; DISCUSSIONS IN PARLIAMENT; THE NEWSPAPERS; VERNON SMITH AND LORD CANNING; EUROPEAN OFFICERS WITH THE NATIVE REGIMENTS; THE MISSIONARIES; LEGISLATIVE INDIFFERENCE TO INDIAN AFFAIRS; ALARMING NEWS FROM CALCUTTA; DISPATCH OF TROOPS; LORD ELLENBOROUGH, MR. DISRAELI, AND MR. MANGLES; QUESTION AS TO TRANSIT; INEFFICIENCY OF THE INDIAN CIVIL SERVICE; POLICY OF ANNEXATION DISCUSSED; VIGOROUS ACTION CALLED FOR; SIR COLIN CAMPBELL APPOINTED COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF IN BENGAL; PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES ON INDIAN AFFAIRS; POPULAR DISQUIETUDE; ADDRESS OF THE COMMONS TO HER MAJESTY; FURTHER AUGMENTATION OF THE EUROPEAN FORCE; THE ROYAL FAMILY OF OUDE; PETITION OF THE QUEEN-MOTHER AND PRINCES TO THE HOUSE OF LORDS; REJECTED ON A POINT OF FORM; LORD REDESDALE; SIR FITZROY KELLY; APPEAL TO THE HOUSE OF COMMONS; THE CAWNPORE MASSACRE DENIED; COMPENSATION; THE INDIAN RELIEF FUND; MUNIFICENT CONTRIBUTIONS; PROROGATION OF PARLIAMENT BY COMMISSION.

In order to preserve the continuity of the grand historical drama enacting amidst the blood-stained cities of Hindostan, it is now necessary to refer to the effect produced in this country by the arrival of official details of the mutinous outbreak, and to trace the proceedings of her majesty's government, of parliament, and of the court of directors, in reference to a calamity which, although known to exist, was not, for a considerable time, looked upon as more than a mere ebullition of military dissatisfaction, which a resolute application of means already in possession of the authorities at the seat of government in India, would be sufficient to repress, and to prevent a repetition of. In short, the magnitude of the danger to be grappled with was not yet appreciated, or even imagined, by the people of Great Britain, who, secure at home from the attacks of foreign enemies, hesitated to admit the possibility of aggression by any portion of their own fellow-subjects, and least of all, were prepared to doubt the loyalty and attachment of the "mild and gentle Hindoo."

Thus, at the commencement of the sanguinary struggle of 1857, by which India has been made desolate, and its plains and cities have been saturated with the blood of slaughtered thousands, it was persistently believed that the evil to be dealt with had been confined to the revolt of some half-dozen native regiments in the neighbourhood of Delhi, and about the like number in various distant localities; and it was contended, that as the native army of Bengal was composed of seventy-four infantry and thirty-four cavalry regiments, besides three brigades of horse artillery, and a host of irregular battalions (the whole of which, with the exception of the few corps enumerated, were still relied upon as faithful to their colours), it could only be necessary for the government to show its strength and determination by a moderate accession to the European force already upon the spot, to ensure the defeat and ready submission of the dissatisfied regiments. It was admitted that those regiments, irritated by imaginary indications of meditated insult to the mysteries of their faith, or by the absence of a feeling of union on the part of their European officers, and perhaps, also, tempted by the seductive offers of some emis-

saries of tributary states panting for opportunity to cast off the yoke of English domination, had raised the standard of rebellion in the city of the Mogul, and perpetrated a wanton and unprovoked massacre, and that a few detachments of troops at other places had emulated their example, and participated in their treason: but it was insisted that the affair could only be of transient duration, and certainly that nothing like a struggle for life or death existed, or could possibly exist, between the British government and its native Indian subjects; nor was it doubted for a moment but that the insurgent regiments, without commanders, money, or military stores, would be speedily coerced into submission, or annihilated, and that the authority of England over its Oriental empire would ultimately be established upon a firmer basis than ever. Such were the ideas, and such the anticipations of people in this country in the month of July, 1857. The rivers of blood that were to be waded through, the fields of carnage that were to be traversed, before such consummation could be arrived at, were happily yet hidden by the mists of distance and the veil of futurity. But the mistake has since been evidenced through the length and breadth of British India, and of many of the dependent states around its borders.

It must, however, be observed, that up to this time, the *prestige* of British ascendancy in the East had not been dimmed by reverses, and that for upwards of a century, its career, whether aggressive or otherwise, had been almost uninterruptedly triumphant. It was not thought possible that the native troops of India, trained by English officers, and paid, clothed, and fed by the English government, with present advantages and prospective benefits that elevated them in social position above all others of their class and *caste* that were not in the service of the state, would madly throw away the advantages they enjoyed for the sake of a motiveless rebellion; for the idea of their seeking to re-establish an independent Mogul empire upon the ruins of that of England in Hindostan, did not yet enter the most romantic imagination. Neither the Madras or Bombay army had given occasion to suspect their fidelity. The epidemic had not yet spread beyond Bengal, and it was not known or suspected that the insurgent regiments had any leader, or that they had concerted any common plan of action with the native princes around the English borders. The non-military population of Bengal was also believed to have taken no part in the outbreak, and to have exhibited no sympathy with the mutineers; and upon consideration of the whole circumstances, it was agreed at home, that, taking into account the friendly disposition of the semi-independent native states, the gigantic scale upon which British authority in India had been established and sustained, the undisputed loyalty of the people, and the often-proved attachment of the vastly superior numerical proportion of the sepoys to the flag under which they had been so often led to victory, there could be no fear as to the result; or that the rebellious temerity of a few treacherous battalions could shake the solid groundwork of our Oriental rule. The outbreak was admitted to be a subject for serious consideration; but that any difficulty could arise in disposing of it satisfactorily when England should in earnest put forth her hand to arrest the progress of the evil, was a contingency not thought of for a moment.

We have traced, in the preceding chapters of this work, some of the earlier incidents connected with this gigantic upheaving of the races and powers of India against their English rulers in various districts, embracing, also, as well the loss as the recovery of Cawnpore and of Delhi, with their attendant horrors; and shall now proceed to narrate the progress of events associated with the mutiny in India, as they arose in this country during the months of June, July, and August, 1857.

The fact of mutinies having broken out among the sepoy regiments at Barrackpore, Meerut, and other stations, had been reported to the directors of the East India Company, by Lord Canning, as they occurred in order of time; and after the catastrophes at Meerut and Delhi, his lordship urged upon the attention of the court, the necessity that became every day more apparent for a large and immediate addition to the strength of the European force in Bengal.* On the 10th of June, the Earl of Ellenborough, in the House of Lords, called the attention of their lordships to the lamentable details that had then been received of the disturbances in India, and expressed his opinion, that there must have been some strange misrepresen-

* See *ante*, p. 156.

tations and suppressions in the accounts that had reached this country in reference to the outbreak. His lordship proceeded to say, that "he had looked most carefully into all the statements laid before the house as to the mutinies in the Bengal territory, and from them could come to no other conclusion, than that the source of the discontent and mutiny was the apprehension that there was a design on the part of the government to interfere with the religion of the natives." His lordship then examined the proceedings of the Indian government for removing the erroneous impression; and, after eulogising General Hearsey for his address to the men of the 19th regiment, when disbanded at Barrackpore on the 31st of March (in which the general disclaimed, on the part of the government, any intention to interfere with their *caste* or religion),* he proceeded to comment on the conduct of the governor-general in the following terms:—

"And what should the course of the governor-general have been? Ought he not, with his own hand, in three sentences, to have communicated to the whole country his cordial concurrence with everything which General Hearsey had said; and should he not have made his concurrence with that speech as public as the speech itself was necessarily made throughout the country? I am convinced, that if the governor-general had pursued that course we should have heard no more of the incendiary fires, nor of the open mutiny at Meerut. But that course was not taken; and although I absolve the government of India, as a government, from any intention to interfere with the religion of the natives, I must say that there have been of late—and daily increasing of late—circumstances which were calculated to excite in the minds of the natives great apprehension upon that subject. I saw, in a newspaper which I read yesterday, the names of six or eight colonels, and of important persons in the civil administration of the country, high in office, mentioned as being connected with missionary operations; and to my great astonishment—I can scarcely believe it now to be true, though I saw it distinctly stated in the papers—that the governor-general himself (Lord Canning) largely subscribes to every society which has for its object the conversion of the natives. My lords, the governor-general of India can do nothing in his individual capacity. He cannot separate himself from his public character as governor-general. He is essentially the government of the country. No one looks to anybody else. There may be others who think that they are of importance; but they are not. The only man looked to in India is the governor-general. It is not in India alone, but more particularly in India, that it is generally understood that if a man at the head of the government earnestly desires anything, it is his intention to enforce his desire, and to effect his purpose. I deem that fact of these subscriptions of Lord Canning, the governor-general of India, to societies having for their object the conversion of the natives (if it be true), to be one of the most dangerous things which could have happened to the security of our government in India. You may depend upon it, that if persons holding high office in the government of India, and above all, at the head of the government, are permitted to act on this principle, and to indulge their own personal feelings—I do not doubt but they may be acting from conscientious motives—for the purpose of changing the religion of the people, you will see the most bloody revolution which has at any time occurred in India. The English will be expelled from India; and, expelled from that country, they will not leave behind them a dozen sincere converts to Christianity. The question which I wish to put to the noble earl opposite is, whether instructions have been sent, or will forthwith be sent, to India, directing the different governments to make known at every station of the army throughout the country, that the government will for the future, as in times past, protect all its subjects in the undisturbed exercise of their religion?"

In reply to the question, Earl Granville stated the opinion of government to be, that Lord Canning had acted with admirable judgment in abstaining from making any such notification as that suggested by the Earl of Ellenborough. His lordship expressed his astonishment at the attack made upon the governor-general by the noble earl, in the remarks he had made upon an imaginary sacrifice of the important interests of the country, by alleged attempts to proselytise the natives of India; and declared his belief, that although Lord Canning was, as an individual, sincerely religious, there was no one more likely to act

* See *ante*, p. 49.

with judgment in every respect, on such a subject as the faith of a whole people, than the governor-general. His lordship proceeded:—"I do not know whether he has subscribed to any missionary society, or under what circumstances such subscription may have been made; but I know that he has had to deplore rumours which have been circulated, of the most unfounded and ridiculous character, and which will gain some strength by the attack made upon him by a person of the eminence of the noble earl (Ellenborough.) As a personal friend of Lord Canning, I rejoice that, from what I hear, the whole community of Calcutta has been struck by the judgment, firmness, and courage which he has shown in dealing with the beginning of these mutinous proceedings. I have no hesitation in saying, that the course taken by Lord Canning has been more judicious than that pointed out by the noble earl. The notification, had it been issued when the mutiny was threatened, would have appeared as an acknowledgment of a change in the policy of the government; whereas, it ought to be as patent as possible, that it is, always has been, and always will continue to be, the policy of the government, to afford the greatest possible protection to the natives in the exercise of their religious rites. The government, therefore, approve his not having issued any such notification, and no instructions have been sent to India of the kind suggested by the noble earl."

After some observations from the Earl of Malmesbury and the Marquis of Lansdowne, upon the importance of the question replied to, and the utter groundlessness of any assumption of a disposition on the part of Lord Canning to interfere with the religion of the races of India, the Earl of Ellenborough declared himself satisfied with the disclaimer of Lord Canning's friends; but said, that "if it had been the fact, as he understood it to be, that the governor-general had subscribed to any societies having for their object the conversion of the natives, he ought to be immediately removed from the office he held, and thus all danger that might otherwise arise from his misconduct would be obviated."

The discussion so commenced in the House of Lords by the Earl of Ellenborough, furnished occasion for much comment both in and out of parliament. Day after day the public journals teemed with reports of wholesale massacres and frightful sufferings, inflicted upon defenceless women and children; while extracts from private correspondence filled their columns with piteous details of strange and overwhelming calamities, from which neither age, sex, or station was exempt, until at length the popular mind became imbued with a sense of accumulating but yet undefined evil, the more portentous because distant; and because, also, an accurate knowledge of facts could only be obtained at uncertain intervals, and long after the rumoured calamity had been consummated. Many of the accounts describing the progress of the revolt, as furnished by the Indian journals at this time, were confused and disjointed, and sometimes were contradictory; but, as time elapsed, there came enough of positive information to render it too certain that a terrible catastrophe had fallen upon British society in India; that whole regiments had risen in revolt; that European officers, with their wives and children, had been put to death under circumstances of unparalleled barbarity; that the mutinous sepoys had taken possession of Delhi, the imperial city of the Mogul, and had proclaimed the pensioned and titular king of Delhi emperor of Hindostan.

The state of the army in India, and especially of that branch immediately connected with the presidency of Bengal, naturally, under such circumstances, became a subject of interest, and attracted much attention. On the 11th of June, Mr. Rich (member for Southampton) inquired "if any measures had been taken since the passing of the act of 16th and 17th Vic., cap. 95, for increasing the number of European officers in the sepoy regiments; for checking the drain of officers to civil employments; and for otherwise securing the constant presence with their regiments of a greater number of officers than at the time of passing that act appeared to be the practice of the Indian army?*—also, whether any measures

* That the court of directors were not ignorant of the prejudicial effect of the system by which regimental officers were taken from their proper sphere of duty to perform the functions of civil magistrates, collectors, superintendents, &c., &c , is clear, from the fact that, on the 5th of April, 1856, the governor-general in council reported to the court of directors that the pressure of officers for detached employment had become so great, that it was necessary to take measures to supply the existing vacancies of ensigns, as well as to appoint supernumerary cadets. "In some regiments," it was stated, "there are seven,

had been taken for raising the general condition of the native officers, and for opening promotion to them at a shorter term than the twenty or thirty years of previous service, by which only it was then to be obtained? Upon this occasion, the president of the Board of Control (Mr. Vernon Smith) stated, that with respect to the drain for civil employment, the directors *then* had under their consideration a plan for obviating the inconveniences that had been found to arise from the prevailing system, by declaring that officers in the Queen's regiments were to be considered competent to obtain staff employment; and, as a consequence, the number of Company's officers now required for that purpose would be diminished. He was not aware that any measures had been taken with a view to raise the general condition of native officers; nor did he know that any complaints had been made on the subject: and nothing had been done in reference to opening promotion to the rank of native officers, at a shorter period than the ordinary terms of twenty or thirty years. He observed, that as the question might have been founded upon the unfortunate occurrences which had recently taken place in India, it might be desirable that he (Mr. Vernon Smith) should state, that "those occurrences were in no way to be attributed to the absence of the officers from their regiments;" and he expressed a hope that the public would be under no alarm upon that subject, as, owing to the promptitude and vigour which had been displayed by his noble friend Lord Canning, and the excellent demonstrations which had been made upon the occasion of the disbandment of the 19th regiment by General Hearsey, "the late disaffection among the troops in India had completely been put an end to."

Never was man more mistaken!—never did a servant of the crown, exercising high responsible functions, betray grosser ignorance of facts that it was his special province to deal with. It was patent to the world, that the regimental duties of European officers attached to native corps, were neglected for the advantages and emoluments of civil and staff employment;* that through absence from regimental duty, and

and in some more than seven, officers per regiment on staff and detached employ." In the following September the directors, in answer to the governor-general, stated, that "the difficulties which our several governments, and especially those of Bengal and Bombay, have experienced in providing officers for staff and other detached employments, and at the same time in maintaining regimental efficiency, have been long a source of anxiety to us." They then intimated their intention of sending supernumerary cadets; but added—"We need hardly say, the appointment of one or more officers to the rank of ensign, in addition to those at present on the establishment of a regiment of native infantry, would not be the remedy required to meet effectually the present exigencies of the Indian army." And they then quoted the following opinion of Sir C. Napier, expressed ten years before:—"The court of directors may rest assured that neither the native officers nor the sepoys look with either respect or affection on a set of European officers who, as far as I can observe, scarcely speak to, much less mix with and study the character of, the native officers." The truth is, the practice of drawing away the best, the cleverest, and the most hard-working officers for staff and other departments, and leaving the actual command to the young, the ignorant, and the idle, seems to have been carried to the very extreme of imprudence, and the evil was apparent in every quarter. The European regimental officers were young—mostly ignorant of the language of the men they commanded; and from their supercilious refusal to mix with the natives, they were of course slow to acquire any colloquial proficiency. Thus the sepoy regiments were, in reality, officered by men of their own race and religion, who taught the young gentlemen from England the routine of duty. The latter learned to look upon service with their regiments as a vexation, and, after a time, as a humiliation. Every one who was anybody was draughted away to something else, and of course it was both onerous and mortifying to remain. When seven or more of the senior officers are away, getting higher pay, and with the prospect of indefinite advancement, it cannot be wondered at that the regimental service should be demoralised, and that the Hindoos should discover the fact.

* The pernicious system by which the troops in India have been deprived of their best officers, is thus illustrated by the Calcutta correspondent of the *Times*, July 15th, 1857:—"For the past twenty years the course of events has compelled the government of India to deprive the Bengal army of its most energetic and most able officers. Every ten years has added a new kingdom. Every new kingdom has, and must have, an administrative service. That service must be cheap and efficient. It must also be composed of men ready-made—of men who, at least, understand the native language and native character. Such men can be found only in the army; and every man who can talk readily in the vernacular—who has an appetite for native traditions—who has a tendency to rate natives at their fair value—who is, in short, competent to govern, is drawn away for civil employ. The brain of the regiment thus abstracted, it remains to steal its muscles. The youngster who can ride, hunt, swim, wrestle, and fight; the boy who pursues tigers on foot; the man who can quell a row by a rough jest—the very men to attract and govern the childlike sepoy—are 'appointed to the irregulars.' What is left to the line regiment? We will not say 'the refuse,' but, at all events, half-a-dozen thoroughly disheartened men. They have lost their chance.

an unwarrantable and offensive assumption of personal superiority, a wide and daily-increasing chasm yawned between the European and native officers of the same regiments; that the former, influenced by an idea of European importance, had of late years kept their Indian colleagues and brother officers at an irritating distance, and affected to tolerate rather than encourage even necessary professional intercourse with them. But while indulging this blind assumption of superiority, they neglected to seek, or to cultivate, other influences over the men than such as might arise from a mere mechanical obedience to the requirements of military command. The soldiery of Hindostan, containing, as it did at the time, a vast portion of the more irregular and excitable elements of the native population, required to be ruled with a firm but gentle hand by their European officers; and, therefore, so much the more necessary was it that the latter should be ever near to, and capable of understanding the language, the habits, the prejudices of their men—to occupy their minds, and to engage their affections. To the neglect of these paramount duties may fairly be attributed, to a great extent, the irritable state of feeling in the Bengal army, which at length exploded in revolt and massacre, and in which European officers were among the first victims. But of this obvious fact the president of the Board of Control had apparently suffered himself to remain profoundly ignorant. Nor does it appear that his colleagues in office were better informed than himself upon a subject so vitally affecting the interests of the whole native army of Bengal; although, to persons unconnected with government, and whose views of Indian affairs were unobscured by the mists of official ignorance and prejudice, the magnitude of the evil was apparent, and the necessity for reform in the system by which the European element in the native army was managed, admitted of no question.

On the same day, Mr. Kinnaird, M.P. for Perth, upon the presentation of a petition from certain missionaries in Bengal, called the attention of the House of Commons to the administration of the government of India, more especially as it referred to the lower provinces of Bengal, which, said the honourable member, "comprised an area of 290,000 square miles, and sustained a population of from forty to forty-five millions of people." These provinces, he observed, had been for more than three-quarters of a century under the dominion of England; and, having been her first possessions, there she had committed the greatest errors in her government. He then referred to the system of land tenure, established by Lord Cornwallis in 1792, as being a source of boundless misery. This system, known by the name of the "permanent settlement," and the "zemindaree system," was good in theory, and, if honestly carried out, might have been beneficial to the people; but, in practice, all those provisions in it calculated to protect the poor, had been systematically lost sight of. If (said he) they compared the state of the lower provinces with the North-West Provinces, which had more recently come under their sway, they would see in the latter the beneficial results of good government, and in the former the evils of grinding oppres-

Promotion comes slowly and without work. At forty, sepoy-talk becomes tiresome. There is the billiard-table. 'Jack' is voted a bore, and the officer either sinks into the useless, self-indulgent '*Qui hye*,' or more frequently disencumbers himself of Orientalism altogether, and lives on, a grumbling Englishman in a foreign land. There are better specimens, of course, else had the system already broken down; but with the multiplication of new departments, and the opening up of new careers, they are becoming few. Moreover, as if it were not enough to draw off the best soldiers from these regiments, the government is compelled, just when they have become unfit for active life, to send them back to regimental commands. A colonel who has been teaching the 'black classics' for thirty years, commands one regiment. An officer, who cannot ride, and never saw even a review, is placed at the head of another. Half the regiments in Bengal are commanded by men whose lives have been spent, and well spent, in the *bureau*. Nor is this all. As if to destroy the last relic of *esprit de corps*, or soldierlike pride, the regiments are turned into penal settlements. Any unlucky staff-officer, who commits a fault, or who is too stupid, or too slow, or too careless, or too ignorant for staff work, is 'remanded' to his regiment. The other day a native revenue-officer in Pegu bolted. His superior, a very able collector, was immediately remanded to his regiment, and all India murmured at the severity of the sentence. Imagine the guards turned into a penal settlement for commissioners of excise! What wonder that a regiment, commanded by an old tax-gatherer, aided by a couple of discontented captains, and five or six boys hungering for civil employ, should lose confidence in its officers? As we said before, it is loss of confidence that constitutes the present danger. The sepoy has always believed lies. He was just as credulous in the time of Clive; but he has until now always had confidence in his immediate superiors, has always been able to gain access easily to men whom he knew would not deceive him."

sion. In eight years Lord Dalhousie, in the Punjab, which came into their possession in 1848, created a system of government said to be free from all the defects developed in the older provinces, and, with due allowance for the weakness of the native character, a perfect model of excellence. But in Bengal their institutions were pronounced a failure; and some who knew the country felt that they were on the eve of a crisis; for not only were things bad, but in very important respects they were growing worse. Let the house just consider that the Europeans, who were the governing class in India, were but a handful compared with the natives (less than 100,000, against 150,000,000), and they would at once perceive that their power rested on *prestige*. Destroy that *prestige* by any violent shock, and their power was gone. The house would agree with him, that a government that did its duty should at least secure to the subjects of the government these four things:—1, the administration of justice; 2, security to life and property; 3, protection to all classes, poor as well as rich; 4, and lastly, exemption from excessive taxation. It became, therefore, his duty, in submitting these resolutions to the house, to give them such information as was within his power on these several points; and if he succeeded in showing that on all these points our administration had been radically and grievously defective, he must believe that they would take some effectual steps to secure for these their fellow-subjects those rights to which they were as much entitled as themselves. The honourable gentleman then proceeded to quote public documents, to show that the condition of the people of India had not been made the subject of parliamentary inquiry; that the real state of the case was known only to a few civil servants, who had for many years done nothing to remedy it, and who were utterly unable to explain their neglect. The same evidence proved, that in Bengal an amount of suffering and debasement existed which probably was not equalled, and certainly not exceeded, in the slave-states of America. The laws were oppressively severe, enabling the zemindar or landlord at any time to sell up and ruin the unfortunate tenant; while, by the arts of bribery and intrigue, the zemindars acquired an influence in the courts of justice which practically precluded all hope of redress for the unhappy ryots. For a few shillings any number of false witnesses could easily be procured, and the police always took the strongest side. The zemindars were also in the habit of treating their ryots not as their tenants, but their servants: they set themselves up as petty kings, and exacted tribute from the poor cultivator every time a birth, marriage, or death occurred in his family. Not only did the zemindaree system grind the ryots to the dust, but it operated as one of the most powerful obstacles to the spread of Christianity in India. The honourable member next referred to a petition presented to the governor-general in council, in which it was alleged, that the cruelties and extortions practised under the police arrangements, and the maladministration of justice, had engendered among the rural population a wide-spread discontent, and a daily-increasing disaffection towards their rulers. In the lower provinces of Bengal (continued the honourable gentleman), thousands of square miles are inhabited by millions of people who enjoy neither justice nor protection. The magistrate's court was often sixty miles distant from certain districts; and so wide was one man's jurisdiction, that a judge had sometimes to go 140 miles to try a case of murder. It occasionally happened that a native population of 2,000,000 were governed by two solitary Europeans; and this, too, it must be remembered, in a country without roads. He (Mr. Kinnaird) had in his possession a copy of a document which had been moved for, but had not been laid on the table. Though it had not been produced, it had been at the India-house for the last month. It came from Mr. Halliday, a great authority in India; and throughout the whole of Bengal, according to the evidence of Mr. Halliday, the strong preyed almost universally upon the weak. The native police, from not being closely and vigorously superintended, were a scourge instead of an advantage to the country. The village police were inadequately and uncertainly paid, and kept in a permanent state of starvation. By the evidence of another Indian official, the police were no worse than the rest of the population. But the truth was, they were even worse than the people whose lives and property they had been appointed to protect. The police committed one-fourth more murders and robberies than the rest of the population. What would be our thoughts if such a state of things existed in England? The right honourable gentleman (Mr. V.

Smith) might, in opposing this motion, rely a good deal on the evidence of Mr. Grant; but that gentleman knew very little of the interior of Bengal, whereas he (Mr. Kinnaird) had mentioned positive facts. He thought the house must be convinced, from the statements he had brought before them, that the whole subject demanded a thorough investigation; not an investigation that was to stop any measure now in progress for the amelioration of these evils; not an investigation which was to array class against class, and promote discord; but a calm, patient investigation such as English gentlemen were capable of making, and the result of which ought to be submitted to that house. If he was asked what object would be attained by inquiry into facts which were admitted to a great extent, to say the least, by the authorities in Bengal, he would say there were three objects. Firstly, it would put all men who cared to know, in possession of the facts which some men, only, now knew. Did the governor-general himself know them? Did that house know them? He was tempted to ask, did the court of directors themselves know them? Secondly, it would put the stamp of the government authority on the authenticity of the facts, so that it would be impossible to have official denials of those facts from interested parties either in India or at home. Thirdly, and lastly, the knowledge of the publicity given to the existence of the evils must, in the nature of things, quicken the activity both of the legislative council of India and of the lieutenant-governor of Bengal, to devise and to push forward measures of fundamental reform; so that they should have no more obstructions put in the way of such measures as the one lately introduced into the legislative council by Mr. Grant on the sale of land for arrears, as he understood from a letter he had received from Calcutta, was now the case. And, to refer to another most important subject, they would perhaps cease to hear of such a fact as this—that when the Indian authorities were themselves desirous of putting down the cruel swinging festivals in Bengal, as had been done in Madras and Bombay, they had been prevented doing so by a despatch from the court of directors at home! He considered that the present government of India was on its trial. Four years had passed away since it had assumed its present form, and nothing to alleviate these evils had been done for Bengal, whatever had been talked about. The North-West Provinces might be enjoying a good system of government. The Punjab, thanks to that distinguished nobleman who had so ably presided for many years over the government of India, might be under a still more perfect system; but what was this to the 35,000,000 of Bengal? It was for them he pleaded. He fully recognised the importance of many things which had been done, such as—1, abolishing the government connection with idolatry; 2, destroying sutteeism; 3, infanticide; 4, thuggism; 5, human sacrifices; 6, introducing a system of education for the people; and, 7, more recently, legally recognising the marriage of widows. But again he said, this did not alter the fact of the miserable social condition of the inhabitants of Bengal. The honourable gentleman concluded by moving the following resolutions:—"That, from representations made to this house, there is reason to believe that the present administration of the lower provinces of Bengal does not secure to the population the advantages of good government; but that the mass of the people suffer grievous oppression from the police, and the want of proper administration of justice: that, in the opinion of this house, it is desirable that her majesty's government should take immediate steps with a view to the institution of special inquiries into the social condition of the people; and to ascertain what measures have been adopted in consequence of the oppression under which a large proportion of the inhabitants of the lower provinces are now said to be suffering, more especially with reference to the system of landed tenures, the state of the police, and the administration of justice; and also that such report be laid upon the table of the house."

The indifference with which the affairs of India were regarded, even at this time, by the imperial parliament, may be conceived by the fact, that upon the honourable member resuming his seat, it was moved that the house be counted; but as there happened to be actually more than forty members present, out of the 654 composing the House of Commons, the subject was resumed. Mr. Vernon Smith expressed his concurrence in the opinion of the mover of the resolutions, that it was desirable for the house to interfere occasionally in the affairs of India, and to exhibit some tokens of sympathy with the natives; but he contended, that the resolutions before the house

were not of such a practical character as to call for attention. He combated the views of the honourable mover, and deprecated any attempt to disturb the existing state of government in India. The resolutions were also objected to by Lord John Russell, by Sir Edward Perry, and by Mr. Mangles (chairman of the court of directors.) The latter honourable member said—He entertained the most unaffected respect for the whole body of missionaries in India, and especially for some of those gentlemen who had signed the petition, among whom was the Rev. Dr. Duff, a clergyman of the greatest worth, and whose opinions were well entitled to consideration; but, at the same time, he must say he thought they had acted with singular want of judgment in this matter. He would tell the house why he entertained this opinion. He believed that, for very many years to come, the greatest difficulty of the Indian government would be to hold the balance evenly, and secure the safety of all classes, while the great experiment of converting the people to Christianity was in progress. He had no doubt whatever in his own mind, that Providence had been pleased to place the magnificent empire of India in our hands, in order that, in due time, we might be the instruments of converting the inhabitants to Christianity. The Hindoo religion was a most tolerant religion, and the people always entertained a real respect for any one whom they believed to be a devout man, whatever creed he might profess, and who preached to them the love of truth. As long as missionaries were content to do that alone, and to remain unconnected in any way with the government, they would always have a fair field open for their labours; but he deeply regretted, both for the sake of the missionaries themselves and the cause which they advocated, that they had placed themselves in the position of having taken up a political line. The unhappy spirit of disaffection which had manifested itself in certain regiments was, no doubt, based upon an ill-founded opinion, that the government had some intention of interfering with their religion; and no time could have been worse chosen for the missionaries to have taken the step which they had taken. Bengal, which was perhaps the oldest British possession in India, was, as regarded the affairs of internal administration, in a very bad condition, and the East India Company would spare no pains or expense to remedy the present defects of the system. It was necessary, however, to consider the causes which had led to such a state of things. The first cause was the rashness with which Lord Cornwallis, in spite of the remonstrances of Sir J. Shore, made a permanent settlement, and handed over the ryots to the zemindars without any adequate protection: another cause was the long tyranny under which Bengal had groaned for a century, and under which all village institutions had fallen into disuse; and the third cause was the complicated judicial system which had been introduced by Lord Cornwallis. He was perfectly ready to support the statement, that the inhabitants of Bengal were an extremely timid people, and that their want of energy was so great, that it was very difficult to provide for them any institutions likely to prove of advantage to them, inasmuch as they had not the spirit necessary to maintain their own rights. Mr. Marshman, who knew Bengal well, represented the task of endeavouring to deal with the people of that province as only to be compared to carving in rotten wood; while Mr. Macauley described the Bengalee as being devoid of courage, and his physical organisation as feeble and effeminate. There were very few Bengalees in the Indian army; and, indeed, the general impression was, that one might as well enlist a monkey as a Bengalee for a soldier. Such, then, was the material upon which the government of Bengal had to work; and he should appeal to the candour of that house to say, whether the task of providing a good government for such a people was not one in which great difficulty was involved. He had that very day been in communication with a gentleman who had acted in the capacity of secretary to Lord Hardinge in the Punjab, and he had been told by that gentleman, that when our troops were approaching the Sutlej, and a battle was expected, the whole of the clerks in the offices under the commander-in-chief, who were Bengalees, had signed a round-robin, requesting permission to retire to the rear of the army. The letter conveying that request commenced thus:—"It is well known, your excellency's lordship, that we, the Bengalees, are a cowardly people." Now, he supposed, that since the beginning of the world, no class of men, with the exception of that to which he alluded, had placed upon record such a statement with

respect to itself. Let him not, however, in making these remarks, be misunderstood. Notwithstanding the want of energy by which the Bengalees were characterised, it was our duty to give them the best government in our power. But he did not look upon it only in the light of a duty; he regarded it as a pleasure to provide for them the best scheme for the administration of justice, as well as the best system of police which it was possible to devise. That object the court of directors had in some measure endeavoured to effect; and he would answer for it, that the court of directors would do, and were doing, all that they could to reform the existing evils; and that when the railroads and other great measures came into operation, the progress of India would be a marvel to the world, and something without example in history. —Lord Bury thought that the recent mutinies were in some degree referable to the withdrawal of European officers from native regiments to perform civil functions. Even when these regiments had their full complement of officers, there were only one colonel, one major, seven captains, eleven lieutenants, and five ensigns, to a regiment of 1,000 men. There being only seven captains, five lieutenants were charged with the duties of captains, leaving only six lieutenants and five ensigns, or half a lieutenant and half an ensign per company, to do regimental duty. From these numbers of officers must be deducted those who were employed in civil duties, and those who were on sick leave, or on furlough. He had not mentioned the native officers, because he did not think they were of much value. They were promoted from the ranks by seniority; and, being frequently sixty or seventy years of age, were of about as much use as a superannuated Chelsea pensioner would be in a regiment of the line. It was true that in the Bombay army this state of things had been altered, and the native officers were now not appointed entirely by seniority.—Mr. A. Mills hoped that the honourable member would be satisfied with this discussion, and would not press his motion to a division. He quoted a minute of Lord Canning, on the 6th of October, 1856, in reference to a similar application on the part of the missionaries, and said his lordship upon the occasion wrote as follows:—"A wide and vague field of inquiry, inviting discussion and difference upon such subjects as rent, wages, fixity of tenure, and the relations of poor and rich; class made to testify openly against class; the weaker remanded, when their task is done, to the vindictiveness of the stronger, against which no interposition could effectually protect them; wild and extravagant expectations of immediate advantage raised in the minds of a whole people only to be disappointed; the examination of the share which the memorialists had in causing the social evils which they deplore, and the investigation of those delicate and dangerous questions confided to persons whose responsibility would cease with the inquiry. With every sincere respect and admiration for the character of the body from which this memorial proceeds, I cannot think that the advice which they have tendered to the government of India is, in this instance, well judged, or that to adopt it would advance the end at which we all aim—the moral and social improvement of the Indian people."

After the expression of opinion thus elicited, Mr. Kinnaird declared his intention not to divide the house upon his motion; a course which was deprecated by Mr. Hadfield, who said, the debate had taken a very extraordinary turn. The honourable gentleman (Mr. Kinnaird) had taken upon himself to say that the motion ought not to be pressed, without having had the slightest consultation with those honourable members who had been attending the debate all night, and who supported him in that critical moment when, but for their presence, the house would have been counted out. The president of the Board of Control had said that he felt no surprise at the thinness of the house during this discussion; but did not the right honourable gentleman recollect, that when his predecessor addressed the house three years ago, for two hours, with respect to the finances of India, there were no more than fourteen members to listen to his statement. But how happened it that, on the present occasion, the house was so thin? Where were those honourable and valuable servants of her majesty, the whips of the house? What were they doing? He asked that question in the presence of her majesty's government. Were they not employed in thinning the house? Was it not a fact that they were at the door keeping members out? Except the right honourable gentleman the president of the Board of Control, there was not a member of the government on the minis-

terial bench, and even he walked out of the house.—Mr. V. Smith: That is not the fact. —Mr. Hadfield: An honourable gentleman said he saw him walk out; but after the right honourable gentleman's denial, of course he (Mr. Hadfield) could say no more: and now he begged to recall the attention of the house to the great seriousness of the question which was under consideration, being no less than that of the administration of justice in a country containing a sixth of the entire population of the world. It had not been, and could not be denied, that the people of India had been most unjustly treated by their rulers. All that the president of the Board of Control and the honourable member for Guildford had said, amounted to nothing more than a plea of guilty. He should insist on a division being taken on the motion. The time for mere inquiry had passed; and now was the time for the house to insist on justice being done to the down-trodden people of India, who were the worst governed nation on earth. Fifty-five Christian missionaries, of all denominations, concurred in describing the manner in which the people of India were governed to be so barbarous and corrupt, that the people's minds had become slaves to the most appalling fatalism. They cared for nothing but a mere miserable subsistence, and looked upon moral and social improvement as not destined for them. The opinion of the house in reference to these statements ought to be placed on record, and he should therefore object to the motion being withdrawn without a division.—Mr. Liddell thought it would be unwise, looking to the impression which the vote might produce in India, to press for a division; and the previous question having been moved and carried, the motion fell to the ground.

At length the time for action had arrived. On Saturday, the 27th of June, 1857, a telegram reached Leadenhall-street, that rudely awakened the sleeping responsibilities of the court of directors, by whom an extraordinary special meeting was immediately held, the result of its deliberation being, on the same evening, submitted to the president of the Board of Control, for the information of her majesty's government. A cabinet council was at once assembled; but before its results had transpired, the Calcutta mail of the 19th of May had also arrived, and the massacres of Meerut and of Delhi, although but hurriedly and imperfectly described, spread feelings of horror and apprehension through the country. As a first step on the part of the court of directors, it was resolved to apply to the government for a reinforcement to the European troops in India, to the extent of four regiments; and all officers belonging to the Company's service below the rank of regimental colonel, who were at home on furlough, were ordered to return immediately to India, and rejoin their respective corps—a measure which had the effect of restoring to their proper sphere of duty not less than 750 European officers.* On the part of the government, an order from the war-office directed the immediate embarkation of about 3,000 non-commissioned officers and men of the provisional battalion at Chatham, for the purpose of joining the service companies of their respective regiments in India, and no women or children were to be permitted to accompany them. The first detachment of this force, consisting of 220 men of the 35th regiment, and 124 of the rifle brigade, were embarked in the *Bucephalus* and *Barham*, at Gravesend, on Wednesday, the 1st of July, within five days of the receipt of the governor-general's despatch, calling for reinforcements. These drafts were followed, in rapid succession throughout July and August, by other detachments and regiments, until, by the end of the latter month, the total number of troops on their way to the scene of war amounted to 31,274 men.

Both houses of parliament had now began to take great interest in the affairs of India. On Monday, the 29th of June, the Earl of Ellenborough descanted at much length upon the disastrous news that had arrived on the preceding Saturday, announcing the outbreak and murders at Meerut, and the fall of Delhi and its attendant massacres, and that, from Calcutta to Lahore, the troops of the Bengal presidency were in open and undisguised revolt; and he severely censured the government in India for the neglect of warning that had led to such deplorable consequences. "From all I have learnt," said the noble lord, "I believe the measures which have been taken by the government

* The *Overland Mail*, referring to this order, says—"We are happy to be able to state, that the court of directors of the East India Company, have determined, with characteristic liberality, to pay the passage-money of all officers, either in their own or the Queen's service, ordered back to India to join their regiments."—The liberality, in this case, was secondary to the necessity that compelled it.

of India, from the moment they heard of the occupation of Delhi, have been prompt and judicious. I have no fault to find with their conduct since that period; but I do find fault with them for having been blind to that which ought to have been obvious to all, and for having taken no precautions before this dreadful calamity took place." His lordship then commented upon the conduct of the commander-in-chief, General Anson, in reference to the outbreak at Meerut; and said—"Where was the commander-in-chief upon that occasion? Why was he not in the midst of his troops? He must have been aware of all the difficulties which were growing up. He must have known the danger by which he was beset. He did know that those dangers existed; for on the 9th of April he assembled the troops at Umballah, and addressed them in the most sensible terms, endeavouring to undeceive them, and to bring about among them a right feeling. He, however, then went to the hills, leaving the dangers to which I refer, behind him in the plain. Such is not the conduct which a man occupying the position of commander-in-chief ought to have pursued. * * * The government have now drawn troops to Bengal, as it seems to me very properly; but, in doing so, they have left both Madras and Bombay almost defenceless. We know not the danger to which such a state of things may give rise. In short, my lords, we are, and I trust her majesty's ministers are, alive to the full extent of the danger. We are really in a position in which it becomes necessary for us to use every effort which this country can make to maintain—perhaps it may be to *recover*—that great empire which we have acquired in the East." His lordship then asked if, with India in danger under such circumstances, ministers were to be suffered to persist in carrying out their policy in China, and engaging the country in two wars at the same moment? He also desired to know the course government would adopt to reinforce the army in India. To this inquiry Earl Granville replied, that before the arrival of the recent news, 10,000 men, consisting of four fresh regiments, and reinforcements for regiments already serving in India, had been placed under orders for embarkation; and since that news had arrived, four regiments had received the same orders; making, in all, about 14,000 men. With regard to the position of affairs in India, the government had every reason to be satisfied with the energy and determination displayed by the lieutenant-governors of the districts in which attempts at mutiny had occurred; while, from the governor-general himself, "letters had been received, in which, while discussing the events which had taken place with all due gravity, he spoke so cheerfully of the ultimate result, as to inspire the government with the greatest confidence."

On the same evening, in the House of Commons, Mr. Disraeli called attention to the subject of the revolt among the native troops. He desired information as to the causes of the outbreak, and whether the civil and military authorities in India were not at issue. The right honourable member avowed his confidence that the house and the people would fully support the sovereign and her ministers in all measures necessary to the preservation of that great empire, which he looked upon as "the chief source of our wealth and power!" No one could be insensible to the extreme peril to which British authority was then exposed in India, although he believed that the tenure by which we held that country was not a frail one. Everything, however, he said, is possible where there is a negligent or incompetent government; and it was desirable to know if the governor-general had resigned. He thought the house had a right to expect from her majesty's government that they should tell the house the cause of these great disasters; and not only what was the cause of them, but whether they had been forewarned; whether the cause was political or religious; whether they originated in the maladministration of officials, or in a sudden outbreak of fanaticism; and, lastly, whether the governor-general had resigned his high office.—Mr. Vernon Smith, in reply, hoped the house would not be led away by the notion that our Indian empire was in danger. He denied that that empire was imperilled by the present disaster, and hoped that, in a very short time, the revolt would be completely suppressed by the military force already in the country, to which, however, an augmentation of about 14,000 men was about to be sent out. As to the cause of the dissatisfaction, he had some difficulty in affording an explanation; but the question would undergo the closest investigation by the Indian government. One of the causes, perhaps,

was the withdrawal of military officers from the civil service. At any rate, religious feelings had something to do with the matter; but whatever might be the cause of complaint, it would be inquired into by the Indian government. As to any differences between the commander-in-chief and the governor-general, although he was aware of such being bruited abroad, he knew nothing of them from any authentic source; but, on the contrary, was informed that, in private, each of those eminent individuals had spoken of the other in the highest terms. The governor-general had not resigned, nor was he likely to do so at such a crisis. His letters showed perfect calmness and resolution; and he repeated, there was every probability that the outbreak would be speedily suppressed.

On the 30th of June, Colonel French inquired of her majesty's government, whether it was really their intention to send the troops required for immediate service in India, out in sailing-vessels, in preference to her majesty's steamers?—and was informed, in reply, by Sir Charles Wood (first lord of the admiralty), that sailing transports were more readily and conveniently fitted for carrying troops, and therefore they would be used for the present occasion.

A motion for the production of certain returns connected with the civil service in India, was made by the Marquis of Clanricarde, on the 6th of July, on which occasion, the noble marquis said that, at present, he spoke upon imperfect information; but it appeared to him, that they were expecting the present governor-general to administer the affairs of India with the same number of civil servants that were at the disposal of the Indian government in 1846, when our territory was much smaller in extent. He learned, from the twelfth paragraph of a minute of Lord Dalhousie, laid upon their lordships' table in the course of the preceding year, that, "in eight years, four Indian kingdoms had passed under the sceptre of her majesty, and that various chieftainships and smaller districts had also been brought under her sway." Among the smaller acquisitions, were enumerated Khyrpore, Ungool, Sikkim, some Nepaulese Sirdars, Mundote, the Nawab Nazim of Bengal, and the states of Central India. There were, besides those, the Punjab, Rangoon, Nagpore, Sattara, Hyderabad, and Oude. The population thus brought under the dominion of this country, amounted to nearly eleven millions of souls; while the extent of territory acquired, reached to 207,637 square miles; and the amount of revenue derived from these recent additions to our territory in India, was £4,330,000 per annum. But notwithstanding this great increase of territory and wealth, no addition had been made to the strength of the civil service. The number of the covenanted civil servants of the Company, in 1846, was 431; while in 1856, it was only 432! It was therefore quite clear, that we were imposing upon the governor-general of India the task of ruling an empire of considerably enlarged proportions, with precisely the same numerical staff as had been appointed in 1846, with a much smaller territory. The consequence was, that when an office of high importance had to be filled up, the governor-general had to resort to the military branch of the service, and to take officers away from the duties of their profession to fill civil employments; and thus, when an increase in the number of civil servants became imperative, a diminution of the military force was the invariable result.* His lordship then moved for the production of papers connected with the subject.

The Earl of Albemarle expressed a hope that a full and searching inquiry into the condition of India would be instituted, and said, if such an inquiry took place, it would

* A letter received from Calcutta about this time, throws some additional light upon the subject, in the following passages:—"There has been a good deal said lately about the system prevailing in the Indian army, of so many officers being away from their regiments. I have spent a few hours to-day in making out the following abstract, concerning the Company's troops in the Bengal army alone, which may surprise you rather. The system is rotten, absurd, and infamous. In fact, every man who gets a chance leaves his regiment for the sake of doing any other work which he ought not to be doing, and for which he gets extra pay, besides his regimental pay, received for work which he does not do. It reminds me of that bit of the Confession, 'We have left undone that which we ought to have done, and done that which we ought not to have done.'—Abstract of regimental officers of the Hon. East India Company's service in the Bengal army alone, absent from their corps; compiled from the Bengal 'Quarterly Army List' (April, 1857):—On civil and political employment, 216; belonging to irregular corps, contingents, and forces, 260; on leave, both on sick certificate and private affairs, 416; employed in the department of public works, 148; holding staff and other appointments of a similar nature, 175: total, 1,215."—If these men could be spared from military duty, the army ought not to be burthened with their cost.

be found necessary to make very material changes in the policy which had hitherto been adopted towards that country, especially as it was connected with the annexation of the territories of princes whose dominions bordered upon our own. In the adoption of that policy, one at least of the causes that had led to the present disturbances might be found. In a conversation he had had with an intelligent Mohammedan native of India, about fifteen months since, in reference to the annexation of Oude, that gentleman observed—"If you annex Oude, you will find that disaffection will break out among the native troops; and for this reason—they are all drawn from the agricultural, but not from the peasant class. They are what you would call in this country, yeomen, or small landlords. They are of the highest class, being either Rajpoots or Brahmins, and are of a most inflammable character. They number about 50,000, and will necessarily be deprived of many of their privileges by the annexation of their territory." Such was the opinion of the person to whom he had referred; and it had also been pointed out to him, that the new land revenue system, which the government had introduced into the North-Western Provinces of India, and which was made to follow the annexation of this new territory, was regarded by the natives as a great hardship, inasmuch as, under its operation, every man's property was surveyed, and each of those 50,000 sepoys would thus be compelled to make out his title to the land in his possession. Fourteen thousand petitions had already emanated from the sepoys of Oude in reference to that subject, and he therefore trusted government would institute inquiries into the whole system.—The Duke of Argyle having assented to the production of the papers moved for, they were ordered accordingly.

Whatever difference of opinion might exist as to the cause of the disastrous occurrences in India, it was now manifest that the government at home, as well as that on the scene of action, had become sensible of the necessity for acting with vigour and promptitude. At Calcutta, Lord Canning pursued the tenor of his way with a calmness and dignity that inspired confidence and respect; while the conduct of Sir Henry Lawrence in Oude, of his brother Sir John Lawrence in the Punjab, and of Mr. Robert Colvin in the Western Provinces, was eminently calculated to exercise a wholesome influence over the populations under their immediate superintendence. The energy of Sir Henry, already referred to in connection with the disarming of the 7th native regiment at Lucknow, in April,* may be cited as a favourable example of the quality most requisite in those occupying high responsible stations in India at the period, and it would have been beneficial if that example had been generally emulated. On the first appearance of insubordination among the troops, it will be remembered, he applied to the governor-general in council for unlimited power to deal with the mutinous spirit that was effervescing around him, and, without a moment's hesitation, the important concession was transmitted to him.† Wise to resolve, and prompt to act, he at once assumed the military command of his province, and, for a time, placed his foot upon the neck of revolt by well-directed severity, mingled with generous appreciation of desert. At home, also, men were found equal to the emergency. On Saturday, the 11th of July, the electric telegraph announced to government, that the mutinous sepoys at Delhi had presumed to attack the English troops under General Reed, but had been repulsed; and that 30,000 of the native soldiers of the Company had deserted their colours, and gone off to swell the ranks of the rebel army. The same telegram also conveyed intelligence of the death of General Anson, the commander-in-chief in Bengal. The disastrous tidings were immediately forwarded to her majesty's ministers, and a cabinet council, which had been appointed for three o'clock that afternoon, was instantly summoned to assemble, and met at half-past one. After a brief discussion, the attendance of Sir Colin Campbell was required, and, upon his arrival, the desire of government that he would assume the chief command in India, was made known to him. The veteran, "nothing loth," heartily responded to the wishes of his sovereign and her ministers, and declared his readiness to start for Calcutta within twenty-four hours. "His act was suited to the word;" for, by noon on the following day, Sir Colin departed from London on his way to Marseilles, where a steamer, about to proceed to India, had been telegraphed to wait for his arrival, that no possible delay might intervene in

* See *ante*, p. 51.

† See *ante*, p. 52.

his progress to the metropolis of British India, which he reached on the 13th of August, as already mentioned.*

On the following Monday, the Indian mutiny again became a subject of discussion in both houses of parliament. In the Lords, the Earl of Ellenborough complained that, although three months had elapsed since the minds of the most reflective men had been anxiously directed to the state of the army in India, not one word of official information had yet been given to parliament. "We know nothing," said his lordship, "of the cause of the danger, or the nature of the measures adopted by her majesty's government to suppress it. Every successive mail increases our anxiety; and yet, by every successive telegraphic despatch, we are told that the crisis is past, that the danger is over, and that things have been at their worst. My lords, it is not so! In a case of this kind—of a dangerous and extensive mutiny—things go on from worse to worse, and so will proceed until the strong hand of power has interfered to suppress resistance to the authority of the government; and, as yet, no indication has been given of the existence, on the part of the government of India, of that power which is necessary to put down the present mutiny. I do not believe there exists in this house, or in the other, any indisposition to grant to her majesty's government all the means they may ask for the purpose of establishing our authority in India. What her majesty's government have done since the last telegraphic communication we have received, is, so far as I am acquainted with their conduct, right. They could not, I think, have appointed a better officer than Sir Colin Campbell to be at the head of the army in India. I have at all times held the highest opinion of that officer. I received it from the late Sir Charles Napier, who, from the first moment of his acquaintance with him, considered him one of the first officers in the Indian army. But, in order to give full effect to the abilities of Sir Colin Campbell, two things are necessary: first, that, in acting as commander-in-chief in India, he should be altogether relieved from the thraldom to which it has been too customary to subject commanders-in-chief in India—the thraldom of politicals: the next is, that he should, as Lord Harris did, in the time of Lord Wellesley, carry with him the whole strength, and force, and power of the governor-general. My lords," he continued, "we hear that the defection is becoming very general—that it has extended to 26,000 men of the Bengal army. We hear more than this—we hear that in the Punjab all the native regiments have been disarmed. Now, among those regiments there are two of which I happen to know the recent history—viz., the 16th grenadiers and the 26th light infantry. The 16th grenadiers was one of the noblest regiments of the Indian army. It bore on its colours almost as many records of actions fought and victories gained as any regiment in her majesty's service. It was brigaded with her majesty's 40th regiment during the whole of Sir W. Nott's operations in Affghanistan. It served at Maharajpore; and by the side of the 40th regiment it equalled the Queen's troops in courage, fortitude, and devotion, and lost as many men. The 26th regiment of light infantry distinguished itself under the command of Sir G. Pollock. When that officer joined the army, 2,800 men out of the whole 4,000 were in hospital, the majority of whom suffered more from their own apprehensions than from any actual sickness. The only troops, under those circumstances, upon which Sir George Pollock could entirely depend, were this 26th regiment, which has just been disarmed. My lords, there must have been a continuance of mismanagement and misconduct which I cannot comprehend before the nature of the soldiers composing those regiments could have been so changed. There cannot have been one non-commissioned, and certainly not one commissioned, native officer in those regiments who did not show his gallantry and fidelity under General Nott and General Pollock; and it is lamentable to think that the glories of two such regiments should be obliterated from the Indian army, or that any circumstances, whatever they may have been, should have occurred to alienate them for an instant from the government, and to make the officer in command think it necessary to deprive them of arms which they have always borne so nobly and so successfully in the field." His lordship then took a prospective view of the future position of affairs in India, and expressed his opinion as to the means to be adopted for the effectual suppression of the revolt, and the extent to which the army required to be augmented

* See *ante*, p. 600.

for the purpose; and concluded thus:—"I firmly believe, that if parliament and the government will reinforce the army of India to the extent I have suggested, you may with absolute certainty—subject to those unforeseen accidents which befal all military operations—calculate that, by the end of April, the authority of the British government will be firmly established in every part of the upper provinces. But if you act in a different way—if you act undecidedly—if you think there is nothing in it, and that it will die out of itself—if you are not determined to put forth your whole strength and crush this rebellion against your dominion, which threatens your existence in India as conquerors, you may depend upon it you will have entailed upon you campaign after campaign; and the suspense which will affect the minds of the whole people of India, will imperil your rule, and destroy your character and authority in India. I do not believe there will be any indisposition on the part of parliament to support the government, if the government take the right view of the present state of things. It is for them to decide. I trust that they will prove worthy of the difficulties of their position, and of the greatness of the danger in which we are all involved; and that by coming forward in a manner to maintain the national character and the public interests, they will give permanent security to our Indian empire, as well as honour—which I shall not grudge them—for themselves. What I wish to know from the noble earl is, what measures the government now intend to take for the reinforcement of the army of India, and whether it is their intention to give, at the earliest period (that is, within three days), official information on the subject?"

In reply to this question, Earl Granville stated, that he was not aware that any information had been sought for which had been refused by government. The latter had only received three or four official communications by electric telegraph, viz., by Malta, Marseilles, and Trieste; and the public had been put in possession of the information conveyed by each; and he assured the house it was not the object of government to conceal the real state of affairs, whatever that state might be. His lordship averred, that her majesty's government did not treat the matter lightly, but considered it as a most serious question. He declined to follow the noble earl in his military details; and said, that so far as the government was acquainted with what the governor-general had done, he could speak for it, that they were perfectly satisfied with, and entirely approved, every act brought to their knowledge that had been taken by the governor-general in dealing with the events around him; and that they would take every precaution to strengthen his hands and carry out his views. In conclusion, his lordship said—"The noble earl argues as if there were a general insurrection; but it has not extended beyond the army. As to the regiments that have been disbanded, we have no knowledge that they had any communication with the rebels. Her majesty's government will give the fullest information to parliament and the country. They will act with the greatest vigour on the present emergency; but they will not give way to unfounded apprehensions of any great calamity and disaster."

Upon this occasion, Lord Melville also entered at some length into a statement of the condition of the Bengal army, and said, that the want of discipline which had recently been manifested in its ranks, was a circumstance of no unusual occurrence. He had served with that army, and he was therefore in a position to state the reasons to which the difference which existed between it and the Bombay and Madras armies was to be attributed. The system of appointing native officers in the Bengal army he looked upon as one of the causes of that absence of discipline by which it was characterised, and probably of the mutiny which had lately taken place. Those officers, he might add, were, generally speaking, selected, not for their merit or fitness to command, and were raised from the ranks when they were old men, and when disaffection at not having previously been enabled to obtain their discharge from the service had, to a considerable extent, operated upon their minds. In the Bombay and Madras armies, upon the contrary, a different system prevailed. The havildars in those armies were selected for their intelligence and activity, and were recommended for promotion to that rank by the commanding officers of their regiments. But, be that as it might, nobody could deny that the discipline of the Bengal army was of the worst possible description, and in that light it had been looked upon by the late General Anson, who had in

consequence, ever since he had assumed the command of the army in India, deemed it to be his duty to represent to the board of directors the absolute necessity of increasing the European force in India—a recommendation to which, however, so far as the government was concerned, no sort of attention had been paid. In proof of the statement that the discipline of the Bengal army was of the worst description, he might inform the house, that in the year 1849, shortly after the first occupation of the Punjab, when he had commanded on the frontier, two Bengal regiments had mutinied, and when he had returned home in 1850, he had expressed the greatest disapprobation of the condition of the troops of which that army was composed. He had, however, been told that, no matter how just his opinions upon the subject might be, he must not give utterance to them in public, inasmuch as it was extremely undesirable that foreign nations should be acquainted with the real state of affairs. The result, at all events had been, that no steps had been taken in the matter by the board of directors, and that the discipline of the Bengal army continued to be of that character to which he had drawn their lordships' attention. He had had the honour of leading the Punjab division of the Bombay army, and he had no hesitation in saying, that nothing could be more praiseworthy than the conduct which the troops composing that division had exhibited. To show their lordships how different was the conduct of the Bengal army, he might state a circumstance which had taken place at the siege of Mooltan, and which had been reported to him by an officer who had been present on the occasion. A covering party had been ordered into the trenches, and some disturbance having occurred among them during the night, the officer to whom he referred had gone to ascertain its cause. He had found that it had arisen from the fact, that some soldiers of the Bengal army had been endeavouring to prevent the men belonging to one of the Bombay regiments from digging in the trenches in discharge of their duty, observing that they were sepoys, and would fight, but would not work. Yet the officer in command of those Bengalese had not ordered them into confinement, notwithstanding that they had not done one bit of the work which had been ordered by the engineers. He might also add, that the morning after the assault of Mooltan, Mr. Lake had asked the officer in command of one of the pickets, to post a sergeant and twelve men at one of the gates of the town. The officer had done so; but not long after the men had taken up their position, three officers of the Bengal engineers had come up, one of them having a loaded gun, and bearing between them something covered by a piece of tarpaulin, which they had represented to be engineering stores. They had been, however, told by the guard that they could not pass; and the tarpaulin having been raised, that which they were in reality carrying had been found to be plunder. But it was unnecessary to cite further instances in proof of the accuracy of the opinion which he had expressed in reference to the spirit which prevailed among the troops of the Bengal army. He trusted, now that a fitting opportunity of dealing with the subject presented itself, her majesty's government would become alive to the necessity of reorganising that army, and placing the whole system upon which it was based upon an entirely different footing. As to the existing mutiny in India, he could not find in the fact that certain cartridges had been issued, a sufficient reason for its occurrence. It was, indeed, difficult to ascertain to what the breaking out of that mutiny was immediately to be attributed; but of one thing he felt assured—namely, that the government would act very culpably if they did not pay due attention to the representations which had been made to them in reference to the want of discipline which prevailed among the regiments of the Bengal army.

The Earl of Albemarle having expressed his opinion that the existing discontent in Bengal was attributable to the fact, that men of *high-caste* were exclusively employed in the Bengal service, and that the remedy for the evil, in future, would be found in abandoning that exclusiveness, the subject dropped in the Lords: but, on the same evening, in the House of Commons, Mr. Disraeli said—"There are such serious, and, in some respects, such contradictory statements respecting the information received from India, that I think it would be for the convenience of the house if her majesty's government would make some authentic statement of the intelligence they have received."—In reply to this invitation, Lord Palmerston said, the only intelligence received by ministers, was

that communicated by telegraphic messages, which were as well known to the public as to the government; the general outline of the intelligence so received being, in the first place, that "we have had the misfortune to lose the commander-in-chief; in the next place, that the disaffection which existed only in a few regiments, according to the former accounts, appears to have spread to a greater extent among the Bengal army; and that a large number of the Bengal troops have, as stated in the despatch, 'disappeared.' From that I presume that they have returned to their homes; but that is the expression used, and no further information is given. On the other hand, the troops which remained faithful, together with some British forces, have had an encounter with the mutineers under the walls of Delhi. That encounter is stated to have resulted in the complete success of her majesty's troops: twenty-six pieces of cannon were taken, and the mutineers were compelled to seek refuge within the walls of the town. The walls of Delhi, as the house is no doubt aware, are not regular fortifications, but are merely upright walls, not possessing any of the defences which are usual in the case of fortifications. Further, it was expected, when the intelligence left, that the town would be immediately assaulted. When the despatches arrive, we shall be ready to lay before parliament such portions of the communications as may be calculated to give to the house and to the public full information as to the course of events. Perhaps I may as well state, though no question on the point has been put to me, the general outline of what the government have thought it right to do. Immediately on the receipt of the information I have just described, steps were taken by my noble friend at the head of the war department, in conjunction with the commander-in-chief here, to select an officer to go out to India to take the place of General Anson. The offer was made to Sir Colin Campbell, who accepted it. Upon being asked when he would be able to start, the gallant officer, with his ordinary promptitude, replied, 'To-morrow;' and, accordingly, the offer having been made on Saturday, he was off by the train yesterday evening. A telegraphic despatch was sent to Marseilles to stop the steamer which is to take the mail, which left London on Saturday night, until the arrival of Sir Colin Campbell, who, therefore, would not lose a single hour in reaching his destination. The house is aware that 14,000 men were under orders to go out to India before the arrival of the recent intelligence. Additional troops will now be sent out; and the house may rest assured that the government will take all the steps necessary to meet the emergency. Lord Canning had, in the meantime, on his own responsibility, done that which has been entirely approved of. He wrote to Lord Elgin, whom he thought his despatches would find at Ceylon, to request that he might divert for the Indian service a part of the force now on its way to China. I have no doubt that those despatches reached Lord Elgin; and the government have made such arrangements with respect to China, that even if those troops should be for a time diverted from their original destination, still there would be found on the China station ample means to carry on the operations there."

In reply to Sir E. Colebrook, Lord Palmerston further stated, that independent of the 14,000 men under orders for India, and the troops on their way to China, the government considered it their duty to dispatch, as early as possible, a considerable force in addition; and, of course, means must be taken, by recruiting, to supply the gap which would be thereby occasioned in the strength of the army at home.

On the following evening, Mr. Disraeli again inquired, whether government could yet give more authentic and detailed information respecting the exact posture of affairs in India; and if they would afford the house an early opportunity of expressing its opinion upon the causes and probable consequences of this state of affairs?—and was informed by Lord Panmure, in reply, that the despatches which had been received merely contained an amplification and detail of the information which the electric telegraph had already communicated the substance of, and that the intelligence received by the government did not vary from that published in the newspapers. His lordship also declared that, although the government felt no apprehension or alarm as to the ultimate result of the events in India, yet they would feel it their duty to act as if there were real reason for alarm, and to leave nothing undone that was within the reach of administrative functions, to provide for any emergency that might arise.—On the same evening, in answer to a question by Sir J. Walsh—founded upon rumours

that, for a considerable time prior to the outbreak, the late General Anson had made strong representations to the government, that danger was imminent in India through the disaffection of the Bengal army—Mr. Mangles, the chairman of the court of directors, said, that although he had on a former occasion declared he had not seen one line on the subject, in the shape of warning, in any official document from General Anson, yet he had that day made more strict and special search at the India-house, and could then state positively, that there was not one single word of warning or of notice given by General Anson on the subject.—Lord John Manners having objected that the question of Sir J. Walsh should be answered by the member for Guildford (Mr. Mangles) instead of by the president of the Board of Control, the latter functionary stated, that the question was replied to, not as member for Guildford, but as chairman of the court of directors of the East India Company; and General Anson having no communication with the government, but with the court of directors, their chairman was the proper person to reply to the question.

At this time rumours were prevalent of discordant views said to be existing not only between the Board of Control and the Board of Directors, but also among the directors themselves; and that, in consequence of such want of unanimity, the news received by electric telegraph on a Thursday evening or Friday morning, was not communicated to the directors until a late hour on Saturday; and further, that while some of the directors urged the immediate dispatch of ships of war to the Hooghly and Bombay, others opposed a measure so calculated to give confidence to the Europeans, and scatter dismay throughout the ranks of the mutineers, upon the miserable ground of extra expenditure!

On the 17th of July, the Earl of Ellenborough again brought before the House of Lords the prospects, present and future, of India; and urged, that with a view to relieve the local government from the burthen then occasioned by the transit of the forces required for its support, the home government should contract for it a loan of five millions, to be paid by instalments.—To this proposition Lord Granville objected, on the ground that the governor-general had ample funds at his disposal to meet the exigencies that had arisen: the subject, however, was of importance, and should receive the consideration of government. His lordship protested against a remark of the Earl of Ellenborough, imputing incompetency or neglect of duty to the president of the Board of Control, who, his lordship said, was "at that moment devoting his utmost energy and attention to the consideration of measures adapted to meet the emergencies of the hour."—Lord Ellenborough, in reply to this vindication of an absent servant of the crown, said—"My lords, such may be the belief of her majesty's government; but I communicate very extensively with gentlemen connected with India; and I never meet one man among them who has not the most thorough distrust of the right honourable gentleman now at the head of the Board of Control."

The intelligence that, from time to time, reached the public, of occurrences in Bengal, had at length the effect of concentrating its earnest attention upon the struggle; and the questions, "What are we to think of this Indian mutiny?—what do foreign nations think of it?"—occupied the serious consideration of thepeople of this country. It was notorious, that throughout Europe the emergency was looked upon as one pregnant with the gravest consequences to England. The struggle was considered as a social or servile war, according to the light in which the rebellious sepoys were viewed; and it was felt to be the most arduous and most discouraging kind of war; for in it neither glory nor territory was to be gained, nor increase of influence, nor increase of wealth; while the cruelties perpetrated on the one hand, and the merciless retaliation pursued on the other, placed the contending forces almost beyond the pale of civilisation and humanity. The mystery in which its origin had birth, and amidst which disaffection was nurtured, until ready to break out into actual rebellion, was not the least extraordinary fact connected with the crisis. The mutiny had ripened to maturity without awakening suspicion on the part of hundreds of officers, whose whole lives had been devoted to the superintendence, if not to the study, of the men who had risen in revolt against the European race, as well as against the government to which they owed fealty: and it was asked, "As the present rulers of India have been so completely surprised by events that have occurred, why may not other contingencies arise for which they will be equally unprepared?"

They believed in the fiction of greased cartridges up to the moment when the whole native army, spread over 1,500 miles of country, was in a state of actual revolt. What security, it was asked, was there that similar credulity should not enable the mischief to take a yet wider range? And it was felt that parliament and the people of England could no longer rely for the safety of the Indian empire, upon the exertions of the present race of Indian officials, since proof was glaring before the world, that there existed among Asiatics an understanding and a power of co-operation, which years of experience and uninterrupted service did not enable a European to detect and guard against. Government was therefore urged by all parties to act with promptitude and vigour, without which it was impossible to conceive how far the flame might spread. Delay was protested against as suicidal; for every day that witnessed a native army and a native prince affecting to defy the power of England in India, gave strength to the cause of the enemy, and might require months of after-exertion to counteract its effect upon the native populations. Moreover, every day's delay in grappling to the death with the rebel forces, afforded opportunity for sepoy deserters to spread reports of their grievances in more distant villages, and to indoctrinate with new and baneful ideas, a thousand localities that hitherto had worshipped the Company and the lowest of its subordinate agents. All authority was considered to be dependant on the speedy defeat and severe punishment of all who had mutinied or fled from their colours. Not only Indian rajahs, but the monarchs of Persia and Tartary—of Burmah and Siam—were, it was said, anxiously awaiting the result of this blow at English power. The blow then, it was urged, should be more than warded off; it should be returned with crushing—annihilating force. There was no real fear that India would be lost; no absolute idea that the authority of the governor-general would be impaired by any lasting suspension in any district; it was considered merely a question of blood and treasure. England, it was boasted, could crush any ordinary enemy that impeded her path; but in this instance, the climate, the distance, the interruption of communication, and the Asiatic cunning of the foe opposed to her, rendered a prolongation of the sepoy war more than likely, and would, in the end, make it as costly and as destructive to human life, as a contest with a first-rate power in Europe. To obviate these evils, it was felt that more vigilant and energetic agents must be employed than those by whose supineness and neglect the mischief had been suffered to acquire its present serious magnitude.

On the 27th of July, the affairs of India again occupied the attention of both houses of parliament. In the Lords, the Marquis of Clanricarde moved for copies of the correspondence of the court of directors with the Board of Control and with the governor-general of India, relating to the amount of European forces, either of the British or Indian army, to be maintained in that country since the 1st of April, 1856, or relating to the employment of military officers upon political or other civil services. The marquis contended, that the whole subject of the administration of affairs in India required prompt consideration and revision. The state of the tribunals was disgraceful to this country; the finances of the Indian empire were admittedly in an unsatisfactory state; and as to the native army, within one fortnight 30,000 men had, without apparent cause, deserted from the standards of this country, though many of these men had spent from ten to fourteen years in the service. This had been foretold a year and a-half ago by an officer in the Indian army, who wrote to his family, declaring that, with respect to that army, India was on the eve of revolt; and yet nothing had been done by the court of directors, nor had the government taken any steps to avert such an evil. He regarded this as a crime on the part of the authorities to whom he had alluded, for they could not have been ignorant of the state of things existing in the vast empire committed to their rule and dominion. Nothing could be worse than taking officers from their regimental duties, and employing them in political and civil appointments. Among the various valuable suggestions for the improvement of the Indian army, made by the late Sir C. Napier in his evidence before their lordships' committee, was one for requiring young cadets, before going out to India, to pass some time in the army in England, in order to acquire a knowledge of their regimental duties. The reason why this was not carried out was, because it was only after a certain period of service in India that a person

became eligible for those civil situations for which every young officer was looking out. The object of the parents of a cadet, and of those who gave him his appointment, was, that he should hurry out as quickly as possible, and qualify himself for a civil situation at the earliest moment. What was the effect of thus drafting the officers of the army into the diplomatic and civil service? Why, in one instance cited out of many, Sir C. Napier gave an account of his visit to a battalion of 800 men, to which there were only two European officers. One of them was a young ensign not then released from drill; and if anything had happened to his senior, this boy, who could not pretend to drill a company or even to march a guard, would have been placed at the head of 800 men, and in command of many native officers who thoroughly understood their duty. How could we expect to find regiments in a proper state of discipline or organisation under such a system? He had lately seen a friend of his whose son was in India, and on expressing sympathy with what he thought must be the natural feelings of the father, at the danger in which his son was placed, his friend coolly replied—"Oh, I am not at all alarmed; my son has not been near his regiment for twelve years." On his hinting that the son, being a captain, would in the present crisis be ordered to join his regiment, the father added—"Oh, no, there is no danger of that; my son is engaged in an important civil employment, collecting the revenue, and he cannot be removed from where he is." Was it surprising if an army so conducted could not be relied on in time of trouble? This state of things appeared to have been entirely ignored by the court of directors. In Lord Dalhousie's minute of the 28th of February, 1856, there was this extraordinary passage:—"If large improvements have been made under the various departments of civil administration during the last eight years, the military branch of the service has received its full measure of attention and amendment. The position of the native soldier in India has long been such as to leave hardly any circumstance of his condition in need of improvement." Then followed forty-eight paragraphs, relating not to the native, but to the European soldier, or to the military board. They were told that the military branch of the government had received its full measure of "attention and improvement;" and yet a few months later they had 30,000 men, the majority of whom had been long in the service, leaving their standard without any ostensible cause! This subject did not, however, long escape the attention of the present governor-general. Lord Canning assumed the government of India in March, 1856, and it soon became evident to him that all was not right; for as early as April the 5th, in the same year, his lordship wrote home to the court of directors, that "your honourable court will observe that, in October, 1855, the late governor-general recorded a minute, in consequence of the strong representations of the late commander-in-chief as to the paucity of officers for the demands of the public service." So little did the directors know whether the Bengal army required supervision, that they sent increased employment upon the civil service for officers of the army; and it was not to be wondered at that, in the absence of a proper staff of officers, the native army fell into disorganisation, ending in revolt. Such neglect of an army had never before been manifested by any government. The recommendations of Sir John Malcolm, and other eminent Indian officers, had been wholly disregarded; and hence the present predicament to which the Indian government had reduced itself. With proper organisation, the late Sir Charles Napier had declared, that an army of sepoys might be raised, fit for any service, but that great care and caution would be necessary to prevent that which might be our strength being turned to our weakness. But these sepoys, it was said, were to be got rid of, and 60,000 British troops were to replace them. But who was to pay for these 60,000 men, and how were they to be recruited? To suppose that such a force could maintain order in a population such as India, was a proposition at once monstrous and ridiculous. The truth was, that the government of India ought to be regulated by the imperial parliament, and ought not to be delegated to any board of directors. The best days of our Indian empire had been when parliament exercised a wholesome control. This had been so in the days of Lord Clive, Warren Hastings, Lord Cornwallis, and Lord Wellesley. He expected that, early next year, the government would be prepared to submit a plan for the better administration of the affairs of India; if not, he was sure parliament would discharge its duty by demanding a reform of Indian government.

—The Duke of Argyll said, that the papers moved for by the noble marquis had already been presented to the other house, and there would be no difficulty in their being laid on the table of the house. On this difficult question of the Indian army, and with the contrariety of opinion which prevailed on the subject, it would be injudicious at this moment for him, on the part of the government, to give any promise as to the steps they would next year be prepared to take. He defended the administration of affairs in India by the present governor-general, who had secured the good opinion and feeling of the native princes. But in India itself the most contradictory statements were put forth by the Indian press, and the consequence was to increase the difficulty which beset this important question. His (the Duke of Argyll's) opinion was, that the existing state of affairs was attributable to the board of directors, whose object naturally was to maintain their military patronage; therefore they naturally would not be niggardly in their supply of officers. The cause of the great calamity which had recently occurred was the vast increase of territory undertaken, not at the instance of the directors, but by British statesmen, sent out by the British government as governors-general. He trusted that the revolt which had taken place would not induce the British public to withdraw its confidence in the native army, which had distinguished itself in so many glorious campaigns. To abandon them now would not only be a shame to this country, but would prove a calamity to mankind.—The motion was then put, and agreed to.

In the House of Commons, on the same evening, Mr. Disraeli, pursuant to notice, called the attention of the house to the state of affairs in India. After noticing the suddenness of the intelligence of the mutiny among the native troops, which had taken the government by surprise (their impression being that it would speedily pass away), he observed, that even after they had time to consider the events, the house had been told by a principal member of the cabinet—the chancellor of the exchequer—as the result of its mature opinion, that the revolt of the Bengal army was a sudden impulse, occasioned by a superstitious feeling. It was of the greatest moment that the house should have a clear notion of the cause of these events. It was said to be only a military mutiny; but it was of primary importance to know whether it was a military mutiny or a national revolt. He presumed, therefore, to address the house upon two points of inquiry: first, what were the causes of the present state of affairs in India?—and, when the house had arrived at a conclusion upon that point, what were the proper measures which, under the circumstances, should be adopted? That the state of the Bengal army had been unsatisfactory, the house knew from the criticisms of the late Sir Charles Napier, and the calmer reflections of Lord Melville; but he contended, that the mutineers in the Bengal native army were not so much the avengers of their own individual injuries as exponents of general discontent, and that they had at last been drawn into its vortex. He ranged under three heads the various causes which, in his opinion, had led to the general discontent of all classes with our rule—namely, first, the forcible destruction of native authority in India by our government; second, the disturbance of the settlement of property; third, tampering with the religion of the people. Directly or indirectly, the principal causes of the public discontent in India ranged, he contended, under these three heads. Under the first head he referred to what he termed the new policy of the annexation of states on the ground of the failure of natural heirs, although adoption was sanctioned by the Hindoo law; and he specified particular instances, including those of the well-known rajah of Sattara and the rajah of Berar. These violations of the Hindoo law, he observed, shook the confidence not only of princes, but of large and powerful parties. This led him to the second head; and he argued that, as the law of adoption applied to landed proprietors, our new system touched all jaghiredars and possessors of enam lands. Inquisitions had also been prosecuted into the titles to landed estates; and he believed that the amount obtained by the Indian government by the resumption of estates, was not less, in Bengal alone, than £500,000 a-year; while in Bombay, he had been assured, the annual amount was £370,000. The government had further reduced guaranteed pensions, by curtailment and conversion, into annuities. All these proceedings had, he said, estranged numerous classes from our authority. He now proceeded to the last head—tampering with the religion of the people; and here he hesitated in attributing

any part of this cause to missionary efforts. So far from the Hindoo looking with suspicion on the missionary, he was convinced that he was ready to discuss any point of religion. But what the Hindoo did regard with dread and apprehension, was the union of missionary enterprise with the power of the government. He was much misinformed if the government had not furnished ground for suspicion in relation to native education; but there had been two acts passed within these few years by the legislative council of India, which had greatly disquieted the religious mind in Hindostan. One enacted, that no man should lose his property on account of changing his religion; the other permitted a Hindoo widow to marry a second husband. Both these acts had spread the greatest alarm and disturbance among the Hindoos. Mr. Disraeli then adverted to the "startling event" of the annexation of Oude, the consequence of which, he said, was to inspire the Mohammedan princes with apprehension, and to unite them in a common cause with the Hindoos. He had been informed, besides, that in our Bengal regiments there were no fewer than 70,000 natives of Oude, who, in returning to their villages, would find them in the possession of the East India Company; and those who were owners of land, would be subject to the hard and severe system of our land revenue. It was after this event that the circulation of symbols, in the form of cakes and lotus-flowers, throughout the Bengal army, proved the existence of a general conspiracy. He thought it was impossible that the Indian government could have been ignorant that the Bengal troops were in a state of chronic insubordination; and it was their duty solemnly to impress upon the government at home (and they must have done so), that the time had come when they must seriously consider the state of our Indian army. The greasing of the cartridges Mr. Disraeli dismissed with the remark, that nobody believed that to have been the real cause of the outbreak. In the last place, he proceeded to inquire, assuming that the views he had developed were correct, what were the measures which the government ought to adopt in the emergency? Regarding the revolt as a national one, military measures were not sufficient, and the measures of the government were inadequate: there should be an expedition up the Indus; our force in India should be doubled: but, further, the population of India should be told that there is a future hope; they should be taught at once that the relations between them and their sovereign Queen Victoria, would be drawn nearer; and a royal commission should be sent from the Queen to India, to inquire into the grievances of all classes. He concluded by moving for certain papers.—Mr. V. Smith could not help asking, what was the use of Mr. Disraeli's three hours' oration; and whether there was not very great mischief in bringing forward this subject in the manner he had done? He had represented the mutiny as a national revolt; but he had adduced no evidence to show that it was owing to national discontent. No native prince had been concerned in it, and there was not a shadow of evidence of any conspiracy among the native princes. The system pursued by Lord Dalhousie, in regard to adoption, might be right or wrong; and before that question was decided, the law of succession in each state must be inquired into; but this subject had no connection whatever with the revolt. The right honourable gentleman had referred to what he called the disturbance of property in India, as one of the causes of the great wrath that now existed in that country. In so doing, he alluded to the propriety of inquiry being made, by a royal commission, into the rights of tenure under the native princes. "Now," said the president of the Board of Control, "I at once admit that we have not been able to deal with many of those tenures as the native princes did. Many of them were of feudal origin, and could not be carried out under our system of government. For example, the holders of land had in some cases to keep horses saddled and bridled ready for the use of the rajah when he went into action. Such tenures as these—and there are thousands of a similar kind—were brought to an end when the government of the country came into our hands; and, in most cases, it was for the advantage of the tenant that they should be so. The rajahs were, among other things, entitled to what we call fines from the holders. These fines were done away with; but by the equalisation of their property, it has been found that, on the whole, the rajahs have rather gained than otherwise. It is beyond doubt that enormous frauds and corruptions have taken place, and there may be a good reason for the appointment of a commission; but the

right honourable gentleman, without assigning these frauds as a cause for inquiry, has dexterously thrown out the idea of a commission to inquire into the titles of the proprietors to their lands. No doubt, much discontent has been caused in India by the changes that have taken place; but does any important change of law ever take place in our own country without creating discontent among some class or other affected by the change?" The interference with religion was a matter of immense delicacy: and he had no hesitation in saying, that it would be the best policy at once to interfere, and prevent the exercise of missionary zeal by our civil and military servants. He coincided with Mr. Disraeli entirely in thinking interference with the religion of the natives of India highly objectionable. On the subject of annexation, he was an enemy to systematic annexation; but the question of Oude was this: the subjects of Oude were kept in subjection by our force, and we made ourselves responsible for everything the king did; Lord Dalhousie, therefore, thought it better to annex the territory, which was done with the least possible injury to the parties concerned. The attempt to connect this annexation with the mutiny had completely failed. He denied that the government had received any warning of the mutiny, or that there was the slightest indication of any disaffection among the native troops. Lord Dalhousie and Sir W. Gomm had borne testimony to their loyal spirit down to a very late period; and he did not believe that Sir C. Napier had made any representation to the Indian government founded upon the criticisms he had left behind. It was premature to say what was the real cause of the mutiny; but he thought there must have been some mismanagement at Meerut; and mismanagement at the beginning often led to serious results in such cases. There had been of late years a severance between the men and their officers in the native regiments, and he was sorry to hear that the latter sometimes spoke of the sepoys at their mess as "niggers." After reviewing other portions of Mr. Disraeli's speech, Mr. Smith proceeded to consider the remedies he had proposed. The sending a royal commission would, in the first place, supersede the governor-general, which would be, he thought, one of the most fatal errors that could be committed. Then Mr. Disraeli would connect the name of the Queen with the whole administration; but the present machinery of the Indian government had been deliberately approved by the legislature. He thought, however, that it might be advisable, with the sanction and authority of the governor-general of India, to send out a commission, not to supersede him, but to inquire into various matters, and, among others, the reorganisation of the native army, certain points connected with which Mr. Smith indicated as worthy of consideration.

Sir E. Perry observed, that Mr. Disraeli had treated this question as an Indian question ought to be treated in that house, without any reference to party politics. The grave question was, whether this revolt was confined to the army, or was a reflex of the national mind?—and his deliberate opinion was, that the military revolt was sympathised with throughout the country. He agreed, too, with Mr. Disraeli as to the causes of this sympathy, especially the new policy of annexation, and the resumption doctrine, which invalidated titles of forty years' standing.—Mr. Whiteside detailed at some length the opinions of Sir C. Napier, who, when commanding the army in India, communicated to the Indian government, he said, his opinion of the Bengal troops, and distinctly stated that Delhi ought to be defended by 12,000 picked men. He cited other proofs that the government were aware of the necessity of reorganising the Bengal army, and of increasing the European force upon that establishment. Mr. Disraeli, he observed, had raised questions of great interest: one was, that a large number of the mutinous sepoys had been enlisted in Oude, and the petitions of some of them, in reference to land in Oude, were not answered; and this, he contended, must have made an impression upon their minds, and must, of course, have influenced their actions.—Lord J. Russell said he had no wish that the house should enter upon this discussion, and, in presence of what had been rightly termed an awful calamity, he could not conceive anything less tending to the advantage of this country or of India than such a discussion, if it was to end either in a vote of censure, or a transfer of India to the crown. Neither of these measures was proposed in the motion, which was only for the production of papers. Mr. Disraeli, he observed, had never ventured to say that the great mass of the people of

India had suffered under oppression. It appeared to him that we had trusted rather too much to Indian troops, and troops of one particular kind, and have had too large an army. He thought that 50,000 Europeans and 100,000 natives would afford a far better security than our present force. The first matter, however, upon which the House of Commons ought to pronounce an opinion was, that the government ought to be supported; he thought the house ought not to separate without expressing such opinion; and he accordingly moved, by way of amendment, an address to her majesty, to assure her majesty that they will support her majesty in any efforts necessary to suppress the disturbances in India, and in any measures required for the establishment of tranquillity.—Mr. Mangles said there had been nothing from the government of India to show the causes of the outbreak, and the best-informed authorities in this country professed themselves at a loss to account for it. The right honourable gentleman (Mr. Disraeli), had, however, undertaken to explain the cause; but the facts of the case were totally opposed to the theory which he had set up. The right honourable gentleman said this was not a mere military mutiny, but that it was the reflection upon the sepoys of the discontent felt by the native princes at the treatment which other native princes had met with. It happened, however, that none of the native princes had taken part in this outbreak, but all of them had sided with the government; and some of them had rendered the most valuable assistance. Then, again, the right honourable gentleman said the landowners were dissatisfied; but the fact was, that, with one or two exceptions, the zemindars had freely offered their aid to the government. The same was to be said of the native inhabitants of Calcutta. In truth, so far from this being a national revolt, the fact was, that where there were no sepoys there had been no revolt. There were many stations in Bengal and the central provinces where there were no sepoys, and in all those places the authority of the government, up to the date of the latest advices, had been completely maintained. Even in Oude, which had been referred to as the focus of disorder, that gallant soldier and valuable public servant, Sir H. Lawrence, had driven off with a small body of Europeans and artillery a mutinous sepoy regiment. He had seen in the newspapers a letter from Colonel Baird Smith. describing how, when deserted by his sepoys, he patrolled the country with a few European officers, and was received by the natives with the utmost enthusiasm. Even all those who had fled from Delhi spoke of the generous and friendly treatment they experienced from zemindars. In the Punjab, one of our latest acquisitions, where, if anywhere, a spirit of dissatisfaction might be expected to prevail, not a finger had been raised against us; and he had seen letters from Sir J. Lawrence, Mr. Montgomery, Colonel Abbot, and others, in which they stated that the population was with us to a man, and were daily bringing in mutinous sepoys who had deserted their colours. At the present time a large additional force was being raised in the Punjab, and the whole of the regiments of that district had remained faithful. Surely those facts were at variance with the theories of the right honourable gentleman; but, supposing there was any truth in the causes assigned by the right honourable gentleman for the outbreak, every one of those causes existed in 1853, when the committee upon Indian affairs was sitting. The right honourable gentleman was a member of that committee; and if he believed that the East India Company and the government between them were ruining India, he ought then to have brought those causes under the notice of parliament, when they could have received that full investigation which it was impossible could be given them now. The right honourable gentleman appeared to be, in regard to Indian affairs, something like a stormy petrel—he never appeared save in times of danger. He (Mr. Mangles) had never heard the right honourable gentleman open his lips about India since the Cabul occurrences, at which time he was a free lance—one of the hangers-on of Sir R. Peel—and spoke in most indignant terms of the disasters at Cabul. Another reason which had been assigned by the right honourable gentleman for the present disturbances, was the dissatisfaction of the native princes with the suppression of the system of adoption; but the fact was, there had really been no such suppression. Adoption was necessary in cases where there was no room for the due performance of certain religious rites, and with that arrangement the Indian government had not interfered. What had been done was, that in certain cases, and under certain circumstances, the Indian government would not permit king-

doms or principalities to pass by adoption. In the case of the rajah of Sattara, upon which so much stress had been laid, what were the facts? The rajahs of Sattara were descendants of Sivajee, the founder of the Mahratta empire; but the descendants of Sivajee had long been put aside by the Peishwas, who ruled the country much in the same way as the mayors of the palace ruled the descendants of Clovis in France. The unfortunate rajah, at the time we conquered the Peishwas, was a captive closely confined, if not actually in chains. It was then the policy of the government to set up the descendants of Sivajee in order to conciliate the Mahrattas, and the rajah was made a prince upon condition that he should not marry nor do anything without the consent of the Indian government. In fact, he was not a sovereign at all, but a mere puppet set up by the Indian government for political purposes. This foolish lad (said Mr. Mangles) chose eventually to rebel against British power; and for that offence he was deposed, and his brother succeeded him. His brother died without heirs; but on his deathbed he adopted a son who was not even a descendant of Sivajee. So little did the boy whom he adopted expect that adoption, that he could not be found when the rajah was dying. He had gone out birdcatching, or on some other boyish pursuit. They had to hunt for him up and down. The British government refused to recognise him as the successor of the rajah. And that was one of the great hardships which the right honourable gentleman, the member for Buckinghamshire, had described with so much unction. It was remarkable that the only two remaining Mahratta princes—Holkar and Scindia—had rendered us assistance. The right honourable gentleman had quoted with great respect the opinions of Sir Charles Napier; and he (Mr. Mangles) could also show him the opinions which had been expressed by Sir Thomas Munro with regard to the manner in which the native princes of India had been treated by the Indian government. Sir Thomas Munro said that that treatment was much more remarkable for the simplicity than the good sense of the Indian government. The right honourable gentleman (Mr. Disraeli) had spoken of the grievances of the sepoys, and had quoted Lord Melville as an authority. Lord Melville had certainly spoken disparagingly of the state of the Bengal sepoys, but he did not say that they had any grievances to complain of. The truth was, that the only grievance which did exist was one of which the government itself had to complain, and that was, that they had been so much indulged that their discipline had been affected. He (Mr. Mangles) believed that Sir Charles Napier said what was perfectly true, when he stated that no body of men in the world—certainly no body of soldiers —had ever been so indulgently and overkindly treated, and had had so little grievances to complain of as the sepoys. He believed that they had been spoilt; but he did not believe that this mutiny was a matter of discipline. It was the work of fanaticism on the part of some of them who would not listen to explanations, and who acted like madmen because they fancied that the government intended, by force or fraud, to deprive them of their caste. The Bengal sepoy was a simple-minded and almost childlike person. He was taken from the best description of the agricultural classes; and he (Mr. Mangles) would stake the little reputation which he had as to a knowledge of India, that when the facts of the case came to be known, it would be found that the frightful atrocities which had occurred had not been committed by the sepoys at all, but by a few of the rabble that congregated at the bazaars and other places of that sort. The men were mad from a fear that their caste was to be interfered with, and were scarcely masters of their own actions. The right honourable gentleman, in his eagerness to get at the causes of this mutiny, did not wait until the matter was reported upon by those in India who were best qualified to form an opinion upon it. Yet, strange to say, he had not hinted at the hypothesis that these men might possibly have been acted upon by some foreign or extraneous agency. Nobody in this country was competent at this moment to speak positively on such a point; but from all that was known of the habits and general fidelity of the sepoys, it might fairly be suspected that they had been acted upon by extraneous influence of some kind or another. He entirely agreed with what the right honourable gentleman had said as to the Christian missionaries. While these missionaries were entirely unconnected with the government, and went among the native population simply as preachers of the truth (the purity of whose lives was generally known), their labours would be viewed not

only without jealousy, but with respect by the people of India. The real danger to be carefully guarded against was a belief, on the part of the people of India, that the government aided and abetted the missionaries. The government should give no assistance, direct or indirect, to the missionaries, but should simply stand by and see that they were not wronged or persecuted. It was alleged that the Indian government had resumed endowments of land once dedicated to the support of the Mohammedan religion. That was a total error. All such endowments were held sacred by the state, and never interfered with.—Mr. Liddell said, the noble lord's amendment was wholly incongruous to the motion. That amendment asked them to do that which, no doubt, every man in the country would cheerfully do at such a moment of peril, viz., to support her majesty in maintaining the brightest of her territorial acquisitions. But the motion of his right honourable friend asked for information, which was yet denied them, as to the causes of the late disasters.—Mr. Ayrton then moved that the debate be adjourned; but this motion was negatived, upon a division, by 203 to 79.

The discussion was then resumed by Mr. Ayrton, who supported Mr. Disraeli's motion; and, after a reply from that right honourable gentleman, explanations followed from Mr. Mangles, Lord J. Russell, and Mr. T. Baring, who removed certain misconceptions of Mr. Disraeli regarding the proceedings of the East India committee of 1852, and condemned the course he had taken that night.—Lord Palmerston could not but express his regret that Mr. Disraeli, holding the prominent position he did, should have selected a moment of great difficulty for the expression of the opinions which the house had heard. He should not enter into the question at that late hour; he was satisfied to rest it upon the speeches of Mr. Smith and Mr. Mangles, which would serve as antidotes to those opinions.—General Thompson observed, that no notice had been taken, in the debate, of a breach of military faith and honour towards the soldiers of the Indian native army.—The original motion was then negatived, and Lord J. Russell's amendment carried without a division.

That the system of annexation pursued of recent years—the gradual destruction of native thrones—was one main cause of the mutiny, has been a favourite doctrine with theorists of a particular school; but something more than the ingenuity of Mr. Disraeli was required to convince a rational assembly that the sowars of Bengal forsook their flag because Sattara had been absorbed, or that the cantonments at Meerut were fired because the kings of Oude were no longer permitted to flay their subjects alive. It was one thing to dispute the policy of annexing Berar; but it was a totally different thing to argue, that the act would account for the lapse of Delhi under the symbols of insurrection. The tories, upon this occasion, went too far in search of their explanations; and Mr. Disraeli, taking the lead, floundered the deepest in absurd misrepresentation. He was more successful when dealing with English acts of interference with the religions of India. Proselytism by soldier-missionaries was a dangerous expedient, where, as in India, the military and priestly classes are so largely and indefinitely blended. As to his proposition, that a large military force should be equipped for the rescue of British India, and that royal commissioners should be dispatched to examine into the causes of the insurrection, it may be observed, that the first idea was propounded too late, and the second too early. It had already, as we have seen, been determined to augment the strength of the European army; and already nearly 10,000 additional troops were on their way to the rescue; and an inquiry that must be traced through a myriad of accidents, traditions, and local specialties, could not possibly have been satisfactorily or conclusively conducted before the revolt had been suppressed, and British authority vindicated. That the government did not put forward its most effective speakers to repel the attacks of the member for Buckinghamshire, was taken as a proof that his complex philippics had obviously little influence upon the judgment of the House of Commons.*

The address, as proposed by Lord John

* A morning journal, referring to this discussion, and to the rejection of Mr. Disraeli's motion, says—"The members felt that, by following the tory craftsman, they should not be exploring the depths of the Indian mystery; for, after all that the creaky rhetorician said about lotus-buds and pancakes, territorial acquisitions, and the wretched rajah of Sattara, the house remembered that it had only been listening to a political Thug, a Derbyite Santal, and a mutinous crew of tory barristers yearning for the

Russell, was presented to her majesty at a *levée* on Wednesday, the 29th of July; and on the following day, Lord Castlerosse, comptroller of the household, brought down her majesty's answer to the Commons as follows:—"I thank you for your loyal and dutiful address, and for the assurance of your cordial support in any measures I may consider necessary for the suppression of disturbances in India, and the permanent establishment of tranquillity and contentment in that important portion of my dominions."

The measures of the East India Company, and of government, to strengthen the hands of the governor-general, were now pursued with vigour. Further reinforcements, consisting of four new infantry regiments (the 44th, 56th, 66th, and 72nd), two more regiments of cavalry (the 1st dragoons and 7th hussars), and two additional troops or companies of artillery, with guns and equipments complete, were placed under orders for India, and followed the reinforcements already dispatched, with the least possible delay. A large number of vessels, including several screw steamers, were taken up for their conveyance, and every possible effort was made to expedite their arrival in India. A large augmentation of the Company's European artillery, and a draft of artillery cadets from the military college at Addiscombe, were also dispatched for the seat of war; and all members of the civil service of the Company, who were at the time on leave in this country, were ordered to their posts in India, under the same conditions and reservations as their military brethren.

By an order from the Horse-guards, on Monday, July 27th, detachments of non-commissioned officers and privates were to set off from the depôts of all regiments then serving in, or on their way to, India, to proceed on the recruiting service in different parts of the country, it being resolved to add a second battalion of 1,200 men to each of those regiments. The East India Company also sent out additional recruiting parties in the metropolis, to enlist men for service in the infantry and artillery of the army of the three presidencies. To give *éclat* to the departure of the troops already prepared to embark, her majesty, on the 4th of August, proceeded, with a numerous retinue, on board the *James Baines* and *Lady Jocelyn* at Portsmouth, under orders for India, and inspected those vessels, and the arrangements for accommodating and provisioning the troops, with which she expressed her entire satisfaction. Her majesty afterwards passed in review the troops collected for embarkation by those vessels.

Upon the arrest of the king of Oude becoming known to the members of his family in this country, an appeal was made on his behalf, that he should not be condemned upon an *ex parte* view of the circumstances affecting him. The Moolavie, Musseeh Oud-deen Khan, accredited vakeel to the king, by public letter declared, "that nothing could be more inconsistent with the views of his majesty, and of the royal family at present in England, and the instructions of his majesty to his other agents in this country, than anything like a conspiracy against the British government in India, or elsewhere; his wishes having been throughout, that his case should be laid before the British parliament and public in the most open and constitutional manner:" and the Moolavie prayed that his majesty should not be deemed guilty of offence until the publication of the evidence upon which he had been arrested was fairly laid before the English public.

The position of the unfortunate queen-mother of Oude, and the two princes, her relatives, in this country, had now become one of extreme embarrassment both to themselves and the government. Her majesty had been received at an audience by the Queen, and her son and grandson had been also recognised by the public authorities; but the events that had occurred in Oude since their arrival in England, and the alleged complicity and imprisonment of the king in Fort William, naturally surrounded them with difficulties that, for a time at least, were insurmountable, and in the end were destined to be fatal. The object of the mission of the queen and her relatives had already been long before the

Golconda rubies and the Persian pearls of office. The impression that had been produced when the debate came to a close, was that the nation would be enlightened, but that the opposition had lost ground. What does it signify that Mr. Disraeli, for three long hours, speaks to the House of Commons as to a mechanics' institute, that Sir Erskine Perry is mediocre, and Mr. Whiteside impertinent? Lord Palmerston holds the crisis in his hands, and parliament, by its decision, sustains his authority, and bids him go forward, subduing the public enemy, and rearing up new bulwarks of our Indian empire." [The authority so sustained rested, however, on a very insecure foundation, as subsequent events showed.]

government and the court of directors; but no step appears to have been taken by either towards a satisfactory termination of the question between the king of Oude and the East India Company, when the revolt broke out; and the legitimate sovereign of the recently "annexed" kingdom was, upon the evidence of a spy, deprived of his liberty, as he had already been of his throne. For the queen of Oude (his mother), and for the princes (his brother and son), there was, therefore, no power to which they could appeal in their distress from the new misfortune that had fallen upon them, but the British parliament; and to that august tribunal the deposed royalty of Oude, in full reliance upon its justice, its honour, and its wisdom, appealed for its interposition, and was refused!—not upon the merits of the case, but upon a miserable technical objection, as insulting to the royal petitioners as it was degrading to the coroneted lawyer in the house of peers, by whom only such an unworthy expedient could have been resorted to upon such an occasion.

On Thursday, the 6th of August, 1857, Baron Campbell, the lord chief justice of England, in his place in the House of Lords, said he had just received a petition which he felt it his duty to present, in order that it might be generally known that their lordships were ready to hear the petitions of all persons who addressed them *with proper respect*. The document was as follows:—

"The petition of the undersigned Jenabi Auliah Tajara Begum, the queen-mother of Oude; Mirza Mohummud Hamid Allie, eldest son and heir-apparent of his majesty the king of Oude; and Mirza Mohummud Jowaad Allie Sekunder Hushmut Bahadoor, next brother of his majesty the king of Oude, showeth—

"That your petitioners have heard with sincere regret the tidings which have reached the British kingdom of disaffection prevailing among the native troops in India; and that they desire, at the earliest opportunity, to give public expression to that solemn assurance which they some time since conveyed to her majesty's government—that the fidelity and attachment to Great Britain, which has ever characterised the royal family of Oude, continues unchanged and unaffected by these deplorable events, and that they remain, as Lord Dalhousie, the late governor-general of India, emphatically declared them—'a royal race, ever faithful and true to their friendship with the British nation.'

"That in the midst of this great public calamity, your petitioners have sustained their own peculiar cause of pain and sorrow in the intelligence which has reached them through the public papers, that his majesty the king of Oude has been subjected to restraint at Calcutta, and deprived of the means of communicating even with your petitioners, his mother, son, and brother.

"That your petitioners desire unequivocally and solemnly to assure her majesty and your lordships, that if his majesty the king of Oude has been suspected of any complicity in the recent disastrous occurrences, such suspicion is not only wholly and absolutely unfounded, but is directed against one the whole tenor of whose life, character, and conduct, directly negatives all such imputations. Your petitioners recall to the recollection of your lordships the facts relating to the dethronement of the king of Oude, as set forth in the petition presented to the House of Commons by Sir Fitzroy Kelly, on the 25th of May last, that when resistance might have been made, and was even anticipated by the British general, the king of Oude directed his guards and troops to lay aside their arms; and that when it was announced to him that the territories of Oude were to be vested for ever in the Hon. East India Company, the king, instead of offering resistance to the British government, after giving vent to his feelings in a burst of grief, descended from his throne, declaring his determination to seek for justice at her majesty's throne, and from the parliament of England.

"That since their resort to this country, in obedience to his majesty's commands, your petitioners have received communications from his majesty which set forth the hopes and aspirations of his heart; that those communications not only negative all supposition of his majesty's personal complicity in any intrigues, but fill the minds of your petitioners with the profound conviction that his majesty would feel, with your petitioners, the greatest grief and pain at the events which have occurred. And your petitioners desire to declare to your lordships, and to assure the British nation, that although suffering, in common with his heart-broken family, from the wrongs inflicted on them, from the humiliations of a state of exile, and their loss of home,

authority, and country, the king of Oude relies only on the justice of his cause, appeals only to her majesty's throne and to the parliament of Great Britain, and disdains to use the arm of the rebel and the traitor to maintain the right he seeks to vindicate.

"Your petitioners, therefore, pray of your lordships that, in the exercise of your authority, you will cause justice to be done to his majesty the king of Oude; and that it may be forthwith explicitly made known to his majesty and to your petitioners wherewith he is charged, and by whom and on what authority, so that the king of Oude may have full opportunity of refuting and disproving the unjust suspicions and calumnies of which he is now the helpless victim. And your petitioners further pray that the king of Oude may be permitted freely to correspond with your petitioners in this country, so that they may also have opportunity of vindicating here the character and conduct of their sovereign and relative, of establishing his innocence of any offence against the crown of England or the British government or people, and of showing that, under every varying phase of circumstance, the royal family of Oude have continued steadfast and true to their friendship with the British nation.

"And your petitioners will ever pray, &c."

On laying the petition upon the table, Lord Campbell said he had done his duty in presenting it; but he must express his confidence, that the government of India, in what they had done in the matter referred to, had acted with perfect propriety. He, individually, had entire confidence in their wisdom in that respect; but, at the same time, it gave him satisfaction to witness this testimony, from the royal family of Oude, of their devoted attachment to this country, and he should rejoice if the charges against the king of Oude should prove to be unfounded.

Lord St. Leonards trusted it would not be supposed, from the petition being laid on their lordships' table, that any injustice had been done to the king of Oude. He had sufficient confidence in the East India Company and the government of India, not to acquiesce in the assertion that the king of Oude had been improperly treated.—In tone with this remark, Lord Campbell said, he had guarded himself against being supposed to assent to that assertion when he expressed his confidence that the government of India had acted with perfect propriety. At the same time, he added, that all who approached their lordships "respectfully," should have the opportunity of being heard. The noble and learned lord having thus given the *cue*, it was readily caught by Baron Redesdale,* who forthwith noticed that the word "*humble*" was not prefixed to the word "petition;" and, upon that ground, objected to the reception of the document.—Lord Campbell immediately said, that *if* there were any technicality of that sort in the way of the reception of the petition, he would withdraw it! And the petition of the queen and princes of Oude, praying for justice, was accordingly withdrawn upon a mere technicality! It would have required extraordinary courage to have rejected it upon any other plea, or to have denied justice by any other expedient! It was a remarkable fact, that with the convictions afterwards expressed by the Earls of Ellenborough and Derby, and other peers, of the injustice that had been practised towards the royal house of Oude by the East India Company, not one was found to raise his voice at this time on behalf of the unhappy petitioners, who were thus insulted upon the wretched pretext, that a mere expression, conveying, in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred (when used), a positive and palpable untruth, had not been observed. Their lordships, by their act of the 6th of August, achieved for themselves an unenviable position before the world; which, irrespective of the merits of the question itself, saw nothing in the proceedings but an unmanly insult to an exiled queen and broken-hearted mother.

On the following day, in the House of Commons, Sir Fitzroy Kelly also presented a petition from the queen and princes of Oude, expressive of their deep regret at the deplorable events in India. They prayed

* His lordship is the son of Sir John Mitford, first Baron Redesdale, who, after enjoying the advantages connected with the successive appointments of attorney and solicitor-general, was elevated to the dignity of lord chancellor of Ireland upon the death of the Earl of Clare, in 1802; and was thereupon introduced to the peerage by the title of Baron Redesdale, of Redesdale, in the county of Northumberland. The present lord succeeded to the title upon the death of his father, in 1830. Perhaps none but a legal peer of yesterday's creation, could have suggested the rejection of a queen's appeal upon such a wretched pretext as the omission of the word "humble."

to be permitted to communicate with the captive king, whose entire innocence they implicitly relied on; and claimed for him that he should be allowed full opportunity to refute the charges that might have been brought against him. In conclusion, the petitioners, while insisting that they had suffered grievous wrong, declared they were satisfied to rely upon the justice of the British sovereign, the parliament, and the people. No discussion arose upon the presentation of this petition, which was simply ordered to lie on the table!

Upon the 11th of August, on the order for going into a committee of supply, Sir De Lacy Evans drew attention to the military arrangements for meeting the contingency in the Bengal army, taking at the same time a comprehensive view of the possible effects of the events in India upon the foreign and domestic interests of the country. The suggestions of the gallant general were commented upon by Lord Palmerston, who said he had listened to them with the respect and deference due to his high military character. He had, however, in his lordship's opinion, over-estimated the European difficulty that might be produced by the events in India. The nations of the world had seen with what an unanimous spirit and energy the British people had responded to the call which the government made to them in a moment of national emergency. While some 30,000 troops had been sent to India, troops were being raised at home as fast as possible; and not only was the regular army being increased, but a portion of the militia was about to be embodied. Recent events in India were undoubtedly serious; but, as far as Europe and foreign countries were concerned, nothing had occurred to alter the conditions of peace. He assured Sir De Lacy and the house, that while the government were at present doing all they thought necessary to meet the difficulty (not going beyond the necessity), if events should take a turn different from what they expected, they felt they had at hand the resource of calling parliament together, and asking for additional means of national defence.—After some discursive remarks by Colonel North, Mr. Newdegate, and other members, Mr. Whiteside reviewed, at some length, the possible causes of the mutiny, and the conduct and policy of the government of India; contending that the former had been the natural and inevitable consepuence of the latter. He maintained that the government had shown neither watchfulness, foresight, nor judgment, otherwise they would long since have discovered the real state of things in India, and have been prepared to meet it, or prevent its natural consequences. The fearful results that had lately been witnessed were, he said, the inevitable consequences of causes which had been patent to all men; and either the Board of Control, the Court of Directors, the local government of India, or all of them together, were answerable for disasters which were fairly ascribable to their mischievous policy.—Mr. Vernon Smith protested against, and distinctly denied, the assertion of the honourable member for Enniskillen, that her majesty's government was not conscious of the gravity of the existing state of affairs in India, or had neglected to attach to them the importance they possessed. "I think," said the right honourable president of the Board of Control, "the honourable and learned gentleman has idly wasted his powers in throwing out general abuse against all persons who have been members of the government for the last ten or twenty years. When I asked him whether he charged me with being responsible for the present state of India, he said that he did not. He declines to make an attack upon any particular member of the government, and his declamation has nothing to do with the present government. But, he says, for all these things we have no redress and no inquiry. I say, have as much inquiry as you will; but what you have to do at present is, to put out the fire which is now raging over India. After you have quenched it, then have inquiry till you sicken of it. I should be most happy to assist the honourable and learned gentleman in a future session of parliament, if he wishes to have an inquiry upon the state of India. I do not think that the honourable and learned gentleman has in any way sustained his accusation against the Indian government. I defy any man to point out, in any of the documents relating to India, any passage showing that my Lord Canning has been in fault on this occasion. I believe that, throughout these transactions he has shown the greatest possible judgment. All persons with whom I speak, who are well acquainted with India, say, that he has exhibited the greatest vigour and personal courage that could be expected from any man in his position. That I be-

lieve to be the undenied and undeniable fact as regards Lord Canning. There may be some expressions of distrust with regard to India in the letters addressed by Sir C. Napier to Lord Hardinge; but I believe that any man would be denounced as a madman or a visionary, who had hinted that such an outbreak as that which has occurred would occur in India: and I believe that that outbreak can by no means be attributed to any want of foresight on the part of the governor-general."—Mr. Disraeli expressed his surprise at the tone adopted by the president of the Board of Control, who, he said, seemed to object to the criticisms that had been passed upon the policy of the Indian government, because it had not been made a party question. He did not consider the answer of Lord Palmerston to Sir De Lacy Evans at all satisfactory; for his lordship had underrated our position in India, and overrated our position in Europe; and no mistake could be greater than to undervalue the national danger. Nothing, he observed, had occurred since his recent speech upon the subject of India, to refute the opinion he then expressed—that the outbreak was not a military mutiny, and that one of its causes was the tampering, by the Indian legislature, with the religious prejudices of the people. He warned the government that everything depended upon the second campaign, which would commence in November. If our energy and resources were adequate, it might re-establish our empire upon a firmer foundation; but if that campaign should prove unfortunate, and a third was entered upon, we should have others to contend with besides the princes of India. The governor-general, he remarked, was not an isolated individual; he was surrounded by men—the council of India—whose conceit and arrogance had endangered our Indian empire, and who ought to be called to account for their condut.—Colonel Sykes then read some extracts from a letter of Colonel Edwardes at Peshawur; from which it appeared that, in the opinion of the writer, the mutinous soldiery had met with very little sympathy from the people in any part of the country; and that the Hindoo sepoys were beginning to find that they were made tools of by their Mohammedan comrades.—Lord John Russell expressed his regret at hearing some of the arguments employed by Mr. Disraeli, who had charged the council of the governor-general with gross misconduct; but whatever errors might have been committed by the Indian government, he (Lord John) was convinced that it had imparted a great amount of good to the people of India, and that its intentions were as benevolent towards the people as those of any government that ever existed. The mutiny, he observed, must be put down; tranquillity must be restored; and it was the primary duty of that house to assure the executive government that its support should not be withheld.

At the sitting of the house on the 14th of August, Sir Fitzroy Kelly, addressing Lord Palmerston in reference to the king and royal family of Oude, said, that from the moment intelligence had reached this country of recent events in India, the royal family of Oude had forborne to urge their case upon the attention of parliament, and were content to await in patience the moment when they could appeal to the justice of the legislature. It was, he said, by their wish that he had forborne to revert to their claims. No communication had reached any one member of the royal family of Oude, in this country, from the king; and they had only learned, through the ordinary channels of information, that the father of one of their number, and the son of another, had been conveyed to a fortress, and were then suffering a harsh imprisonment, under circumstances which rendered it impossible for any of them to communicate with the king, or for him to receive any communication from them. And he asked, on behalf of the queen-mother, that the government would permit some communication, even if subject to their inspection, between the king of Oude and his family in this country; and this, said the honourable and learned member, "I ask as an act of kindness, of charity, and of justice."—Mr. Vernon Smith said, as his noble friend at the head of the government would have other matters to attend to, the house would perhaps allow him to answer the questions as to the imprisonment of the king of Oude, and the charges alleged against him. He (Mr. Smith) believed, from the letters received by the last mail, that the king of Oude was still under arrest, and that the charge upon which he had been arrested was that of complicity in the revolt that had taken place at Delhi. The charge was made by a person who was to be examined *hereafter*. No doubt an investigation into the fact

would take place as soon as possible; and if it should appear that the king and court of Oude had had nothing to do with the revolt, it would be the duty of the governor-general to liberate that personage. But the honourable and learned gentleman had overstated the case when he described the imprisonment of the king of Oude as *harsh*. His majesty had certainly been removed from his residence to Fort William, but there every species of attention that could be paid to a royal prisoner was manifested to him. It was his (Mr. V. Smith's) desire to treat the native princes with the utmost consideration and courtesy; and his noble friend, the governor-general, was animated by the same desire. No restraint had been put upon the king of Oude's family in this country; and it was not quite correct to say that no communication had taken place between them; because a communication had been brought to him from the king of Oude to his relatives in this country, which he (Mr. V. Smith) had desired should be immediately forwarded to the queen of Oude. It was obvious, said the right honourable gentleman, that as the king of Oude was in confinement at Calcutta, for the purpose of restraining any correspondence in which he might be engaged with the supposed conspiracy, it was impossible to allow any communication to take place between him and his friends. His family in this country would, for the present, be cut off from such communication, but there would be no desire, after the trial, to continue that restraint.

In the course of a discussion in the House of Lords, on the same evening, in reference to the occurrences in India, Earl Granville, in reply to the Earl of Ellenborough, expressed his opinion of the atrocities at Cawnpore in the following words:—"With regard to the rumour which has been alluded to, of a dreadful massacre having taken place at Cawnpore, owing to General Wheeler having been deluded by the assurances of a native, I have every reason to believe that the whole of this story is a fabrication! I have seen a letter from Sir Patrick Grant,* in which he states it to be his belief, that the rumour is a *vile fabrication;* and I have also seen a letter from the son of a gentleman, who, writing from his regiment between Cawnpore and Calcutta, and speaking of the great alarm which had been caused by this rumour, says, that they had been reassured by the discovery that the story was the invention of a sepoy, *who was to be hanged in consequence of the fabrication.*" It is hoped the fearful truth was made manifest before a judicial murder was added to the list of crimes engendered by this terrible insurrection.

In reply to a question by Lord Ellenborough, as to the application of a sum of £200,000, to be voted by the House of Commons for the embodiment of the militia, Lord Panmure stated that the money would be employed in the embodiment of 10,000 militia, between that time and the 25th of the ensuing March. Those 10,000 men would be in aid of the force sent to India. He did not underrate the magnitude of the emergency that had arisen; but he thought the public mind might be calmed when he informed the house, that since the news of the revolt had arrived, an army of more than 30,000 men had been dispatched, and would arrive in India at a season when its assistance could be made available without delay; and, altogether, such preparations had been made for putting down the revolt, as had never before been known in India. If more men were required to terminate the war, the government would not hesitate to call upon parliament for the purpose.—The Marquis of Clanricarde hereupon observed, that "we were engaged in putting down a mutiny, not a war; and one quarter of the troops sent out would be sufficient to march triumphantly from one end of India to the other:" but, at the same time, he believed, that until India was governed in the Queen's name, the stability of government would never be maintained there.—The Earl of Ellenborough agreed with the noble marquis on the latter point, but considered the present was not a fitting time to make any change in the government.

On the 18th of August, Mr. Disraeli, referring to the loss of property incurred by British subjects in India during the insurrection, inquired if it was the intention of her majesty's government to propose compensation to such persons as were placed in adverse circumstances by the deprivation of their property, in consequence of the revolt?—and was informed by Mr. V. Smith, that a scheme of compensation was then under the consideration of the court of directors, and the subject would meet with the attention due to it. On a subsequent evening (the 20th), the right honourable gentleman

* Acting commander-in-chief, until the arrival of Sir Colin Campbell.

qualified this statement, by explaining that he understood the question to refer to the widows and orphans of those persons in the civil and military services, who had perished by the massacres. As to the interpretation that had been generally put upon that answer—that the East India Company had under their consideration a scheme of compensation for the loss of property sustained during the recent mutiny—such a question of compensation opened up a much wider question, into which the directors of the East India Company were not prepared to enter.

The attention of parliament continued to be applied to the affairs of India, its press, and its native armies; and, on the 20th of August, the Earl of Shaftesbury moved for the production of a circular issued by Sir Henry Somerset (then general commander-in-chief at Bombay), dated January 14th, 1857, in which he prescribed certain rules for enlistment, and declared it to be indispensable that no low-caste men should be admitted into the ranks of the native army when others could be obtained, inasmuch as, "from ill-feeding, they are rarely equal in stamina to their better caste neighbours, and are generally deficient in that pride and soldierlike feeling which it is our duty to inculcate as essential to the well-being of the native army." This order was issued some days before the general outbreak; and, as soon as it was issued, it was cancelled by the local government. His lordship observed—"I think it very desirable that a copy of that document should be laid on the table of this house, in order that we may see what has been the course of conduct of the regimental officers and the commanding officers, with reference to that which lies at the root of the mutiny in the Bengal army. I believe that all persons acquainted with India would admit, that nothing has tended more to laxity of conduct and discipline, to foster a spirit of mutiny in the Bengal army, and to make the troops proud, conceited, arrogant, and resistant to the proper labour and duty imposed on all other soldiers, than this homage that has been paid to Brahminical caste. I must say, the disclosures made in the papers lately laid before this house, are sufficient to warn us of the evils of pandering to the vanities, and bigotry, and religious prejudices of the Hindoos. I may state, that when General Hearsey disbanded the 19th regiment, he found 419 high-caste men in that regiment alone. I believe that nothing has tended more to foster the prejudices of the natives, and to encourage among them self-conceit and the idea of possessing exclusive rights and privileges, than the apparent homage paid to them by the officers and the European authorities. I must say, this is a principle wholly inconsistent with the position which we occupy in India; and it is certainly inconsistent with our political position, and with our position as a Christian country. I do not know that any one single thing has done more mischief throughout India, than the homage that has been paid to the system of idolatry, by declaring that the Brahmins were to be selected and preferred above all others for service in the native army. I want, therefore, to know from some member of her majesty's government, whether the principle of selection, to which I have alluded, is to be recognised in future? For myself, I believe if the principle were laid down, that men of the lowest caste, such as Pariahs, Sudras, and Chundals, should be admitted to stand in the same rank as men of the highest caste, without anything in the nature of exclusion, you would go further to put down Brahminism than by any other mode of action to which you could possibly have recourse. I think it would be very advisable to act upon the principle laid down by General Jacob in a pamphlet he has recently published—that in making levies, the consideration should be, not who are the best Hindoos, but who would make the most true, obedient, and loyal soldiers. I hope my noble friend will relieve the public mind by giving an assurance that, in future, the levies of the Bengal army will be raised on the principle adopted in Madras and Bombay, and that no preference whatever will be given to the Brahmins on account of their caste."

Lord Granville had no objection to produce the paper asked for; but, as regarded the future composition of the Bengal army, he could give no pledge whatever.

The reiterated tales of heartrending distress, of total deprivation of home and property, and of wide-spread misery that had been inflicted upon the European community in Bengal, through the merciless ravages of the insurgent troops, and the havoc caused by reckless marauders who followed their example, at length aroused the active sympathies of the merchant princes of the metropolis of the British empire; and, on Tuesday the 25th of Au-

gust, a public meeting, convened and presided over by the lord mayor (Alderman Finnis) was held in the Egyptian-hall of the Mansion-house, preparatory to the formation of a committee, for the purpose of devising means for affording immediate relief to those who were suffering from the calamities produced by the revolt. The lord mayor took the chair at two o'clock, and was supported by a host of the most influential and opulent of his fellow-citizens. The objects of the meeting appear in the subjoined resolutions, which were unanimously adopted:—

"1.—That this meeting, sympathising with the many helpless sufferers by the late mutiny in India, who are now reduced to a state of utter destitution, feels itself called upon to record its public sense of this calamity, and its detestation of the unheard-of atrocities of the rebel army, and of the rabble abettors of its cruelty, to helpless women and children, and our unarmed fellow-subjects in the East; and trusts that the energetic efforts of the British government and of the East India Company, for the repression of the rebellion and the punishment of the guilty, may, by the Divine blessing, be crowned with the earliest success."

"2.—That in consideration of the extreme urgency of the case, and the necessity for promptly meeting the wants of the sufferers (now literally depending on others in Calcutta and elsewhere for clothing and food, in addition to their cruel loss of husbands and parents), this meeting most anxiously entreats the contributions of its fellow-citizens and the public at large, and recommends that the subscription-lists be kept open at Messrs. Smith, Payne, & Co.'s, the Oriental Bank Corporation, and the Agra Bank; and that the amounts so collected be dispatched by each mail to the right honourable the governor-general, to be by his lordship placed at the disposal of the other local governments, the Calcutta committee, or other recognised committees and distributors employed in India for carrying out the object in view."*

A third resolution merely suggested, that the example thus set by the city of London, was deserving of imitation by all other towns in the United Kingdom.

These resolutions were eloquently supported, and liberally carried into practical effect upon the instant; the subscription at the first meeting amounting, within an hour, to upwards of £1,000. The example was cheerfully followed throughout the kingdom, and contributions poured in to the bankers in one uninterrupted stream of national liberality. Her majesty and the royal family headed the subscription-list with princely donations; and the nobility, and all other classes of society, vied with each other in the effort to alleviate the miseries of the hapless victims of a dire calamity. Foreign princes and their people also emulated the spirit of England's beneficence; and, in a very short period, the Indian relief fund had acquired colossal dimensions, and was the means of dispensing proportionate benefits among the persons for whose assistance, in their extremity, it was designed. By the first mail that left England after the meeting—namely, the 26th of August—a sum of £2,000 (20,000 rupees) was remitted to Calcutta by the lord mayor, as the first instalment resulting from the meeting held at the Mansion-house on the previous day! Within a fortnight, the Mansion-house "Indian relief fund" reached £35,836 16*s.* 8*d.*; and, by the close of the year, the amount of subscriptions from all sources in this country, exceeded £350,000 sterling, and was still progressing.—Among the singular anomalies that were presented in the formation and course of this great act of national, or, it may more correctly be said, of European, liberality and benevolence, it is upon record, that the East India Company, of all the corporations in the kingdom, was the only one that did not feel itself called upon, in its corporate capacity, to contribute to the relief fund; the plea urged by the chairman of the court of directors for refusal being, "that the greatest care should be taken to prevent private liberality being damped. There were many who would refuse to subscribe, if they could say that government would make good all losses. It was impossible that government could reach all cases; and he could not conceive a nobler opportunity than this for the exercise of individual charity."

* At a special general meeting of the subscribers to the fund (held subsequently), it was stated, that the committee had ascertained that a great number of cases existed in this country, requiring relief; and to obviate the difficulty which had thus arisen, and to empower them to apply the funds to meet these fresh exigencies, resolutions were passed, giving the committee a discretionary power in the application of the funds in this country. This extension of power was highly beneficial to many individuals.

In the House of Commons, on the 28th of August, Sir De Lacy Evans inquired, "whether it would be consistent with the feelings of government to give orders that the widows and children of the military and civil victims of the mutiny in India should be brought home free of cost, by the returning steamers and transports?"—and was informed by the chairman of the board of directors, that the authorities in India had been instructed to give the most ample assistance to all who were destitute, including not only the military and civil services, but all classes of the community—an announcement which was received with marked satisfaction by the house and country.

Parliament was prorogued by royal commission on the 28th. The following passages in the royal speech were the whole that applied to the Indian mutinies, and are therefore inserted:—

"Her majesty commands us (the commissioners) to inform you that the extensive mutinies which have broken out among the native troops of the army of Bengal, followed by serious disturbances in many parts of that presidency, have occasioned to her majesty extreme concern; and the barbarities which have been inflicted upon many of her majesty's subjects in India, and the sufferings which have been endured, have filled her majesty's heart with the deepest grief; while the conduct of many civil and military officers who have been placed in circumstances of much difficulty, and have been exposed to great danger, has excited her majesty's warmest admiration.

"Her majesty commands us to inform you that she will omit no measure calculated to quell these grave disorders; and her majesty is confident that, with the blessing of Providence, the powerful means at her disposal will enable her to accomplish that end."

The graceful tribute offered, in the above passages of the royal speech, to the heroism and endurance of our countrymen in India, was simply expressive of a sentiment of admiration that was gratefully and proudly felt by all Englishmen. If, at the moment, any consideration could mitigate the anxiety experienced among all classes of the people, through the unprovoked rebellion and massacres that were deluging the cities of Hindostan with innocent blood, it was assuredly only to be found in the national reliance upon the courage and prudence that had, under circumstances of most trying severity, been universally displayed by those exposed to the sanguinary ordeal. Terrible as, at the best, are the characteristics of even regular warfare, their horrors fade into comparative insignificance when contrasted with the atrocious outrages to which European society in India had been subjected. In war, the daily business of all engaged is that of death: the contingencies are known, and accepted beforehand: the chances of the game are evenly divided;—if there is danger to be encountered, there is honour to be won: a code of recognised usages mitigates the law of the sword; and, above all, it is seldom that the soldier has to contemplate the sufferings and dishonour of those whose lives and safety are more precious to him than his own existence: but, in India, the conditions of civilised warfare were all disregarded. Our countrymen were abruptly surprised, amid the ordinary occupations of peace, by the outburst of a calamity infinitely more terrible than simple war. At a moment's notice they were called upon to defend, not only themselves and the property of the state, but also the lives and honour of their wives and children, against the ferocious and insidious attacks, not of a legitimate enemy, but of the very troops under their own command. As if by the stroke of a magician's wand, the men with whom but a few hours previously they had been consorting on terms of amity, or in the interchange of duties, were transformed into foes bent upon rapine and murder—implacable enemies, acknowledging no instinct of clemency, and recognising no laws of war or claims of humanity. One day our countrymen were in a state of profound peace; the next they were struggling for their lives against hordes of ruffians, whose declared and boasted purpose was the extermination of all Europeans. To find a parallel for such a position would be a work of difficulty; and if a writer of fiction were to imagine the circumstances under which the national fortitude of a body of men could be most severely tried, he could hardly invent conditions better calculated for the test than those under which, in May and June of 1857, our countrymen were surprised in Hindostan.

That Englishmen should have borne the shock of such a surprise with dauntless fortitude, was only characteristic of their race. At the very outset of the revolt, there was scarcely a station affected, at

which heroism as splendid as any that ennobles the early history of the Indian conquests, was not displayed. In every garrison the spirit of a *Clive* animated the men, to whose brave hearts and strong arms were entrusted the duty of preserving to their country the provinces won by his genius and his sword; and nobly they discharged the trust reposed in them. The first prospect before their eyes, as the rebel sowars flashed their reeking tulwars in the bosoms of defenceless women and children, amidst the horrors of Meerut, of Delhi, of Jhansi, and of Cawnpore, must have been that of inevitable death; but though destruction thus stared many of them in the face, the condition was calmly accepted, with the resolution only to better it, as far as Providence might enable them, by enduring courage and indomitable self-reliance; and in no instance were they wanting to themselves and to honour. They either escaped death by dexterity and daring, or encountered it like Christians and British soldiers. The dangers and horrors that encompassed them were, in numberless instances, a thousand times more trying than those of a pitched battle; and yet they were encountered with a determination that deprived the crisis of half its terrors. And while such was the case in every instance where Europeans were surprised in the isolated stations, so, also, was it in the field. For instance, although for many weeks the aggregate body of mutinous troops in Delhi outnumbered the small beleaguering force under General Barnard, as largely as the particular bands of murderers did the surprised European inmates of a station, the English troops were never other than victorious in the field. The rebel hordes poured out upon them, five to one in number, from their blood-polluted city, but it was to fight only as men fight with halters round their necks, and the black flag flying over their heads: the despair which they imbibed from their situation, and the martial discipline they retained from the instruction of their betrayed and insulted comrades, were vain altogether; for their cause was evil, and their hearts were faint, in the presence of the avengers.

It was a distinguished, though not extraordinary, feature in the succession of catastrophes that followed the outburst at Meerut, that no pusillanimity was anywhere exhibited among those surprised by the rebel bands—neither among officers robbed of their men, nor among civilians transformed suddenly into soldiers: in every instance, the coolness and courage of the Anglo-Saxon race was practically demonstrated. The incidents of the murderous surprise were met as would have been those of any ordinary duty. If there was a fort in the place, they retired to it, as at Agra;* if none, they extemporised defences, as at Cawnpore.† Having provided for the safety of their women and children, they then secured their position by every ordinary and extraordinary expedient, and bravely held out till rescued, or, at the worst, until reduced by treachery. If there was no place of protection, and no resource but flight, man and wife ran the gauntlet together through swarms of murderers that were gathered around them, and either saved their lives, or sold them dearly. When there was any chance of fighting on an open field, no odds were refused; nor, as yet, had any proved too great to be overcome. Even the sortie from Agra—though, in the engagement that followed, the rebels had 1,200 horse, and the British only eighteen, and those volunteers—was not without honour nor without success. The death of Captain D'Oyley in this unequal conflict, was as glorious as any that had immortalised the fields of Alma and of Inkermann. It will be recollected that, though mortally wounded, he leant upon a tumbril, and continued to give the word of command to his artillery until all his ammunition was expended; and then, when the hue of death had overshadowed the hero's brow, his last thoughts were of honour—his last words, of a soldier's duty‡—"Tell them at home, I died fighting my guns!"

However the fact might have been undervalued in June, it was perfectly understood in August, that a sepoy mutiny was only another name for a fierce and sanguinary war of races; and that, although the native troops of Bengal were no match for the English in a regular engagement, the difficulty was not so much to cope with the enemy on the battle-field, as to keep possession of a vast extent of country at numerous points; to guard the highways; to hold the strong places; to wrestle with a Mahratta insurrection in one quarter, and with twenty or thirty thousand infuriated and fanatic Brahmin sepoys in another; to attack

* See *ante*, p. 552. † *Ante*, p. 315. ‡ *Ante*, p. 553.

hordes of malcontents of all creeds and classes, concentrated behind stone walls in distant localities; and to arrest the practical operations of agrarian discontent, that were spreading the flames of rebellion over a vast extent of newly-annexed territory. In the face of all this, it was palpable that all military organisation in the Bengal presidency was lost, so far as the native army was concerned, and that it had been traitorously turned against its creators; and the grand difficulty now was, how to struggle on while a substitute was provided that should effectually supply the deficiency by replacing the revolted troops.

The struggle, then, had resolved itself, with stern simplicity, into a single question—that of time—of time measured, not by years or seasons, but by weeks, and even days. Could our countrymen hold out until succours might reach them, against the raging fiends that were gathering around, impatient for their blood?—was the portentous question to be solved. Not the least doubt was felt as to the actual result of the struggle, or about the reconquest, if necessary, of all India, step by step, fort by fort, province by province;—not a single misgiving had yet been breathed about the eventual issue of the contest;—not a doubt that India would still be British, and that British rule would be re-established in greater strength and dignity than ever. But still, up to the end of August, not a single battalion had reached the shore of India from the ports of Britain. Three weary months had elapsed since the outbreak of the mutiny; and during the whole of that period, the victims of treason and fanaticism had been maintaining a desperate fight for life and honour against overwhelming odds, with only such help as could be picked up from distant colonies or a casual expedition. The gloomy certainty was before our countrymen from the very first—that the aid they appealed for in May, could not reach them from England before the middle of September; but they knew that appeal would not be in vain, and they hopefully and boldly awaited the issue. Under Providence, the fortitude and heroism displayed during this awful interval of suspense, preserved India to the British crown.

The appealing cry that arose from the smouldering ruins of Meerut and the blood-stained pavements of Delhi, was not disregarded. The responsibility that had devolved upon every department of the government at home, to rescue, with all possible dispatch, the remnant of our distant countrymen from the perils by which they were surrounded, and to re-establish, upon a firm and durable basis, the *prestige* of British supremacy in Hindostan, was universally recognised: and the passages of the royal speech before referred to, met with the cordial sympathy and approval of the whole nation upon that ground also. The efforts made by the government, in discharge of its duty, during the few weeks that elapsed between the arrival of the first intelligence and the close of the session, had certainly displayed extraordinary activity; but still it was felt, that the old war maxim, which declares that "nothing shall be considered accomplished while aught remains to be achieved," would apply with peculiar force to the existing difficulty; and, consequently, from the first, there was no relaxation of effort to carry out the desire of the country.

It is necessary here to advert to the fact, that the army estimates for 1857 had provided for the maintenance in India of twenty-four regiments of infantry and four regiments of cavalry; comprising, altogether, about 30,000 Europeans of all ranks. Of this estimated force, the actual number stationed in India at the period of the outbreak in May, fell considerably short of its proper effective strength, through cases of sickness, death, and employment on civil service; but on the other hand, in addition to the numerical strength of her majesty's troops, the Company's European military establishment consisted of nine battalions of infantry, equally divided among the three presidencies of Bengal, Madras, and Bombay. Altogether, therefore, there might have been about 40,000 British troops in India at the commencement of the outbreak; and of this force, not less than one-half was stationed within the limits of the Bengal presidency. In the distribution of the force so located, the Punjab had the advantage of the lion's share; an arrangement partly owing to the necessity that existed for the exercise of great vigilance over the native states bordering the North-Western Provinces, and partly to the prescriptive demands of the newly-acquired territory; and by which the Punjab usually absorbed about two-thirds of the entire European strength of the Bengal army, leaving only a scanty remnant for the pro-

tection of the vast extent of country between Umballah and Calcutta.

Hitherto, the result of such disposition of the European force had not been attended with mischief; but, on the contrary, as far as the Punjab was concerned, it had been beneficial—that province being, in reality, the only one in British India occupied and administered upon a system that was conformable to the enlightened views of the most experienced among Anglo-Indian statesmen. In the present case, however, the arrangement was productive of calamitous results, inasmuch as, in the spring of 1857, the whole European force stationed in the North-Western Provinces and in Bengal Proper, did not numerically amount to more than 5,000 or 6,000 men. There were, it is true, besides the European element in the Company's service, the entire strength of the native armies of Madras and Bombay, which, as yet, were not affected by the taint of rebellion; and there were also a numerous body of Sikh and Ghoorka auxiliaries, and some few of the Bengalese corps that still professed fidelity. From the gross total of this heterogeneous mass, the calamities by war and disease had, of course, to be deducted; but still, the force at the disposal of the government of India, might have appeared to the non-military and distant observer, as sufficiently formidable to trample out the fires of rebellion, though they had spread from Cape Comorin to the Hindoo-Koosh, and from Assam to the gulf of Cutch.

To the experienced soldier, however, the same facts were apparent under a very different aspect, and suggested a less favourable conclusion. It had to be considered how the vast region, comprising the kingdom of Oude, and the provinces of Bundelcund, Agra, and Rohilcund (all then in actual revolt), could be restored to order with such portion of the above gross total as might remain after striking out of the list all the troops in the two presidencies of Madras and Bombay, whether European or native, as well as those that garrisoned the Punjab. The Madras army had sufficient to occupy its attention within its own borders, in overawing Hyderabad and Nagpore, and in curbing the fanatic Mohammedan population scattered over the presidency. That of Bombay had also enough to do to preserve internal order, and in furnishing reinforcements for Scinde and the Punjab, that a good front might be maintained towards Affghanistan and the Persian frontier. The European troops already distributed over Bengal were, it was notorious, insufficient, in point of numbers, to garrison the principal points on the main lines of communication, and to hold the great cities of the presidency, and had not a man to spare for operations in the field. On the other hand, the disciplined forces of the insurgents in Oude alone, were computed, in June, 1857, at from 25,000 to 30,000 men; in and about Delhi, were at least 30,000 more; and, estimating the revolted contingents of Gwalior and Scinde, and the Bhurtpore levies, with the straggling bands of armed mutineers spread over the country from Neemuch, Hansi, and other stations, to amount to at least another 50,000—we had a rebel force of at least 110,000 men, all disciplined, and well provided with artillery and material for active warfare. Besides this force, there was an immense host of auxiliaries, composed of an armed rabble, the Goojurs, budmashes, &c., who, although useless in field operations, were not the less dangerous in the rear of an army, or in forays upon unprotected localities, for the sake of plunder and murder. It had also to be considered that, in this sepoy war, the resources of the rebels were relied upon as exhaustless, both as regarded men and means. For every mutinous band dispersed, or utterly destroyed on one point, two others, yet more formidable, immediately sprang into existence in another direction; and the blood that mingled with the soil of Hindostan had scarce time to sink into the earth, before its traces were obliterated by new and more abundant torrents.

Taking, however, the very inconsiderable force mentioned as the basis of our military strength in Bengal, it will be proper, in the first place, to contemplate the efforts made by the governor-general to meet the emergency that had suddenly arisen, and to avert the danger that so imminently threatened the stability of the Anglo-Indian empire. Between the time when the serious character of the revolt had developed itself in India, and the close of the parliamentary session of 1857, in England, Lord Canning had collected at Calcutta, and from thence dispatched to the points where aid was most required, the following troops:—viz., the 29th, 35th, and 84th regiments, with the fusiliers, from Madras and Burmah; the 64th and 78th, with the Bombay fusi-

liers, from Bombay, together with the 5th regiment from the Mauritius, and a wing of the 37th, with some royal artillery from Ceylon. He had also succeeded in intercepting, upon the route to China, the 23rd, the 82nd, the 90th, and the 93rd European regiments; and he had dispatched a steam flotilla to the Cape, for such reinforcements as could be spared from that quarter: and these efforts, by which an accession of at least 12,000 Europeans was added to the defensive strength of the presidency of Bengal, were entirely independent of any instructions from, or exertions yet made at home, to arrest the progress of the calamity by which India was plunged in anarchy and mourning.

It was on Saturday, the 27th of June, that a telegraphic announcement, *viâ* Trieste, suddenly apprised her majesty's ministers, and the board of directors, that the supposed partial mutiny in one or two regiments of the Bengal army, had assumed the character of a general revolt. The portentous message, terrible as the handwriting on the wall in the palace of the Persian king, ran thus:—"From Calcutta to Lahore, the troops of the Bengal presidency are in open and undisguised mutiny. Delhi is in the possession of 3,000 rebel sepoys. All the Europeans have been massacred. A son of the king is proclaimed emperor of Hindostan." With the speed of lightning the disastrous intelligence spread over the country, and fear and anxiety threw their shadows over the hearts and homes of the people. Instantaneously public feeling was awakened to a sense of the importance of the crisis: and, despite the obstacles and delays that routine and departmental interference would fain have interposed, the government had no choice but to exert all its energies to second the efforts of the authorities in India, and, by prompt and vigorous action, to extinguish the flames of an unnatural rebellion. Decisive action followed swift on prudent resolve; and on Wednesday, the 1st of July, within four days from the receipt of the telegram, a stream of reinforcements for India steadily set out; and from that period to the end of August, it flowed on so continuously, and with such a sustained and accelerated current, that no former war of this country affords a precedent for. On one single day (the 21st July), six vessels left the ports of England, conveying 1,700 troops; and the whole number of ships dispatched during the month, was thirty-four. The following month witnessed redoubled efforts, as the energies of the country rose promptly to the level of the exigencies which each mail from India announced. In the aggregate, about 9,000 troops were dispatched to the East during the month of July; and in August, upwards of 16,000 more were sent in ships of greater size and swiftness than were available at the moment of the first alarm. In the thirty-four vessels that departed during July, there were but four steam-ships: among the thirty-seven that followed in August, there were nineteen vessels of that description.

It will be observed, from the above statement, that some 25,000 British soldiers were actually dispatched from this country to the assistance of their comrades and countrymen in India, between the 1st of July and the 31st of August, irrespectively of all those reinforcements already mentioned as collected at the seat of government, from the colonies, and other dependencies; and if it be remembered, that the efforts so made at home were accomplished with a mere peace establishment, and immediately after a considerable reduction of the military strength of the country, the result assumes an aspect that cannot fail to be gratifying to the national pride of Englishmen.

But it was not felt that this was the point at which repose should take the place of action. It was prudently considered, that not only might the yet undiscernible exigencies of the future require even a greater array in arms than that already provided, but that such very array itself would demand commensurate reinforcements, to fill the gaps made by the chances of war or the ravages of disease, among troops unaccustomed to the climate. The demands of an army, in this respect, are of course proportional to its original strength, since for every battalion sent forth, it becomes necessary to establish corresponding reserves; and, in the discharge of this obvious duty, government was not wanting: 15,000 men of the militia were promptly enrolled, and fifteen second battalions of the line were ordered to be formed with all possible dispatch, to fill the vacancy in the military establishment of the kingdom, occasioned by the sudden departure of so many regiments for India. All other regiments at home, or on colonial service, were

raised from 840 to 1,000 men each, as fast as recruits could be obtained for them; and an additional force of artillery, with a corps of sappers and miners, were also dispatched for service in Bengal. The past could not be recalled; but it was determined that the future should not be left unprovided for.

For some time the Indian revolt was universally felt to be a mere barbaric movement, such as civilised states, in all times, have been exposed to from the ruder nations over whom they have acquired mastery, and whose people they hold in subjection, not as friends and equals, but as subdued enemies, who simply tolerate what they can no longer successfully resist. The Romans, in their pride of empire, encountered with success the same difficulty, at various epochs, from Gauls, from Britons, from Germans, from various Asiatic nations, and, at an early period of their history, from their own Italian cohorts. In the old sense of the word, the Asiatic races have been unchanged from the beginning of their existence as a people; and in point of habits and feelings, dissimulation and cruelty, they are, at the present time, the same as their historians describe them to have been a thousand years ago. And not only was the movement itself purely Asiatic in its origin, since every phase in which it developed itself partook of the barbaric nature—wild, impulsive, and reckless; but it was exhibited in the first stages as merely the rebellion of a pampered soldiery—one of the oldest incidents of Asiatic history. For some time the people themselves took no part in the excesses of their disciplined but mutinous countrymen. At length the torrent overflowed the banks, and the waves of treason saturated the moral soil of Hindostan. It was then expected that those waves would overwhelm and destroy the entire European element; and that when the torrent of rebellion should again confine itself within bounds, patriotic India, freed from its alien rulers, would bow only to the independent sceptre of a native prince, the descendant of kings who had associated the name of India with traditions of grandeur and romance unparalleled in the sober annals of Western climes. The movement now assumed a more important aspect; it became the rebellion of a whole people, incited to outrage by resentment for imaginary wrongs, and sustained in their delusions by hatred and fanaticism.

The celebrated proclamation of the mutineers from Delhi, adopted, distinctly and expressly, a religious ground as the pretext for the revolt; and it was a very extraordinary document on such a subject, being literally the joint production of two religious bodies that had hitherto mortally hated and persecuted each other. Those bodies—the Mohammedan and Hindoo worshippers—had, at this juncture, nothing in common but their mutual hatred of Englishmen. For instance, the whole creed of Mohammedanism is a protest against idol-worship; which worship is, on the other hand, the very essence of Brahminism. The Mohammedan is the most zealous and unsparing iconoclast in the world, and outruns both Jew and Christian in his hatred of idols. Mahomet did not much care about his deity being just or beneficent; but he would have him a sole and unembodied deity. That was the one truth which fed the long meditations in the cave at Mount Hira, and gave the prophet's unrelenting sword its one excuse. He knew, that so long as he veiled the Deity, hid him from human eyes, divested him of fictitious form or colour, and removed him into the profound depths of mystery, and the sanctuary of the unseen and impalpable, that, so far, he exalted the Deity. He mixed with some truth a multitude of fictions; but the maxim of invisibility and mystery, Mohammedanism does imperatively teach and defend. Brahminism, on the other hand, is the most multifarious and outrageous system of idolatry in the world. There is no other religion that has so grossly offended decency by its audacious representations of the infinite unseen Being—that has dragged Him so rudely to the very surface of the world of sense, and clothed Him in such grotesque, monstrous, and offensive shapes. Brahminism absolutely riots and luxuriates in fanciful, and sometimes hideous, representations of the invisible and incomprehensible Infinite. Here, then, were two religions, each based upon a totally opposite principle to the other—one resting on the idea of representing the Deity; the other, on the principle of abstaining from all representation, as being impious and blasphemous—the one the greatest and grossest of idolatries, the other the fiercest of protests against idolatry. Yet the believers in those two antagonistic creeds had now actually combined in one religious appeal to the native populations of India, against the professors of a more rational and benevolent faith.—The manifesto, it will be remembered, was addressed

"to all Hindoos and Mussulmans;"* and it urges them to a common and mutual defence of their two respective religions against English assault. Perhaps a more extraordinary combination of mutually-repulsive principles, for a specific purpose, is not to be met with in the history of the human race.

To the innate weakness of the mental and physical nature of the Hindoo populations, and to the impetuous and unstable character of their sometime Mohammedan rulers, we may doubtless attribute the long continuance and progressive enlargement of British dominion in India; where a handful of European merchants had acquired rule over nearly two hundred millions of human beings, by their enterprise, probity, and wisdom. The acquisition thus obtained was perpetuated, because the native races, with their multifarious and conflicting creeds, found that they could enjoy greater security and tolerance under the government of Europeans, than they could possibly expect to obtain from one another, or from a prince selected from either of the great sections into which the populations of India are divided; and it was credulously supposed, that under such circumstances of reciprocal benefit, the bulk of the people would naturally and nationally be averse to any movement that could possibly endanger the continuance of their connection with a country whose domination had been signalised by moderation and justice. It was not deemed possible that, after flourishing in peace during several generations under British rule, they would desire to plunge into a state of anarchy; to imbue their hands in the blood of helpless women and children; to murder in cold blood their European friends and benefactors; to resort, as in sport, to the abduction and sale of European females; to throw open gaols, and let loose upon society the pestilential hordes that peopled them; or that they would not have recoiled with horror from offering homage to a sovereign whose reign could only commence with treachery, and must inevitably close with infamy. All these things, however, were resorted to, and accepted as a means to independence, by the recreant slaves and traitors of Hindostan.

When the Mohammedans, under Sultan Mahmoud, had, in 1024, overrun a great part of India, they exemplified the proselytising tendencies of their creed by establishing the Koran, in open and active predominance, wherever their arms prevailed. In a preceding chapter of this volume, reference has been made to a report that, in the early part of 1857, had obtained currency throughout Southern India; wherein it was stated, that some missionaries had prevailed upon the Queen of England to adopt means by which the Hindoo soldiers of the army of Bengal should be deprived of their distinction of *caste*, and thus be compelled to become Christians;† and also, that her majesty had reproached herself for not having made as many converts in a century, as Tippoo Sultan would have made in a month. Putting aside the gross absurdity of such a rumour, there was in it evidence of the fact, that Hindoos yet remembered how Mohammedanism was propagated by the strong arm of the government, and by the sword of power; and that remembrance was employed to alarm and irritate the impulsive races to whom its disclosures were addressed. Now, the entire policy of this country had been based upon a principle totally opposite to that of the Mohammedan persecutor. Not only had proselytism been never attempted by authority, but a respectful deference had always been shown to the religious prejudices of the people—a deference that rather assumed the aspect of direct encouragement than of prohibitory interference; and sentiments favourable to the Hindoo creed and its adherents, had been for years almost ostentatiously obtruded on the attention of the natives, as embodying the views of government in connection with their religion. Every opportunity was embraced to disclaim anything like intervention in such matters; and, for a long time, the paramount authority of the government was suffered to remain inactive, in regard to the suppression of cruel and abominable usages and ceremonies connected with the Brahminical ritual; while a portion of the revenues of the state were contributed to the support of institutions in which false doctrines and idolatrous practices were openly inculcated. While thus pandering to the errors of a cruel faith, it was impossible not to reflect, occasionally, that the course pursued was hardly susceptible of more than one interpretation—namely, that we were bartering our convictions, as a Christian nation, for the convenience of the Indian government; and that, for the sake of an easy tenure of dominion, and economical facilities of administration, we had been

* See *ante*, p. 459. † See *ante*, p. 183.

willing to let some of our prerogatives as Christian governors remain in abeyance.

The outburst of the revolt of 1857, at once raised the question, whether the policy that had been thus observed was either so becoming as it should have been, or even so worldly wise as it was thought to be; and arguments were not wanting calculated to prove, that it would be better, for the future, to conduct ourselves, in matters of religion, with less indifference and more dignity. The people of this country desired that British rule in the East, as in the West, should be characterised by tranquillity and security; but, at the same time, they repudiated anything like an idea of compulsory conversion. Proselytism by violence is utterly opposed, not only to the natural tendencies of Englishmen, but to the genius of Christianity; and no preacher or teacher, however enthusiastic, would obtain a moment's support, who ventured to urge that either menace or seduction should be employed by the government of India, as a medium for turning earnest Hindoos or Mohammedans into insincere Christians; and the great point at length to be solved was, as to the attitude which would most beseem our position as Christian rulers, and be most conducive, in the long run, to the welfare of the people under our sway. It was argued that, if it should be proposed to go on as before in relation to this matter, proof was ready that such a course had not answered the end designed; since it was palpably obvious that our policy had not hitherto been successful in tranquillising the religious susceptibilities of the natives; since, at the very moment, the proof of wide-spread insurrection, upon the ground of an alleged design to interfere with Hindoo worship, was before the world; and it had become painfully evident, that if an attempt had been made to carry the Bible with fire and sword from Calcutta to Peshawur, greater perils could not have been encountered than those to which European society in India was then exposed. It would have been preposterous to affirm the fitness of the system pursued, in face of the fact, that an entire army had actually risen in revolt against the government by which it was supported, through alarm for the inviolability of the religious creed it professed to reverence; and that it had endeavoured to re-establish, to the prejudice of that government, a dynasty that never scrupled to advance the doctrines of its race by persecution and the sword of the conqueror.

As regarded the future of India, it was perfectly clear that no party of the slightest weight or influence over public opinion, would venture to call upon the Indian government to take a decidedly hostile part against the creeds, the *castes*, and the superstitions of the millions under its rule; to infringe, however slightly, upon the principle of complete toleration; or to devise any measures against *caste* or creed, with the special aim of destroying either. The idea of forcible proselytism was universally repudiated; and it was agreed by all sections of professing Christians, that Hindoos and Mohammedans must be suffered to worship after their own fashion, as they had done in past years; but at the same time, the question was mooted, whether a greater assumption of self-respect might not procure a greater amount of confidence?—and it was asked, whether if, while disclaiming any compulsory propagation of Christianity, we should plainly avow ourselves Christians, and act up to the avowal, we should not find the strength of our influence much augmented by our sincerity? It might not be desired that the Indian government should evince a blind hostility to the native superstitions; but it was now considered, that it would have been as well had we been less deferential—that *castes* need not be obtrusively interfered with, but care might be taken to render less homage to the institution of which they were a part.

In this affair of religious toleration, it was to be considered that government propagandism was one thing, and natural Christian influence another. There could be no doubt that, as a government, the English are prohibited by compact from proselytising in India; but it is not to be supposed, because they are prohibited from converting Hindoos by the sword, that therefore private Christians may not maintain missionaries, establish funds, and found institutions for the peaceful dissemination of the truths of their creed: and it would be an arbitrary and offensive interference with the liberty of the individual, to say that civil and military officers, or even governors-general, might not, in their private and unofficial capacity, and as simple members of society, subscribe to such institutions. Thus the odium attempted to be at-

tached to Lord Canning, upon an assumption that he had contributed to the funds of some, or all, of the religious institutions of Calcutta, was felt to be as uncalled-for as it was unjust.* As an English gentleman, his lordship had an undoubted right to contribute, if he thought fit so to do, to the Calcutta Bible Society, to the college at Serampore, and to the school of the Scotch Free Church; and he transgressed no rule, and violated no reasonable principle, by so doing. Former governors-general had done the same thing without eliciting invidious remarks; and Lord Wellesley, Lord Minto, Lord Hastings, Sir Charles Metcalfe, and Lord William Bentinck, all aided such schemes, and did not, either in India or in this country, awaken suspicion as to the security of the religion of the people they governed.

Nevertheless, in one sense, it is obvious that we cannot, as Englishmen, avoid becoming tacit instruments in the work of proselytism among the false and idolatrous millions that people the countries subject to our domination throughout the world; since the very presence of the Christian religion among such people, is virtually of itself a missionary appeal. The effect of the sight of European power, greatness, wisdom, and justice, is not within the control of those by whose agency such attributes are developed; nor can they repress the influence which the mere sight of a Christian power, armed with those attributes, may have upon the minds of sagacious and inquiring natives. England cannot divest itself of its character as a Christian nation, or annul the fact, that its European military and civil establishments compose a Christian population in India. To call upon the Indian government wholly to abandon all schemes for improving and elevating the native Hindoo, grovelling amidst the filth of a revolting and impure theology—to abstain from all efforts to enlarge his mind by acquainting him with European literature and history, merely because such advance in knowledge might indirectly have the effect of making him discontented with his own absurd religion, and introduce him to the evidences and moral fruits of another, would have been to violate a most sacred injunction, and to neglect a national duty. Such indirect propagandism, therefore, as that implied by the alleged connection of Lord Canning with certain religious or educational institutions, ought not, then, to have excited the spleen of even the patrons of intellectual darkness. England, as before remarked, is bound by compact not to interfere by force with the religions of Hindostan; but she is also bound, by her duty as the actual and supreme ruler of India, to advance the moral and intellectual welfare of the people under her charge.

It may be, that to the apparent relinquishment, by successive Indian administrations, of that high Christian principle which, while it inculcates forbearance to the religious opinions of others, inflexibly asserts and maintains the purity and dignity of its own faith, and invests its consistent followers with a resistless moral influence over all that surround them, much of the evil that has for years past been quietly germinating (and at length has grown and ripened into a sanguinary rebellion), may be attributed. By an erroneous system of payments direct from the coffers of the state for the support of the temples and priesthood of a monstrous idolatry, instead of allowing such support to be silently and unobtrusively drawn from lands appropriated to the purpose (and with which no necessity for state interference need have existed), the cruel and blasphemous ritual of the Hindoo worshippers might have appeared to be tolerated rather than encouraged; and the necessity for continually yielding to the claims and assumptions of a fanatic and ignorant priesthood would have been obviated. The concession to the pride of caste and the encroachments of fanaticism, that has permitted the soldiers of a Christian government to take part in absurd and (to them) meaningless ceremonies at the religious festivals of the people—the processions of Juggernauth, and the parading of idols—was of itself sufficient to teach the bigoted fanatics of other creeds, that a government so permitting was regardless of the inviolability of its own; and that, in fact, religion of any kind was a matter of perfect indifference to it. When, therefore, on a sudden, the rumour spread among a credulous and impulsive people, that the English government contemplated a serious interference with, or rather the subversion of, the great outworks of Hindoo superstition—namely, the distinctions and privileges of caste—it was not surprising they should suspect, that a government hitherto so lax in principle as regarded the religion of its own people,

* See *ante*, pp. 606, 607.

must now have some hidden and dangerous motive for interfering with that of the Hindoo races subjected to its power. The rancour and bitterness that spring from religious fanaticism, have produced in all ages, and still produce, the same fruits in all parts of the world. Spain, America, the Low Countries, France, and even England itself, can testify to this fact; for the annals of each are red with the stains of blood poured out in the wars of creeds. Hence, perhaps, may be traced the origin of that ferocious hatred which has from the first characterised the Indian revolt; and which, in its inordinate thirst for blood and vengeance, has, happily for mankind, been as yet without parallel amongst the crimes of nations.

But whatever may have been the grounds upon which the rapidly-spreading calamities that jeopardised the safety of India were based, and whatever the errors of those entrusted with the supreme administration of its government, it was perfectly obvious by the end of August, 1857, that nothing short of the most decisive and energetic measures could avail for the preservation of India. Throughout the British empire, the shout of the people was for rescue and for vengeance: the blood of their slaughtered countrymen, of their martyred women and children, came welling up before their mental vision; and one desire for retribution seemed to pervade all hearts, and nerve all arms. And yet the fact is notorious, that, in both houses of parliament, men were found who still affected to doubt the magnitude of the crisis, and denied the enormity of the outrages that had been perpetrated—men who, in the alleged maladministration of the East India Company and its officers, could find a plea for palliating acts of cruelty that were without parallel in history; and, upon the pretext of Christian feeling, could hold the shield of their sympathies over the truculent ruffians by whom the wives and daughters of British soldiers had been dishonoured and massacred. Such, however, were but extraordinary exceptions among the people of England; and they did not represent the tone of popular opinion, which declared that, in the prosecution of the just and retributive war that had been forced upon the British government, the man who should counsel half measures, or any measure short of the most stern and unrelenting justice, ought to be deemed an enemy to his country and to the human race. The contest of rival factions, in their greed for place and patronage, had not yet fully developed the mischievous and obstructive influences that were silently acquiring strength; and it was not then believed possible that the safety and future welfare of India could be made subservient to a question as to its form of government, or to a struggle whether this or the other statesman, and his friends, should secure a brief tenure of political power upon the ruins of an empire.

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